

# THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

*(Official Organ of the Indian Institute of Public Administration)*

## INDEX



**VOLUME XXXII**

**1986**



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# INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

VOL. XXXII (1986)

## AUTHOR INDEX

- Agarwal, U.C. Role of Vigilance in public administration: a talk, p. 424-433.
- Aggarwal, Yash (Yash Aggarwal and Brahm Prakash). Selected issues for implementing new education policy, p. 473-475.
- Ahmed, Shakti R. (G.D. Sharma and Shakti R. Ahmed). Education for developing social capabilities, p. 514-520.
- Aleem, Shamim. New management system in Indian University Departments: a study of rotation system, p. 964-979.
- Aminuzzaman, S. Md. Strategies for rural development in countries of Asia-Pacific region: an overview, p. 65-76.
- Azad, J.L. Educational finance in India: progress, problems and perspectives, p. 563-580.
- Bhattacharya, Mohit. Public administration in India: a discipline in bondage, p. 219-229.
- Brahm Prakash (Brahm Prakash and Yash Aggarwal). Selected issues for implementing new education policy, p. 473-475.
- Chaturvedi, O.N. University objectives in changing world, p. 646-657.
- Chaturvedi, R.N. University Grants Commission—a study of organisational frame, p. 875-888.
- Chawla, Deepak (A.K. Saha and Deepak Chawla). Job aspirations of students in institutions of higher learning in Nigeria, p. 956-965.
- Das, B. (Satapathy C., B. Das and B. Mitra). Coordination in agricultural development, p. 327-333.
- Das, Smita and N. Hazary. Educational administrators under stress: a study of college principals in Orissa, p. 933-955.
- Das Gupta, Ranajit. Police-people relationship in contemporary India, p. 1036-1042.
- De Nitish. Planning and management at the institutional level: effective monitoring of education system, p. 542-562.
- Deekshit, Arun. Using computers for Malaria eradication, p. 185-189.
- Gandhi, Rajiv. New national policy on education, p. 435-460.

- Gulati, Sunita. Education policy: a select bibliography, p. 826-854.
- Gupta, Ranajit Das. Police-people relationship in contemporary India, p. 1036-1042.
- Hirschmann, David. 'Sound' of a new bureaucracy: an African example, p. 1-18.
- Hota, N.R. Political economy of irrigation in India, p. 313-326.
- Huque, Ahmed Shafiqul. Role of administrative elites: a reassessment, p. 268-276.
- Inamdar, N.R. Educational administration in Zilla Parishads in Maharashtra: policy perspectives, p. 889-907.
- Jalaluddin, A.K. Training of teachers and the new education policy, p. 687-696.
- Joshi, Kireet. Strategy for change, p. 473-475.
- Kajarekar, R.G. (R.K. Sachdeva and R.G. Kajarekar) Computerised financial information system in Government of Gujarat—a case study, p. 169-184.
- Khandelwal, Anil K. Human resource development for rural banking, p. 334-347.
- Kiranmayi, Y.S. (Y.S. Kiranmayi, G. Prasad and K.V. Rao). Management of universities in India, p. 855-874.
- Kulwant Singh (Kulwant Singh and Om Singh Verma) Managerial leadership style in scientific organisations, p. 354-360.
- Kunnunkal, T.V. Some aspects of planning in education: its pedagogical dimensions, p. 535-541.
- Maheshwari, Shriram. Aspects of administrative federalism: the Indian model, p. 230-240.
- Mathur, Krishna Mohan. Value system in administration, p. 104-146.
- Mitra B. (Satapathy C., B. Das and B. Mitra). Coordination in agricultural development, p. 327-333.
- Naik, Chitra. Assessment of performance in education, p. 697-709.
- Narain, Iqbal. Power structure in India's university system: reflections of an insider, p. 658-880.
- Narasimha Rao, P.V. New education policy, p. 468-472.
- Narayanaswami, R. Redressal of public grievances, p. 295-302.
- Nehru, B.K. Role of political parties in India, p. 412-423.
- Padmanabhan, C.B. Financial management issues in education in Seventh plan, p. 726-742.
- Pant, K.C. Education policy for India, p. 461-467.

- Pathak, Harbans. Recruitment of teachers: problems and remedies, p. 681-686.
- Phul Chand. Federal-financial relations in India: evolution of provincial finance, p. 19-48.
- Prasad, G. (Y.S. Kiranmayi, G. Prasad and K.V. Rao) Management of universities in India, p. 855-874.
- Prasad, L.M. Educational policy for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and its implementation, p. 908-932.
- Raghavan, J. Veera. Implementation of the new education policy—1986, p. 521-534.
- Ram Reddy, G. Role of the media in distance teaching, p. 615-634.
- Ramesh, G. Characteristics of large service organisations in a developing country like India: a conceptual model, p. 77-91.
- Rao, K.V. (Y.S. Kiranmayi, G. Prasad and K.V. Rao). Management of universities in India, p. 855-874.
- Rao, Sudarsana R. Role of grants-in-aid in Indian federation, p. 49-51.
- Reddy, Y. Venugopal. Evaluating planning machinery at sub-national level: an integrated framework, p. 52-64.
- Risbud, Arvind G. Performance and accountability in public services, p. 992-1106.
- Sachdeva, R.K. (R.K. Sachdeva and R.G. Kajarekar). Computerised financial information system in Government of Gujarat—a case study, p. 169-184.
- Saha, A.K. (A.K. Saha and Deepak Chawla). Job aspirations of students in institution of higher learning in Nigeria, p. 956-963.
- Samiuddin, Abida. Provincial administration of Ottomans, with reference to Iraq, p. 361-375.
- Satapathy, C. (C. Satapathy, B. Das and B. Mitra). Coordination in agricultural development, p. 327-333.
- Sharma, B.D. New education policy and the tribal people, p. 590-598.
- Sharma, G.D. (G.D. Sharma and Shakti R. Ahmed). Education for developing social capabilities, p. 514-520.
- Sharma, Inder Prabha. Adult education in India: programme of action, p. 599-614.
- Sharma, Ravindra. Job satisfaction of village extension workers in Rajasthan, p. 92-103.
- Shendge, Malati J. Hindu concept of ecology and the environment crises, p. 376-381.

Shendge, Malati J. Making of the twenty first century India, p. 499-513.

Singh, Abhimanyu. Changing role of the district officer, p. 251-267.

Singh Amrik. National testing service, p. 635-640.

*de* Singh, H. Bhuban. District administration in India, p. 348-353.

Singh, R.P. Training of IES, p. 641-645.

Sinha, Awadhesh P. Popular participation in economic planning, p. 241-250.

Sisodia, V.S. Redesigning performance appraisal system: experience of a state government, p. 277-294.

Srinivasan, C.V. Zero base budgeting, p. 303-312.

Sudan, M.L. Delivery system for agricultural credit, farm inputs

and services and small and marginal farmers, p. 980-991.

Sundaram, P.S.A. Housing for the poor, p. 147-168.

Thakur, R.N. Implementation of education policy: a critique on sex-based disparity, p. 751-777.

Tilak, Jandhyala B.G. Educational finance in India, p. 581-589.

Trivedi, Prajapati. Public sector performance: perception versus reality, p. 997-1106.

Uplaonker, Ambarao T. Private enterprise in education: a study of the social background of students in private vis-a-vis government colleges, p. 710-725.

Veera Raghavan, Vimala. Application of social psychology to classroom life, p. 743-750.

Verma, Om Singh (Kulwant Singh and Om Singh Verma). Managerial leadership style in scientific organisations, p. 354-360.

## TITLE INDEX

- Adult education in India : programme of action by Inder Prabha Sharma, p. 599-614.
- An overview of educational policy and administration in India: States and Union territories, p. 1043-1085.
- Application of social psychology to classroom life by Vimala Veera Raghavan, p. 743-750.
- Aspects of administrative federalism : the Indian model by Shriram Maheshwari, p. 230-240.
- Assessment of performance in education by Chitra Naik, p. 697-709.
- Changing role of the district officer by Abhimanyu Singh, p. 251-267.
- Characteristics of large service organisations in a developing country like India : a conceptual model by G. Ramesh, p. 77-91.
- Computerised financial information system in Government of Gujarat—a case study by R.K. Sachdeva and R.G. Kajarekar, p. 169-184.
- Coordination in agricultural development by C. Satapathy, B. Das and B. Mitra, p. 327-333.
- Delivery system for agricultural credit, farm inputs and services and small and marginal farmers by M.L. Sudan, p. 980-991.
- District administration in India by H. Bhuvan Singh, p. 348-353.
- Education for developing social capabilities by G.D. Sharma and Shakti R. Ahmed, p. 514-520.
- Education policy : a select bibliography by Sunita Gulati, p. 826-854.
- Education policy for India by K.C. Pant, p. 461-467.
- Educational administration in Zilla Parishads in Maharashtra: policy perspectives by N.R. Inamdar, p. 889-907.
- Educational administrators under stress : a study of college principals in Orissa by Smita Das and N. Hazary, p. 933-955.
- Educational finance in India : progress problems and perspectives by J.L. Azad, p. 563-580.
- Educational finances in India by B.G. Jandhyala Tilak, p. 581-89.
- Educational policy for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and its implementation by L.M. Prasad, p. 908-932.
- Evaluating planning machinery at Subnational level : an integrated

- framework by Y. Venugopal Reddy, p. 52-64.
- Federal financial relations in India: evolution of provincial finance by Phul Chand, p. 19-48.
- Financial management issues in education in Seventh Plan by C.B. Padmanabhan, p. 726-742.
- Hindu concept of ecology and the environment crises by Malati J. Shendge, p. 376-381.
- Housing for the poor by P.S.A. Sundaram, p. 147-168.
- Human resource development for rural banking by Anil K. Khandelwal, p. 334-347.
- Implementation of education policy: a critique on sex based disparity by R.N. Thakur, p. 751-777.
- Implementation of the new education policy—1986 by J. Veera Raghavan, p. 521-534.
- Job aspirations of students in institutions of higher learning in Nigeria by A.K. Saha and Deepak Chawla, p. 956-963.
- Job satisfaction of village extension workers in Rajasthan by Ravindra Sharma, p. 92-103.
- Making of the twenty first century Indian by Malati J. Shendge, p. 499-513.
- Management of universities in India by Y.S. Kiranmayi, G. Prasad and K.V. Rao, p. 855-874.
- Managerial leadership style in scientific organisations by Kulwant Singh and Om Singh Verma, p. 354-360.
- National testing service by Amrik Singh, p. 635-640.
- New education policy by P.V. Narasimha Rao, p. 468-472.
- New education policy and the tribal people by B.D. Sharma, p. 590-598.
- New management system in Indian University Departments: a study of rotation system by Shamim Aleem, p. 964-979.
- New national policy on education by Rajiv Gandhi, p. 435-460.
- Performance and accountability in public services by Arvind G. Risbud, p. 992-1106.
- Planning and management at the institutional level: effective monitoring of education system by Nitish De, p. 542-562.
- Police-people relationship in contemporary India by Ranjit Das Gupta, p. 1036-1042.
- Political economy of irrigation in India by N.R. Hota, p. 313-326.

Popular participation in economic planning by Awadhesh P. Sinha, p. 241-250.

Power structure in India's university system : reflections of an insider by Iqbal Narain, p. 658-680.

Private enterprise in education : a study of the social background of students in private vis-a-vis government colleges by Amba Rao T. Uplaoanker, p. 710-725.

Provincial administration of Ottomans, with reference to Iraq by Abida Samiuddin, p. 361-375.

✓ Public administration in India : a discipline in bondage by Mohit Bhattacharya, p. 219-229.

Public sector performance : perception versus reality by Prajapati Trivedi, p. 997-1106.

Recruitment of teachers : problems and remedies by Harbans Pathak, p. 681-686.

Redesigning performance appraisal system : experience of a state government by V.S. Sisodia, p. 277-294.

Redressal of public grievances by R. Narayanaswami, p. 295-302.

Role of administrative elites : a reassessment, by Ahmed Shafiqul Huque, p. 268-276.

Role of grants-in-aid in Indian federation by R. Sudarsana Rao, p. 49-51.

Role of political parties in India by B.K. Nehru, p. 412-423.

Role of the media in distance teaching by G. Ram Reddy, p. 615-634.

Role of vigilance in public administration, a talk by U.C. Agarwal, p. 424-433.

Selected issues for implementing new education policy by Brahm Prakash and Yash Aggarwal, p. 473-475.

Some aspects of planning in education : its pedagogical dimensions, p. 535-541.

'Sound' of a new bureaucracy : an African example, by David Hirschmann, p. 1-18.

Strategies for rural development in countries of Asia-Pacific region : an overview by S. Md. Aminuz-zaman, p. 65-76.

Strategy for change by Kireet Joshi, p. 473-475.

Training of IES by R.P. Singh, p. 641-645.

Training of teachers and the new education policy by A.K. Jalaluddin, p. 687-696.

University Grants Commission—a study of organisational frame by R.N. Chaturvedi, p. 875-888.



University objectives in changing world by O.N. Chaturvedi, p. 646-657.

Value system in administration by Krishna Mohan Mathur, p. 104-146.

Using computers for malaria eradication, by Arun Deekshit, p. 185-189.

Zero base budgeting by C.V. Srinivasan, p. 303-312.

# SUBJECT INDEX

## ADULT EDUCATION

Sharma, Inder Prabha. Adult education in India : programme of action, p. 599-614.

## AGRICULTURE

Das, B. (Satapathy C., B. Das and B. Mitra). Coordination in agricultural development, p. 327-333.

Mitra, B. (Satapathy C., B. Das and B. Mitra). Coordination in agricultural development, p. 327-333.

Satapathy, C. (C. Satapathy, B. Das and B. Mitra). Coordination in agricultural development, p. 327-333.

Sudan, M.L. Delivery system for agricultural credit, farm inputs and services and small and marginal farmers, p. 980-991.

## BANKS

Khandelwal, Anil K. Human resource development for rural banking, p. 334-347.

## BUREAUCRACY

Hirschmann, David. 'Sound' of a new bureaucracy : an African example, p. 1-18.

## CIVIL SERVICE

Huque, Ahmed Shafiqul. Role of

administrative elites : a reassessment, p. 268-276.

## COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Aleem, Shamim. New management system in Indian University Departments : a study of rotation system, p. 964-979.

Chaturvedi, O.N. University objectives in changing World, p. 646-657.

Kiranmayi, Y.S. (Y.S. Kiranmayi, G. Prasad and K.V. Rao). Management of Universities in India, p. 855-874.

Narain, Iqbal. Power structure in India's University system : reflections of an insider, p. 658-680.

Prasad, G. (Y.S. Kiranmayi, G. Prasad and K.V. Rao). Management of Universities in India, p. 855-874.

Rao, K.V. (Y.S. Kiranmayi, G. Prasad and K.V. Rao). Management of Universities in India, p. 855-874.

Singh, Amrik. National testing service, p. 635-640.

## COMPUTERS

Deekshit, Arun. Using computers

for Malaria eradication, p. 185-189.

Kajarekar, R.G. (R.K. Sachdeva and R.G. Kajarekar). Computerised financial information system in Government of Gujarat—a case study, p. 169-184.

Sachdeva, R.K. (R.K. Sachdeva and R.G. Kajarekar). Computerised financial information system in Government of Gujarat—a case study, p. 169-184.

## DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION

✓ Singh, Abhimanyu. Changing role of the district officer, p. 251-267.

Singh, H. Bhuban. District administration in India, p. 348-353.

## ECONOMIC PLANNING

Reddy, Y. Venugopal. Evaluating planning machinery at sub-national level : an integrated framework, p. 52-64.

Sinha, Awadhesh P. Popular participation in economic planning, p. 241-250.

## EDUCATION

Ahmed, Shakti R. (G.D. Sharma and Shakti R. Ahmed). Education for developing social capabilities, p. 514-520.

Naik, Chitra. Assessment of performance in education, p. 697-709.

Sharma, G.D. (G.D. Sharma and Shakti R. Ahmed). Education for developing social capabilities, p. 514-520.

Shendge, Malati J. Making of the twenty first century Indian, p. 499-513.

## EDUCATION—ADMINISTRATION

Inamdar, N.R. Educational administration in Zilla Parishads in Maharashtra : policy perspectives, p. 889-907.

## EDUCATION—FINANCE

Azad, J.L. Educational finance in India : progress, problems and perspectives, p. 563-580.

Padmanabhan, C.B. Financial management issues in education in Seventh plan, p. 726-742.

Tilak, Jandhyala B.G. Educational finance in India, p. 581-589.

## EDUCATION—PLANNING

De Nitish. Planning and management at the institutional level : effective monitoring of education system, p. 542-562.

Kunnunkal, T.V. Some aspects of planning in education : its pedagogical dimensions, p. 535-541.

## EDUCATION AND STATE

Aggarwal, Yash (Yash Aggarwal and Brahm Prakash). Selected

issues for implementing new education policy, p. 473-475.

Brahm Prakash (Brahm Prakash and Yash Aggarwal). Selected issues for implementing new education policy, p. 473-475.

Das, Smita and N. Hazary. Educational administrators under stress : a study of college principals in Orissa, p. 933-955.

Gandhi, Rajiv. New national policy on education, p. 435-460.

Hazary, N. (Smita Das and N. Hazary). Educational administrators under stress : a study of college principals in Orissa, p. 933-955.

Joshi, Kireet. Strategy for change, p. 473-475.

Narasimha Rao, P.V. New education policy, p. 468-472.

Pant, K.C. Education policy for India, p. 461-467.

Prasad, L.M. Educational policy for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and its implementation, p. 908-932.

Raghavan, J. Veera. Implementation of the new education policy—1986, p. 521-534.

Sharma, B.D. New education policy and the tribal people, p. 590-598.

Thakur, R.N. Implementation of

education policy : a critique on sex-based disparity, p. 751-777.

## EDUCATION AND STATE— BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gulati, Sunita. Education policy : a select bibliography, p. 826-854.

## EMPLOYEE MORALE

Mathur, Krishna Mohan. Value system in administration, p. 104-146.

## ENVIRONMENT

Shendge, Malati J. Hindu concept of ecology and the environment crises, p. 376-381.

## FEDERAL AID

Phul Chand. Federal-financial relations in India, evolution of provincial finance, p. 19-48.

Rao, Sudarsana R. Role of grants-in-aid in Indian federation, p. 49-51.

## GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISE

Trivedi, Prajapati. Public sector performances : perception versus reality, p. 1007-1035.

## GRIEVANCE PROCEDURES

Narayanaswami, R. Redressal of public grievances, p. 295-302.

## HOUSING

Sundaram, P.S.A. Housing for the poor, p. 147-168.

## IRRIGATION

Hota, N.R. Political economy of irrigation in India, p. 313-326.

## JOB SATISFACTION

Sharma, Ravindra. Job satisfaction of the village extension workers in Rajasthan, p. 92-103.

## LEADERSHIP

Kulwant Singh (Kulwant Singh and Om Singh Verma). Managerial leadership style in scientific organisation, p. 354-360.

Verma, Om Singh (Kulwant Singh and Om Singh Verma). Managerial leadership style in scientific organisations, p. 354-360.

## MASS MEDIA

Ram Reddy, G. Role of the media in distance teaching, p. 615-634.

## ORGANIZATION

Ramesh, G. Characteristics of large service organisations in a developing country like India : a conceptual model, p. 77-91.

## PERSONNEL, PUBLIC— SERVICE RATING

Sisodia, V.S. Redesigning performance appraisal system : experience of a state government, p. 277-294.

## POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Das Gupta, Ranajit. Police-people relationship in contemporary India, p. 1036-1042.

## POLITICAL PARTIES

Nehru, B.K. Role of political parties in India, p. 412-423.

## PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Agarwal, U.C. Role of vigilance in public administration a talk, p. 424-433.

Bhattacharya, Mohit. Public administration in India : a discipline in bondage, p. 219-229.

Maheshwari, Shriram. Aspects of administrative federalism : the Indian model, p. 230-240.

Risbud, Arvind G. Performance and accountability in public services, p. 992-1106.

## RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Aminuzzaman, S. Md. Strategies for rural development in countries of Asia-Pacific region : an overview, p. 65-76.

## STATE GOVERNMENT

Samiuddin, Abida. Provincial administration of Ottomans, with reference to Iraq, p. 361-375.

## STUDENTS

Chawla, Deepak (A.K. Saha and Deepak Chawla). Job aspirations of students in institutions of higher learning in Nigeria, p. 956-963.

Saha, A.K. (A.K. Saha and Deepak Chawla). Job aspirations of students in institutions of higher learning in Nigeria, p. 956-963.

Uplaonker, Ambarao T. Private enterprise in education : a study of the social background of students in private vis-a-vis government colleges, p. 710-725.

Veera Raghavan, Vimala. Application of social psychology to classroom life, p. 743-750.

## TEACHERS

Pathak, Harbans. Recruitment of

teachers: problems and remedies, p. 681-686.

## TRAINING

Jalaluddin, A.K. Training of teachers and the new education policy, p. 687-696.

Singh, R.P. Training of IES, p. 641-645.

UNIVERSITY GRANTS  
COMMISSION

Chaturvedi, R.N. University Grants Commission—a study of organisational frame, p. 875-888.



## ZERO-BASE BUDGETING

Srinivasan, C.V. Zero base budgeting, p. 303-312.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

(Reviewer's name in bracket)

- Bhagat, P.S. Wielding of authority in emerging countries (Shyam Lal Das), p. 404-406.
- Bhatia, B.M. A study in Indian food policy—institution and incentive in India's food security structure (R.S. Khanna), p. 201-205.
- Bhatnagar, P.S. Morale in the civil service: a study of section officers in the Rajasthan Secretariat (N. Umapathy), p. 194-197.
- Boesch, Ernst E. and Armin M.F. Goldschmidt (ed). Refugees and development (Mario D. Zamora), p. 1100-1101.
- Chicoine, David L. (David L. Chicoine and Norman Walzer). Governmental structure and local public finance (Mohit Bhattacharya), p. 190-192.
- Dubhashi, P.R. Essays in public administration (Harbans Pathak), p. 192-194.
- Earayil, Alphonse L. and James Vadakumchery. Police and Society (Jay Tilak Guha Roy), p. 1108-1109.
- Ghosh, S.K. Protection of minorities and scheduled castes (B.C. Mathur), p. 216-217.
- Henderson, David. Innocence and design: the influence of economic ideas on policy (Kamal Nayan Kabra), p. 390-393.
- Inamdar, N.R. and V.K. Kshire. District planning in India (P.R. Dubhashi), p. 382-384.
- India. Ministry of education. Challenge of education—a policy perspective (P.C. Bansal), p. 1091-1095.
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Poverty and hunger, issues and options for food security in developing countries: a world Bank Policy Study, 1986. (R.S. Khanna), p. 386-388.
- Jagdish Prakash. Public enterprises in India, p. 409.
- Jha, S.N. Education for socialism, secularism and democracy (P.C. Bansal), p. 1096-1099.
- Joshi, K.C. The law of government liability in tort with reference to India. (S.S. Singh), p. 213-216.
- Kaushik, Susheela. Public administration: an alternative perspective (P.C. Bansal), p. 207-211.
- Khan, M Z. Drug use among the college youth (K.S. Shukla), p. 211-213.

- Klinkers, Leo (ed). Life in public administration : who administers, how, where and with what does one administer; how does one learn to administer (Kofi Ankomah), p. 393-397.
- Kuldip Kaur. Education in India (1781-1985) : policies, planning and implementation (Inder Prabha Sharma), p. 1090-1091.
- Mehta, J.K. Gandhian thought—an analytical study, p. 408.
- Misra, Girish. Economic systems. (Kamal Nayan Kabra), p. 390-393.
- Muthayya, B.C. (B.C. Muthayya, R.N. Tripathy, M.L. Santhanam and O.N. Srivastava). Rehabilitation of displaced villagers : a plan (K.P. Singh) p. 205-207.
- Narain, Udai. Parliamentary control of public administration in India, p. 407.
- Pai, Sudha. Changing agrarian relations in U.P.—a study of the North-eastern areas. (M.L. Sudan), p. 199-201.
- Pamecha, Renuka. Elite in a tribal society (B.B. Sahoo), p. 1110-1112.
- Pandey, Lallan Behari. State executive (P.C. Bansal), p. 401-404.
- Pandit, M.L. Industrial development in the Punjab and Haryana. (Kamta Prasad), p. 197-199.
- Pearson, Scott R. (C. Peter Timmer, Walter P. Nelson and Scott R. Pearson). Food policy analysis (R.S. Khanna), p. 201-205.
- Pema Ram. Agrarian movement in Rajasthan, p. 409.
- Raichaudhuri, Srabani. Dimensions of political communication, West Bengal : 1970s (Sukendra Prasad Singh), p. 1105-1108.
- Raza, Moonis (ed). Educational planning : a long term perspective, (S.K. Sharma), p. 1095-1096.
- Sapru, R.K. Civil service administration in India (B.S. Khanna), p. 398-400.
- Sapru, R.K. Management of public sector enterprises in India (S.N. Sadasivan), p. 1101-1104.
- Shastri, Prakash C. Socialist thought in India, p. 410.
- Singh, S.N. The dilemmas of Indian polity (Asok Mukhopadhyay), p. 1104-1105.
- Tarsem Lal. District development planning—a case study of two districts (M.L. Sudan), p. 384-386.
- Timmer, C. Peter (C. Peter Timmer, Walter P. Nelson and Scott R. Pearson). Food policy analysis (R.S. Khanna), p. 201-205.
- Valaramulu, C.H. Administration of anti-poverty programmes : a study of SFDA, (S.K. Pachauri), p. 388-389.



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by Shri B.K. Nehru,  
p. 412-423.

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Shri U.C. Agarwal, p. 424-433.

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Printed and Published by Brij Bhushan, Registrar, for the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, and printed at Times Press, 910 Jatwara Street, Tiraha Behram Khan, Darya Ganj, New Delhi-110002

# THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

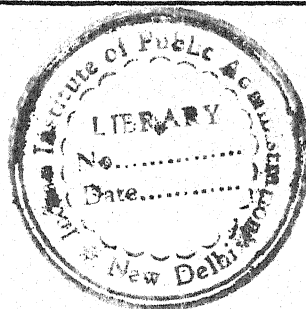
VOL. XXXII

January-March 1986

No. 1

Subscription { Inland—Annual : Rs. 60.00, Single Copy : Rs. 20.00  
Special No. (for Non-Subscribers): Rs. 50.00  
Abroad—Annual: £10.00 or \$25.00. Single Copy: £3.00 or \$7.00

## CONTENTS



6 OCT

Page

### Editorial

### Articles

'Sound' of a New Bureaucracy: An African Example

DAVID HIRSCHMANN

1

Federal-Financial Relations in India: Evolution of Provincial Finance

PHUL CHAND

19

Role of Grants-in-Aid in Indian Federation

R. SUDARSANA RAO

49

Evaluating Planning Machinery at Sub-National Level: An Integrated Framework

Y. VENUGOPAL REDDY

Strategies for Rural Development in Countries of Asia-Pacific Region: An Overview

S. MD. AMINUZZAMAN

65

Characteristics of Large Service Organisations in a Developing Country Like India: A Conceptual Model

G. RAMESH

77

Job Satisfaction of Village Extension Workers in Rajasthan

RAVINDRA SHARMA

92

Value System in Administration

KRISHNA MOHAN MATHUR

104

Housing for the Poor

P.S.A. SUNDARAM

147

Computerised Financial Information System in Government  
of Gujarat--A Case Study

R.K. SACHDEVA AND R.G. KAJAREKAR

169

**Note**

Using Computers for Malaria Eradication

ARUN DEEKSHIT

185

**Book Reviews**

Governmental Structure and Local Public Finance

(David L. Chicoine and Norman Walzer)

MOHIT BHATTACHARYA

190

Essays in Public Administration (P.R. Dubhashi)

HARBANS PATHAK

192

Morale in the Civil Service: A Study of Section Officers  
in the Rajasthan Secretariat (P.S. Bhatnagar)

N. UMAPATHY

194

Industrial Development in the Punjab and Haryana

(M.L. Pandit)

KAMTA PRASAD

197

Changing Agrarian Relations in UP--A Study of the  
North-Eastern Areas (Sudha Pai)

M.L. SUDAN

199

Food Policy Analysis (C. Peter Timmer, Walter P. Nelson  
and Scott R. Pearson)

A Study in Indian Food Policy--Institution and Incentive  
in India's Food Security Structure (B.M. Bhatia)

R.S. KHANNA

201

Rehabilitation of Displaced Villagers: A Plan

(B.C. Muthayya, et. al.)

K.P. SINGH

205

Public Administration: An Alternative Perspective

(Susheela Kaushik)

P.C. BANSAL

207

Drug Use Among the College Youth ( M.Z. Khan)

K.S. SHUKLA

211

The Law of Government Liability in Tort with Reference  
to India (K.C. Joshi)

S.S. SINGH

213

Protection of Minorities and Scheduled Castes

(S.K. Ghosh)

B.C. MATHUR

216

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### Articles

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## EDITORIAL

FOR LONG there has been a clamour for replacement of Weberian concept of bureaucracy with "something new, innovative and action-oriented, that is development administration". David Hirschmann, in a scholarly but provocative survey of this problem, refers to the theoretical developments and changing perspectives of bureaucracy in the African context. The situation will not be very different in most of the developing countries in Latin America or Asia, though the specific case study relates to Lesotho. As the writer brings out, the demand is for a bureaucracy which pays great attention to performance rather than procedures, and which is task-oriented in structure and participatory in working. Hope is expressed that through this the growing gap between the poor and the bureaucracy will get narrowed. The case study brings out how, where and why the things go wrong. The writer acknowledges that his article is 'harsh' from an angle, but it is of interest as "it is primarily about texture, tone, style and language--in short, the 'sound' of bureaucracy". And he goes on to say: "The new bureaucratic lexicon certainly took on some new features and emphasis: 'constraints' replaced 'problems' and 'bottlenecks' 'shortages'. 'Parameters' replaced 'limits', and 'increments' 'increases'. 'Exploitation' or/and 'utilization' took over from 'use'. 'Transport' could mean a 'truck', 'manpower' a 'truck driver', 'prioritization' was used in place of 'choose', and 'cost-benefit analysis' was regularly referred to when 'pros and cons' would have sufficed. This was the world (or 'operating environment') of estimates and guestimates, project formulation and evaluation, and projections and feasibility studies. Memoranda, negotiations, meetings, agenda, corridors and offices, and even bars, were full of integrated rural development projects, pilot projects, policy framework, transport surveys, manpower surveys and socio-economic data. And it was always essential to observe that although health services were curative in nature, they would soon become preventive; that although planning was a top-down process, it would become bottom-up in time; and to preface all good proposals and assessments with the inseparable, magical words 'political', 'social' and 'economic' ". It may be worthwhile to quote from the concluding paragraph also: " 'Advisers'



were to be replaced by 'consultants'; 'administration' by 'management', 'calculators' by 'computers', 'proposals' by 'systems', 'performance' by 'printouts' and 'deadlines' by 'critical paths'. But while the sound was going to undergo some changes, the reality of bureaucracy seemed destined not to." Does it not sound very familiar?

Phul Chand provides a broad historical survey of the federal financial relations in India since the establishment of the British rule. The narrative, covering pre-Independence era and the era after enforcement of the Constitution, provides a detailed background for our thinking today about the fiscal and financial tensions which are evident. Sarkaria Commission is seized of the matter. The planning process has not necessarily served as solvent of these tensions. We may share the author's optimistic observation "that the history of federal financial relations in India is in a sense the history of constitutional developments in the country and the people's struggle for independence and national integration". But one is apt to question if that is enough for the problems of today and tomorrow. That in fact indicates the need for a dispassionate and indepth analysis of the issues involved so that the regional aspirations get harmonised with national needs and priorities. R. Sudarsana Rao discusses the allied operational problems of 'The Role of Grants-in-aid in Indian Federation'. Some of the important aspects, identified by the author and about which there may not be difference of opinion, have to be scrutinised in the light of our experience to arrive at 'a rational policy' since this seems to elude us in the 'politics of scarcity'.

Y. Venugopal Reddy makes a worthwhile contribution in practical terms to what is commonly known as 'multi-level planning'. He attempts an integrated framework for evaluating planning machinery at sub-national levels. It has been recognised as a crucial problem of our planning process and performance. Reddy provides informative and useful guidelines for consideration by the political masters as well as the administrators concerned with planning and development in the country. Though couched in simple terms, the article, due to its significance, merits wider discussion.

S. Md. Aminuzzaman, in his paper, "attempts to review some of the dominant strategies and models of rural development

in the light of the experiences of the countries in the Asia-Pacific Region". He briefly discusses the strategies, models and approaches which have been worked out during the last two decades or so, both in conceptual terms as well as from operational angle. The role and approach of some important institutions, such as the World Bank, the UN, USAID and Asian Development Bank, have also been indicated. The author rightly concludes: "An effective rural development strategy is basically the product of a systemic interaction of the components where patterns of asset distribution, organisations and institutions, incentive systems, mode of production and production relationships and selected endogenous and exogenous factors maintain a dynamic equilibrium. However, the success or effectiveness of such strategy would depend not so much on technical inputs and token changes in administrative infrastructure but on conscious and deliberate reforms with total political commitment." An informative survey of the status of rural development strategies, it should help to stimulate more informed discussion among policy-makers as well as those who are engaged in the multiple tasks of rural development.

G. Ramesh attempts to provide a conceptual model of organisational characteristics of large sized service organisations and advances some interesting hypotheses "to provide link between the structure, behaviour and performance" of such organisations. A brief review of the existing literature on the subject precedes the discussion of features and the designing of the conceptual model. He concludes with accent on the need for "dynamic perspective" in organisational life. Ramesh's article is of particular use and interest to the students of organisational theory and behaviour.

When the stress is on the strengthening of the grassroots administration or on sharpening the cutting edge of administration, the job satisfaction of the functionaries at this level of administration assumes significance. Ravindra Sharma reminds us that the concepts of motivation, morale and job satisfaction are inter-related and he goes on to discuss in this context the problem of job satisfaction of the Village Extension Workers in Rajasthan. Though the article has a limited focus, it is of wider relevance and deals with an area where greater empirical research is called for.

We have included in this number two prize winning essays of IIPA's Annual Essay Competition for the year 1985. The Institute announces every year the subjects and prizes are awarded at the time of the Annual General Body Meeting of IIPA Members. The aim is to evoke interest in matters relating to administration and promote creative response among students and practitioners of administration. The essay by P.S.A. Sundaram deals with the theme of 'Housing for the Poor'. The paucity of house is very glaring in the developing countries. Planners do suggest many strategies but the problem remains. The constraint is not only of resources but also of organisational inadequacy. Special agencies get set up and even the private sector vs. public sector debate starts. The author, in his essay, examines the Indian situation. The other prize-winning essay by Dr. Krishna Mohan Mathur deals with issues of 'Value System in Administration'. What is the meaning of the value system in administration? Can they be conceptualised and concretised? What is the relationship of administration as a sub-sector with the value system of the society? Can they be consciously inculcated through training or personal example? Precepts only ritualise the value of so-called value system or ethical dimension of administration. In a wide-ranging article, the author covers such issues, analyses the many inadequacies of administration and suggests steps that may help to promote greater awareness of value system in administration. But intellectual perception is not enough since values must be lived as otherwise all such talk is just homage to hypocrisy.

Computerisation in different areas of administration is expected to cope with the complexities as well as demands of expedition in the administrative set-up. From this angle, the case study relating to 'Computerised Financial Information System in Government of Gujarat' by R.K. Sachdeva and R.C. Kajarekar may have lessons for other state governments. A brief analysis by Arun Deekshit about the use of computers for monitoring of malaria eradication programme is similarly of interest to the community.

The present issue also carries the usual feature of Book Reviews.

## 'Sound' of a New Bureaucracy : An African Example

DAVID HIRSCHMANN

IN 1964, an American scholar, Edward Weidner, after having observed 12 years of American technical assistance to newly independent countries in Asia, concluded that the attempted transfer of "Weberian, or presumed Weberian, rationality" to poor countries must be replaced by something new, innovative and action-oriented, that is **development administration**.<sup>1</sup> He was one among many who urged the new bureaucracies of Asia and Africa to find radically different ways of relating themselves to their people and managing public affairs. Ten years later, despite little progress in these novel directions, one still heard American scholars, such as Gross and Esman, calling for a new type of civil service, one which emphasised performance rather than procedures, task-oriented structures and, above all, participatory planning and administration.<sup>2</sup> In Gross' words, the bureaucracies had to become "less oligarchic, less technocratic, less stratified ... and more deeply rooted in the aspirations and needs of the ordinary people".<sup>3</sup> And in the eighties, David Korten is still calling for reform measures to help close the growing gap between the bureaucracy and the poor. These measures include:

- (a) introduction of planning methods which allow action to be guided by a knowledge of the lives of the poor and the dynamics of the social and physical ecologies that sustain their poverty;
- (b) approaches to restructuring individual government agencies in ways which make it possible for their personnel to facilitate growth in the capacity for choice and action of those they serve; and
- (c) changes in the linkages between individual institutions required to break down barriers to collaborative action on complex problems, and in the meta-structures which shape governance processes to make decentralised levels of government more responsive to the people they serve.<sup>4</sup>

To make a long story (and there was a considerable volume of literature along these lines) short, the call was essentially for the bureaucracy to turn itself on its head, to debureaucratise itself: routines, procedures, hierarchies, compartmentalisation were all to be de-emphasised; task-orientation, flexibility, integration, people-participation and development were to replace them.

However, civil services the Third World over have not changed; they have remained bureaucratic, and elitist.<sup>5</sup>

The basic organisation and structure of the South Asian bureaucracies were determined during the Raj and members are still trained as 'generalists' on the basis of British traditions. Despite the decolonisation of these societies, the elitist nature of these services has not changed. They are still recruited from the top universities and on the basis of criteria inherited from the days of the Raj. The selection is primarily determined by a candidate's Western value orientation and proficiency in the English language.<sup>6</sup>

And where the rules have broken down, the results have often not been the positive ones anticipated by those looking for reform. Quah notes, for example, that bureaucratic corruption among Southeast Asian nations has become "one of the most serious and embarrassing obstacles to national development."<sup>7</sup>

The article focuses on the nature of bureaucracy (in the area of governmental responsibility) of a 'new' country, namely, Lesotho, a very small, extremely poor and dependent, landlocked and mountainous country in Southern Africa, which attained political independence from Britain in 1966. The period of reference is the first half-a-dozen years or so after independence, that is the period immediately after the break with colonial administration during which a fledgling civil service faced a daunting array of problems and responsibilities; a process complicated by the comings and goings of expatriate advisers (still predominantly British) and the difficulties of localisation of senior and middle level posts. The focus is on administration of planning process, planning being regarded at the time throughout the Third World as a reform essential to progress and development.<sup>8</sup>

The article provides a contextual framework for the issues to be discussed: the very real substantive problems confronted by the administrators need to be explained. It is, however, primarily about texture, tone, style and language--in short, the 'sound' of bureaucracy. By stepping into the world of the Lesotho civil servants at that time, and listening carefully to them, its purpose is to record

that 'sound' to indicate how well recognised bureaucratic jargon came to mingle with modern terminology of planning and development, and to juxtapose the new sound with the reality, namely that the old established characteristics of bureaucracy--as described in any textbook or reader--remained firmly entrenched in Lesotho.

The new bureaucratic lexicon certainly took on some new features and emphasis: 'constraints' replaced 'problems', and 'bottlenecks', 'shortages'. 'Parameters' replaced 'limits', and 'increments', 'increases'. 'Exploitation' or/and 'utilisation' took over from 'use'. 'Transport' could mean a 'truck', 'manpower' a 'truck driver', 'prioritisation' was used in place of 'choose', and 'cost-benefit analysis' was regularly referred to when 'pros and cons' would have sufficed. This was the world (or 'operating environment') of estimates and 'guesstimates', project formulation and evaluation, projections and feasibility studies. Memoranda, negotiations, meetings, agenda, corridors and offices, and even bars, were full of integrated rural development projects, pilot projects, policy frameworks, transport surveys, manpower surveys and socio-economic data. And it was always essential to observe that although health services were curative in nature, they would soon become preventive; that although planning was a top-down process, it would become bottom-up in time; and to preface all good proposals and assessments with the inseparable, magical words 'political, social and economic'.

The new language was, of course, faddish to some extent, but it was also important. Plans, project and aid--the keys to survival and growth of ministries and to the success of their officials--depended to no small extent on getting language right. Guess wrote, "the often volatile and manipulative political context of organisations tortion to throw outsiders ... off the trail"<sup>9</sup>. Hummel observed:

A language that does not allow mutual definition and redefinition by speaker and hearer is admirably designed to maintain a one-way power relationship from the top down... The client's only chance is to learn the language of the agency from which he or she seeks service and accepts the kind of help that is codified into its vocabulary.<sup>10</sup>

Finally Goulet has noted:

The exercise of social control by technological elites is greatly facilitated by the arcane language and symbolism they employ. If knowledge is power, then esoteric knowledge is by definition, inaccessible power.<sup>11</sup>

The economists in the newly founded Central Planning Office had the advantage. They controlled the new expertise, and they intended to use it. The non-economists, and that was the vast majority of middle to senior level officers, soon realised that they could make up for this to some extent by familiarising themselves with the new buzz-words and by interjecting them strategically into conversations and proposals.

The new technically-pitched language, even if less than fully understood, gave one access to negotiations. It did not overcome deficiencies in expertise, and it lacked the bite necessary for the "volatile and manipulative political context" in which bureaucratic conflict takes place. So it had to be blended with another more predominant mode of speech, one representative of an aggressive and unsympathetic attitude towards the work of one's 'colleagues' in other departments. There was in these years a readiness to criticise and downgrade others: a readiness observed so regularly that it should be seen as a broadly practised bureaucratic strategy--by diminishing other departments, one builds up one's own. There was little effort made to show understanding for, or patience with, difficulties experienced by other agencies, while reasons were always available to explain the deficiencies of one's own. All departments, for example, suffered to some extent from lack of adequately trained and experienced staff. The failings of one's own agency were attributed to "Cabinet (Personnel) not giving us anything like the staff we need", "the wasteful transfer of our best people", "a training programme which takes our most promising professionals overseas", "the Head of Department having to attend conferences abroad", etc. By contrast, other departments seldom received such understanding, and would be severely criticised for inefficiency and weak performance. This primary commitment to one's sub-unit (rather than to the civil service as a whole) embraced expatriate advisers as well. Part of the reason for importing foreign 'experts' is to boost the expertise and influence of a particular agency, and visitors were, therefore, soon thrown into the fray. While their interests were not as closely tied to their departments as those of their local counterparts, they nevertheless participated fully in the hurly-burly of inter-departmental conflict, backing up complaints and charges against others, and defending their own agencies (and themselves).

Into this environment, a small group of planners was introduced. The development administration school of reformers foresaw the establishment and evolution of the planning machinery as part of a systematic exercise in administrative reform. In practice, it turned out to be a case of a new sub-unit struggling to increase its influence in conflict and competition with other better established sub-units

of the Lesotho civil service. It has been observed that vested interests, which characterise bureaucracies, often oppose a 'new order', which renders uncertain the 'differential advantage' they derive from standing arrangements,<sup>12</sup> Also that, in the face of uncertainty, bureaucracies respond either by closing the system boundary or (if that is impossible, which it was in this case) by creating special cells to deal with and contain the disturbing element.<sup>13</sup>

Opposition, suspicion and containment confronted the Central Planning Office (CPO). The relatively youthful planners (the 'youth' issue will be dealt with later) saw themselves as central to government interest and vital to nation-building, and they tended to say so. Other ministries, however, concerned with their own autonomy and their freedom to compete for resources were very wary indeed of any moves to extend the control of the planners. The planners soon complained about their lack of influence, about the fact that nobody, politicians or officials, took planning seriously, and about lack of cooperation from the ministries.

... politicians make us prepare projects in a very short time ... it is very embarrassing and you can't do a good job because the collection of data and information and preparation and consultation take time.

When these projects went off (after OPEC countries offered additional aid to Africa) the whole planning process broke down. That was the big boys playing stupid games and there was nothing we could do about that. Everybody got gold in their eyes and started thinking money would flow like oil. Some bizarre things went off ... and, of course, they came back again.

They also bemoaned their lack of manpower to do what was expected of them. Ministries were more than ready to agree that the planners were not doing their job, but they were less than enthusiastic about enlarging the CPO. When the CPO got its way in 1973, the decision to increase its staff did not receive universal approval. "I hear they are hanging out of the windows now, not sure what to do with themselves", someone in the Budget Office commented. Another officer put it more politely:

If one compares the size of the CPO with certain relevant factors, it is, in fact, too big. Ten local professionals and four expatriates are provided for. A capital development programme of R3-4 million (+\$5-6 million, then) per annum does not warrant that



staff, nor a recurrent budget of R10-12 million. Also, for a population of one million and a small geographical area, the CPO is overstaffed.

The planners' response was that the increase in qualified personnel would enable them to attract, and prepare for, a far larger capital development programme--which they were to succeed in doing.

Being weak from the outset, the CPO set out to enhance its power in the civil service. One way was to try to find the most advantageous administrative location for the office. In seeking, but not finding, satisfaction, the Office was moved regularly from the Prime Minister's to the Finance Minister's office and back again. While the planners were seeking influence, other departments were concerned with supervision and containment of the office. Some officers felt that the Prime Minister would control it more effectively. Others argued that the Prime Minister was too busy to keep an eye on it, and that it belonged under the Finance Minister: he was an economist, he was tough, and he would ensure that the planners "would not get away with any monkey business" It would, of course, also improve coordination between budgeters and planners and lead to more rational and mutually supportive capital and recurrent budgets:

CPO should be in the same ministry as the Budget Office ... budget preparation involves all ministries and this could be a starting point for coordination. The budget people tend to be fiscalist--and see everything in money terms only. By putting planning in with them, it would force them to think more broadly in economic terms and force cooperation between the two and coordination of the ministries.

In order to strengthen their position, and to make planning work, the CPO saw it as essential that all foreign aid negotiations be channelled through it, and that progress reports on on-going projects be submitted regularly by the ministries. Resistance by officials in the ministries was sometimes subtle, sometimes less so (Crozier's "subtle communications system of 'old-timers'"<sup>14</sup> and Dimock's 'retreatism'<sup>15</sup> could clearly be observed at work) to prevent the planners moving in on their domain, and their own inadequacies emerging. Whenever possible, they circumvented the CPO (despite a circular from the Prime Minister to the contrary) and went directly to foreign donors for aid.

Our experience taught us that if we follow that strictly we shall never get anything at all .... Everytime I go overseas I talk to

people and this is how we have managed to get the little progress we have. I ignore planning, foreign affairs, and everybody, and go ahead.

They also did not prepare progress reports. The planners pointed out that these reports constituted essential feedback to the planning process, enabling them to update and reformulate projects. The ministries were unmoved; they remained unwilling or incapable of responding. According to one planner, ministries would respond to his requests by asking: "Why do you come along and keep disturbing us for all this information and what are you going to make of it?" Another planner described his experience as follows:

I have had no success in getting progress reports. If you have to send a savingram requesting information, they don't reply. If you phone and say you are coming to get it, when you get there they tell you they haven't got it. They look at you as if they wonder whether you think they have got nothing better to do than prepare information for the CPO.

The ministries argued that not only did the preparation of these reports take too much time, but that there was no point to do it.

CPO don't react in the way of remedial action .... CPO did nothing ... we felt they just threw them in the wastepaper basket ... When we stopped sending reports ... they did not ask about it until a donor agency would ask for information.

Another example of resistance was observed when the CPO attempted to encourage establishment of planning units in all the major ministries. The planners saw this as necessary to sound sectoral planning and to the more effective integration of planning into governmental decision-making. Some ministries acknowledged the usefulness of the idea, but others saw it as an extension of an office of which they were suspicious. This latter group saw it as 'empire-building': 'they want to put their boys in our ministries'. One way in which this opposition emerged was in terms of a professed deep mistrust of other professional disciplines. The interdisciplinary integrated approach to development, so important to the tenets of development administration, did not rate highly here.

I don't believe that an economist is necessarily the right planner .... They can never understand the machinations of our particular profession [medicine] and as a result they make errors.

Professional people who understand the technical engineering side must be responsible for planning ... for example, the costing, engineering, feasibility studies of a road project or a water project could only be dealt with by professionals .... There is no need for a Planning Unit here at all.

The economists too had their prejudices:

Doctors are not planning kind of people. Professionally, they deal with patients on a one to one basis and they are used to situations where they get the best that is around for each patient and don't see that as taking away from other patients. They are not used to statistical magnitudes, or to thinking ahead.

When in place in these ministries, the planning units struggled to gain acceptance, status and relevance to policy-making. One senior officer in the Ministry of Works--years after the planning unit had been set up in his Ministry--denied any knowledge of the unit. He said that projects were prepared in his office and sent on. "I don't know of the existence of a planning unit in the Ministry. I never came into contact with it either in planning or preparing projects".

Another method employed to undermine the influence of the Planning Office was to keep up a steady barrage of strong criticism of the office ends its work. It was variously described as a 'bottleneck', 'a begging office', 'a post office, and an inefficient one at that', as 'lethargic' as 'dealing with everything and nothing' and 'just waffling around, getting down to nothing'. There was certainly good cause for criticism, but some of the problems could not be blamed on the CPO. For example, the reference to a 'begging office', was meant to convey the view that the planners were interested solely in seeking foreign aid, and were not in fact engaged in planning; but aid was exactly what the political leadership wanted, and demanded from the planners. A cause of much negative comment--again in an area over which the CPO had little contact--concerned the youth and inexperience of its personnel who were referred to as 'a kindergarten', 'small boys', 'children', and 'the kids on Kingsway' (the Planning Office was sited on Kingsway, the main street of the capital, Maseru). A young planner explained:

You have a generation gap. CPO is staffed almost entirely with very young bright upstart college graduates, and I think people in the ministries--just because in Lesotho society elders are held in great respect--cannot take these people seriously no matter what their qualifications.

It was condemned for basing decisions on inadequate data, for failing to keep up with changes in the field, for lack of guidance and for lack of planning. There was not much the CPO could do immediately to solve some of these weaknesses, and some of them were aggravated by lack of cooperation from the very departments criticising it. "Since I have been here", an expatriate economist, who had been in the Ministry of Works for fifteen months, commented, "I don't remember anything as far as planning is concerned". A senior Lesotho official in the Ministry of Agriculture observed (the 'puns' appeared to be unintended):

We are still living from hand to mouth--just when an idea comes up, for example an irrigation project, we all flock there--we do the thing and see to it that ultimately funds are made available ... and then another idea crops up, for example, woolwashing--we flock to it. But in fact there is no planning.

They were censured too for lack of coordination, often by people who made it clear that they had no wish to be co-ordinated; for failing to provide 'guiding parameters' ("According to the planners the sky is the limit--this is hogwash, no policy") sometimes by officials who would strongly resist any limitations suggested by the planners; and for poor project appraisal. "As far as I am concerned", commented one planning unit economist, "there is no questioning, pertinent or inane, either about specific projects or economic details, or, obviously, on technical details, or on the package as a whole". A planning unit economist in another ministry gave the following example:

I prepared two projects for construction of clinics in the most appalling positions--fortunately one got lost [in the CPO], but the other we have got the money for. Its in a very thinly populated, remote, inaccessible spot--some Chief was quite keen. The Principal Secretary [of our ministry] okayed it and the CPO never queried it .... There was no road of any description and it was on the wrong side of the river. CPO never asked what the basis of the decision was, nor for population figures, distances from other clinics, none of which had been explained.

The planners responded with a list of constraints to effective planning in Lesotho, most of which found their origin outside the Planning Office: there was lack of a data base for planning and it would take time for the Bureau of Statistics to improve on this; project preparation in most of the ministries was defective, in some

cases it was hopeless; politicians did not take planning seriously and thus set a poor example to civil servants; ministries were unwilling to submit documents in time to fit in with deadlines; and donors pressed their own requirements and schedules on the planners:

The Lesotho Government has been in a position much more of a passive reactor than of active agent ... we have adjusted ourselves to the donors' procedures, mainly because we did not have our own procedures, and that led to terrible confusion.

They also pointed out, and with some justification, that as time passed, planning was improving and that it was producing concrete results in the form of the initiation of projects. In response to yet another criticism, that they really did not understand the technical and administrative aspects of the work of the ministries, the planners conceded that they were obviously not trained in all technical fields; however, they went on to explain that when ministries accused the CPO of lack of understanding, what they really were saying was that CPO did not fully appreciate their 'vital' contribution to development, and therefore directed too few resources in their direction. They also pointed out another problematic division in the administration of planning:

People who implement often complain about people who are planning, simply because the difficulties are qualitatively different, and it is also easy for people doing planning not to appreciate the difficulties of implementers; and it is not a characteristic of implementers that they have planning capability. So there is reasonable ground for breakdown.

The CPO, initially a very small fluidly organised agency, consisting of young local officers anxious 'to get the country moving' set out to plan with a minimum of paperwork. This disregard for routines and procedures (of which the development administration reformists may have approved) attracted extremely hostile comment. A stress on conformity and reliability, which transforms an adherence to rules from a means to an end is a long observed trait of bureaucracy. The familiar process of displacement of goals<sup>16</sup>, and of 'ritualism' indicated by an emphasis on institutional means at the expense of overall goals<sup>17</sup> are, of course, long-recognised bureaucratic characteristics. Inefficiency and poor document management would be a cause of strong criticism in any civil service. In a small new civil service, in an area like economic planning, it becomes an even more significant issue. In evaluating, departmental performance, the level

of 'efficiency' is the one measure that all administrators have sufficient expertise on which to make an informed assessment. There was no large body of officials qualified to judge the substantive planning of the office (as there would not be to assess, say, the professional proficiency of civil engineers or veterinary surgeons). So efficiency became the simplest common denominator of evaluation, and the new CPO failed the test.

I think their filing system is to dump everything in the backyard that comes through the front door.

One does get a feeling that project memoranda are drifting all in different directions and not getting where you want them to get. For example [X] project--I sent it off to Planning 18 months ago and I've not heard of it since.

'Finger-pointing' is yet another negative trait of bureaucratic organisations which this new bureaucracy lived up to. Dimock commented on resistances which are so elusive that it is next to impossible to spot where exactly the slowing down process occurs. "It is as though each person has his finger pointed at the next person ... and no one individual can be pinned down."<sup>18</sup> This phenomenon is implied in many of the examples given so far. But a particularly striking illustration concerned the Ministry of Works' responsibilities at the planning and implementation stages of projects. During the former, Ministry of Works (MOW) was responsible for designing and costing all construction projects, and at the latter stage it undertook the construction itself or negotiated contracts with private firms. All the other ministries, in particular the Planning and Budget Offices, saw How as a very serious 'bottleneck', lacking executive capacity, and failing to implement more than half of the scheduled projects each financial year. This led to a considerable loss of British money which, if not spent within the planned twelve months, returned to the British Treasury. MOW officials pointed out that through no fault of theirs, the Ministry was short of qualified staff.

It is all very easy to criticize the Architect's Department--but there isn't an Architect ... and because people in other ministries address letters to us entitled 'Chief Architect' they think they have got an Architect.

They blamed this shortage of personnel on the uncompetitive salaries offered to engineers by the Lesotho Government, the unbalanced local

educational system which produced predominantly social science graduates, sluggish recruitment procedures by the Government Personnel Office, resignations of senior expatriates who left out of a sense of frustration, and because other ministries did not comply with MOW's requirements and schedules.

Late in the financial year, a ministry will wake up and come rushing in and say "We must get this project built or else we lose the money". But it is too late.

Above all, they claimed, they were unable to complete their work each year because of continual and lengthy delays in getting funds released from the Budget Office. "An enormous amount of time" of a number of senior officers "is wasted trying to find out why we haven't got cash and trying to get cash released?" The Budget Office flatly denied that this was a problem:

There are procedures for obtaining the release of funds. Any ministry can obtain funds for projects that have been passed under the correct heads.

Following correct routines, money could be released within one day. The MOW was adamant that this was not the case.

It is just not so for Finance to say that ministries can get release of funds within one day ... I have personally gone up there and waited two days and came away with nothing ... and I cannot fathom the delay.

Ledgers were displayed which showed that many projects had been forced to operate in the red for a whole year, the release of funds coming through in the last week of the financial year. Both parties stuck to their interpretations of the cause of delay and the Government continued to lose aid which the donor had agreed in principle to give.

Subsumed in this article so far, and in the notion of competing sub-units and sub-unit ideologies, is another bureaucratic characteristic, that of 'we'-relationships and 'they'-relationships. While this usually refers to the civil servants as 'we' and the public as 'they',<sup>19</sup> it is also directly relevant to inter-agency conflict within the bureaucracy itself. The relevance will be illustrated with three examples, all of them close to the heart of development administration. The first deals with planning and budgeting. All

the literature on development planning concurs that the key to effective planning is a close and supportive relationship between the Budget Office and the Planning Office. In Lesotho, at this time, nowhere was inter-agency conflict more intense than between these two offices. The Budget Office was concerned with raising local revenues, controlling local expenditures and balancing the budget. Not surprisingly in a country as poor as Lesotho, its ideology was 'solvency'. "Above all", the Budget Controller stated sternly, "the Government of Lesotho has to remain solvent". The CPO, by contrast, had the responsibility of attracting and facilitating the spending of money (mainly foreign) with the purpose of implementing new projects. Its ideology was 'development' which also meant 'expenditure'. Thus on a question of say, recurrent costs of new projects, the two offices were set up for conflict. Further, the Budget Office's task of controlling expenditure required close attention to, and respect for, routines, procedures, etc. The planners in these early years saw routines as a colonial hangover which delayed real progress. In addition, the Budget Office was dominated by middle-aged British advisers, the Planning Office by young locals. Negative stereotypes developed quickly. The planners saw, and described, the budgeters as old-fashioned, tight-fisted and rigid, while the budgeters saw the planners as inexperienced, irresponsible, inefficient and over-optimistic. Each accused the other of encroaching on his terrain, which in practice was almost inevitable. It took a number of years, and not before the heads of both offices were transferred, for this conflict to be resolved.

The second example is not based on any substantial conflict of office ideologies. It shows rather how the 'we-they' syndrome operated primarily because two agencies--in this case doing very similar things -- were located in two separate ministries. The CPO, as we have seen, moved between the Finance Ministry and the Prime Minister's office. The Town and Country Planning Department was in the Ministry of Interior, where it was left to flounder in its own ineffectiveness. The first town plan for the capital was a good one, but on the departure of the designer it was lost. A second town planner produced a second plan: it was inferior to the first, and was ignored by both planners and politicians. The third town planner discovered the first plan, but refused to use it: he was soon to be accused of corruption and ordered to leave the country. One Assistant Town Planner committed suicide and the other left the country at the end of his contract. So by 1974, there was still no physical plan for Maseru or anywhere else in the country, and no professionals in the office. Support and interest were in very short supply in the



CPO. A Planning Officer responded to a question about this:

Occasionally they say how badly we need a plan for Maseru, and how nobody pays attention to the plans they make for Maseru, and occasionally I hear that they are rushing off somewhere to survey something. I haven't been impressed that they do anything. I have no idea what they do, but whatever it is they don't do very much of it ... and what they do nobody pays any attention to ... As far as I am concerned there is no Maseru town plan, and there have been town planners wandering around Maseru for the last six years--it's a scandal. It seems irrelevant to my work, but I have not bothered to find out.

The third illustration of the 'we-they' phenomenon, related to decentralisation, another central reform proposal of development administration.<sup>20</sup> In Lesotho, the politicians put a quick end to democratic devolution by closing down the elected District Councils and replacing them with nominated, civil servant controlled District Development Committees. The leadership also blocked planning at district level by appointing politicians as District Development Secretaries, posts which were intended for economists. And the District Administrators, supposedly in charge of the districts, found their status and relevance to decision-making substantially reduced.<sup>21</sup> One District Administrator commented favourably on the 'good old colonial days' when the District Commissioner (as the post was then known) was 'the symbol of authority and coordination' in the districts:

With independence we got ministers, permanent secretaries, assistant ministers, principal administrative secretaries, all with status above the district administrator, and they had around them henchmen who also felt above the DA.

The district administrators saw the district development committees which they chaired as 'useless talking shops', lacking a budget, responsibility, power and implementation capacity. They were very critical of the Planning Office and the planner:

They are not given a chance to gain experience before they are given full responsibility in the central headquarters. For example you will not find one graduate from the university since 1964 in economics or administration who is in the districts. They are in Maseru fiddling with files and they don't understand the contents. They can't make head or tail of the districts because

they have never been there. I am sure they have not been in three-quarters of the country. They never get out of Maseru. CPO projects are irrelevant because they are not started from the grassroots. They are an imposition.

It might be effective with people abroad, but not with the people of Lesotho.

The needs of the districts were not reflected in the First Plan. We didn't know who produced it. It was backed by the Prime Minister and the King and we thought it was some holy book produced outside the country.

The CPO at this stage was hardput to handle the work of the ministries; it would have found it extremely difficult to deal with district planning efforts as well. In addition, given the actions of Lesotho's politicians, the planners had good reason to be skeptical about district planning and development whatever the reason, they chose to ignore the districts and their problems. They pointed out that the District Development Committees lacked the capacity to put planning materials together into documents adaptable to the requirements of development projects. The planners, it seemed, had neither the time nor the inclination to help. Minutes of District Development Committee meetings--a fairly simple method of discovering the problems of the districts--were sent regularly to the CPO but received scanty attention. "[We] think these are nothing. We just throw them away. No one reads it." Since district level institutions provide only a first step in the direction of full participative planning and decision-making, these comments on both sides--by the grassroots, down-to-earth, experienced district officers on one side and by the less experienced, office-bound, professionals on the other--indicate how little progress had been made toward decentralisation in this period.

Taken together, all these conflicts, and the context in which they take place, point to a fundamental problem of bureaucracy. Once Hoyle noted, when he commented on the degree to which civil servants get immersed in the day-to-day problems of their work, that they become insulated from "the massive environmental changes which are affecting the whole fabric of life".<sup>22</sup> Brecht wrote that a "departmental headquarters that contain a thousand employees needs no outside world to be busy: they can keep busy all alone in intra-agency quarrels".<sup>23</sup> Because of the way in which discussion was oriented, it would be wrong to conclude from the contents of this article alone that Lesotho's civil servants were more concerned with housekeeping issues than with the impact of their activities on the world outside. Yet it is clear that a substantial amount of time, energy and thought

were being devoted to creating and overcoming such inter-agency resistances and divisions as have been observed. Given Lesotho's economic predicament, such scarce resources as time, energy and thought of high level officials could usefully have been applied in other ways.

This article is harsh in that it has overlooked those officers who made an effort to work constructively with, and to understand the problems and goals of, their colleagues in other departments. There were some, but they were in minority. It also does not give enough credit to these civil servants for their frankness and readiness to discuss sometimes sensitive issues. It should also be re-emphasised that these early years were an unusually difficult and unsettled time for administrators and planners alike. Nevertheless it remains true to say that the sound of this civil service at that moment in its history was essentially acrimonious and bureaucratic.

The sound was to change in time. For one thing, development fads change and the new ones bring with them their own package of terms. For another, planning began to improve from about 1972-73 onwards: it became more efficiently administered (and all expressed great relief at this), donors became more interested in Lesotho, projects got under way, and the planners were taken more seriously by their colleagues. And the terminology of economics had to begin absorbing the new buzzwords of the coming computer age. 'Advisers' were to be replaced by 'consultants'; 'administration' by 'management', 'calculators' by 'computers', 'proposals' by 'systems', 'proformas' by 'printouts' and 'deadlines' by 'critical paths'.<sup>24</sup> But while the sound was going to undergo some changes, the reality of bureaucracy seemed destined not to.)

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# Federal-Financial Relations in India: Evolution of Provincial Finance

PHUL CHAND

FEDERALISM IN India has evolved out of unitarism, and the unitary arrangements of government emerged from a situation of British possessions in India being completely independent of each other and dealing directly with the mother government in great Britain.

To begin with, the Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras were independent of each other and each government was absolute within its limits. "But the need for a common policy in the face of foreign enemies was apparent; and when the disorder of the East India Company's finances and suspicions about the fortunes amassed by its servants in India drove Parliament to intervene, it was wisely decided to create one supreme government in the country".<sup>1</sup> The East India Company Act of 1773 (commonly known as the Regulating Act), gave Bengal a position of ascendancy over other presidencies and the title of Governor-General was conferred on the administrative head of that province. The East India Company Act of 1784 (commonly known as Pitt's Act) designated the Government of Bengal as the supreme government and the powers of the Governor-General and the Council were also enlarged to some extent and the Charter Act of 1793 further emphasised this "power of superintendence, direction and control".

However, in matters of internal administration, including finance, the three presidencies remained independent of one another.

## CENTRALISED SYSTEM OF FINANCE (1833-71)

### The Charter Act of 1833

The Charter Act of 1833 brought about the final stage in the process of centralisation by introducing a system of centralised administration and vesting the superintendence, direction and control of the whole civil and military government and revenues (except the taxes raised by the local bodies) in the Governor-General of India-in-Council.

The provinces became the collecting and spending agencies of the

Government of India and ceased to levy any new taxes or to collect the old ones in their own name. In the like manner, the services they administered became a charge of the Government of India, which distributed among the various provinces sums from the Consolidated Fund for maintenance of services. As a result, "the local governments, which practically carried on the whole administration of the country, were left with almost no powers of financial control over the affairs of the respective provinces and no financial responsibility. Everything was rigorously centralised in the supreme government, which took upon itself the entire distribution of the funds needed for the public service throughout India. It controlled the smallest details of every branch of the expenditure; its authority was required for the employment of every person paid with public money, however small his salary, and its sanction was necessary for the grant of funds even for purely local works of improvement, for every local road, and every building, however insignificant".<sup>2</sup>

It led to extravagance as the provincial governments, who were not responsible for raising their revenues or for regulating expenditure within their income, tried to get as much money as possible by maintaining the absolute necessity and urgency of their estimates. General Strachey then wrote, "distribution of the public income degenerated into something like a scramble, in which the most violent had the advantage, with very little attention to reason. As local economy brought no local advantage, the stimulus to avoid waste was reduced to a minimum, and as no local growth of the income led to local means of improvement, the interest in developing the public revenues was also brought down to the lowest level."<sup>3</sup>

Secondly, there was no alert system of audit and accounts and the budget grants were never carefully prepared or checked and "allotments were made by a sort of compromise under which the rival claims were adjusted, not so much by their intrinsic weight, as by the importunity of the applicants".<sup>4</sup> Dr. Ambedkar, therefore, rightly observed, "so long as the Government of India remained without an appropriation budget and a titular authority in the matter of financial control, and the provinces, though by law the weakest of authorities in financial matters, were really the masters of the situation".<sup>5</sup>

Indeed, the system encouraged inefficiency and extravagance.

#### Indian Councils Act, 1861

As a result of the 1857 War of Independence, the direct administration of India was taken over by the Crown in 1858. However, the control of the Central Government over provincial financial matters was not modified by the Indian Councils Act and centralisation

remained the most conspicuous feature of Indian administration.

The finances of the Government of India were subjected to heavy strain during the period 1860 to 1870 and it became impossible to balance the annual budgets. The provincial governments, on the other hand, continued to increase their demands and it was realised that a policy of financial decentralisation was the only way out.

#### FINANCIAL DEVELOPMENTS DURING 1870-1920

##### **Lord Mayo's Reforms**

On December 14, 1870, Lord Mayo issued the historical Financial Resolution, which proposed to enlarge the responsibility and control of the provincial governments in respect of the details of their own expenditure. The charges under jails, registration, police, education, medical services, printing, roads and civil buildings were made over to the control of the provincial governments along with the departmental receipts under these heads. To meet these charges, a sum of £ 4,688,711, which was less by £330,801 than the assignments made for the same services in 1870-71, was granted from the Imperial revenue to the provinces. The provincial governments were expected to find funds for development by re-distribution of expenditure on different departments and by local taxation or by economy in existing expenditure.

The scheme relieved the Imperial Government from the financial chaos caused by constant deficits and the provincial governments got interested in a judicious and economical management of their finances. During the period (1871-72 to 1876-77), the surpluses in the provincial budgets outnumbered the deficits both in frequency and magnitude. The Central Government directly gained an annual relief of £330,801, besides the indirect gain due to economical management of the services by the provincial governments.

The settlement of 1871 was based on the actual expenditure of the provinces for 1870-71, which, on account of past inequalities, was very unequally distributed. In the past, expenditure of different provinces was determined not by their resources or requirements but by the attention their governments succeeded in securing from the Central Government. The existing inequalities were further stereotyped by the 1871 settlement. Secondly, the services transferred to the provinces were relatively few, and further development of the system was urgently called for.

##### **Lord Lytton's Reforms (1877-78 to 1881-82).**

Lord Lytton took the next step in financial decentralisation in 1877. Fresh settlement made with the provincial governments assigned



to them financial control over services connected with general administration, land revenue, excise, stamps, and law and justice, and at the same time gave them the revenues raised from law and justice, excise, stamps, and some miscellaneous items. Any margin of deficit had to be met by an assignment to be determined after taking into account the normal yield of the assigned revenues and their normal rate of growth. Any increase in the revenue, as it stood at the time of assignment, was shared between the Central and the provincial governments--the former had also to bear a share of any decrease.<sup>6</sup> Burma and Assam, however, were given a share of land revenue instead of fixed assignments. Madras preferred to continue the settlement of 1871.

### **Quinquennial Settlements (1882-1904)**

Fresh settlements were made with all the provinces in 1882, in accordance with Government of India's Resolution dated September 30, 1881. Under the settlement, instead of giving to the provincial governments fixed grants of revenue, they were granted the entire yield of some of the sources of revenue and a share in certain Imperial sources of revenue. The receipts from customs, salt, opium, post office and telegraphs remained wholly Imperial. Receipts from excise, forests, licence (now income) tax, stamps and registration were divided equally between the Imperial and the provincial government; while the receipts classified under the head 'Provincial Rates' were made entirely provincial and local, and the receipts from law and justice, public works, and education were also provincialised. The bulk of the receipts from railways and irrigation remained Imperial. The division of expenditure liabilities followed, generally speaking, the incidence of the corresponding heads of receipts. But as the outlay devolving on the provincial governments was larger than the revenues assigned to them, the balance was made up by a percentage on the land revenue of each province, which was otherwise an Imperial receipt.

The settlements gave the provincial governments a direct interest not only in the provincial sources of revenue but also in the divided heads raised within their jurisdiction, and harmoniously united the financial interests of the Imperial and the provincial governments.

The 1882 settlements, being quinquennial, were revised in 1887, 1892 and 1897.

The resumption of provincial surpluses by the Government of India at the close of each quinquennial settlement interfered with the continuity of provincial finance and removed the inducements to the provincial governments to economise. Secondly, each revision caused much irritation and friction between the Central and provincial

governments. Finally, no attempt was made in these settlements to introduce any logical principle to bring the provincial expenditure on a common footing of equality.

In the words of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, "The normal history of a provincial contract is this: two years of screwing and saying and postponement of work; two years of resumed energy on a normal scale, and one year of dissipation of balance in the fear that, if not spent, they will be annexed by the Supreme Government at the time of revision"<sup>7</sup>.

#### Quasi-Permanent Settlements (1904)

In 1904, the system of quasi-permanent settlements was initiated to give greater permanence to the settlements. Under these settlements, the revenues assigned to a provincial government were definitely fixed, and were not subject to alteration by the Government of India, save in the case of grave Imperial necessity or in the event of experience proving the assignment made to have been materially disproportionate to normal provincial requirements<sup>8</sup>.

Generally speaking, the Central Government received the whole of the revenue accruing from opium, salt, customs, mint, posts and telegraphs, railways and tributes from native states, while the provincial governments received the revenues from registration, police, education, medical service and courts and jails. The receipts from land-revenue, excise, stamps, income-tax, and forests were divided between the Imperial and provincial governments, generally in equal proportions. The bulk of the provincial revenues was derived from the divided heads.

The provinces were made responsible for the whole of the expenditure incurred within the province in connection with land revenue, registration, law and justice, police, jails, education, medical, stationery and printing, and provincial civil works. Charges relating to stamps, excise, income-tax and forests were equally divided, while the incidence of irrigation expenditure followed that of the receipts.

The expenditure of the provincial governments, however, exceeded the assigned revenues and the difference was made up by fixed assignments under the land-revenue head; initial lump sum grants for works of public utility, and special grants for the development of police reform, agriculture and education.

The settlements gave the provincial government a more independent position, and a more substantial and enduring interest in the management of their resources than before. They were relieved of the fear of the resumption of their surpluses by the Imperial Government and could count upon a reasonable continuity of financial policy.

The relations between the Imperial Government and the provincial governments became harmonious in the absence of controversies over the settlements.

#### Permanent Settlements (1912)

The Decentralisation Commission<sup>9</sup>, which reported in 1909, did not propose any radical change and the settlements were made permanent in 1912 with no material change so far as the principle of allocation was concerned, except a partial replacement of the fixed adjusting assignments by increased shares in the growing sources of revenue.

Firstly, the settlements were based on provincial needs rather than on provincial revenues and the Government of India retained strict control and supervision over the provincial expenditure. Next, as the Government of India took a share in the proceeds of the taxes, it had a strong motive for interfering in details of revenue administration. Lastly, the provinces were denied the power of borrowing from the open market. It was rather an anomalous position that while Port Trusts and Corporations could raise loans on their securities, the provincial governments, on account of the legal fiction that the revenues of India were 'one and indivisible', could not borrow on their own account. The practice was to reserve entry to the public loan market entirely for the Central Government and for the latter to lend money to the provincial governments when circumstances so required.

Thus, beginning with an extremely centralised system of finance, decentralisation was introduced in instalments to secure efficiency, economy and responsibility.

"The existing settlements", observed the authors of the Report on Constitutional Reforms, "are an undoubted advance upon the earlier centralised system, but they constitute no more than a half-way stage. If the popular principle is to have fair play at all in provincial governments, it is imperative that some means be found of securing to the provinces entirely separate revenue resources."<sup>10</sup>

#### THE MONTAGUE-CHELMSFORD REFORMS (1921-1937)

##### Limited Responsible Government

On August 20, 1917, Montague, Secretary of State for India, declared in the House of Commons that the policy of the government was "of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions."<sup>11</sup>

Montague visited India in November 1917 to investigate into the administrative machinery of India and studied the whole subject in

intimate cooperation with Lord Chelmsford. The conclusions arrived at were embodied in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms and after an elaborate examination of the Report by the Joint Select Committee of the two Houses of Parliament, the Government of India Act, 1919 was passed.

The authors of the reforms observed that their "business is one of devolution, of drawing lines of demarcation, of cutting long-standing ties. The Government of India must give and the provinces must receive; for only so can the growing organism of self-government draw air into its lungs and live".<sup>12</sup>

### Division of Subjects

The division of subjects between the Central and the provincial governments was carried out by the Devolution Rules,<sup>13</sup> made under Section 45A of the Government of India Act, 1919. Subjects were classified into 'Central' and 'provincial'. Defence, foreign affairs, tariffs and customs, railways, posts and telegraphs, currency, income-tax, commerce and shipping, public debt, and civil and criminal law were the important Central subjects.

Provincial subjects were sub-divided into 'reserved' and 'transferred'. The reserved subjects included land-revenue, police, prisons, factory inspection, administration of justice, etc. Among the 'transferred subjects' were placed local-self government, education, public health, hospitals, sanitation, asylums, public works, agriculture, industrial development, etc.

The transferred subjects were placed under the charge of ministers chosen by the governor from among the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council. In relation to these subjects, the governor was to be guided by the advice of his ministers, unless he saw sufficient cause to dissent from their opinion. In such a case, he could take action ignoring their advice.<sup>14</sup> The reserved subjects were administered by the governor and his executive council.

### Division of Finances

The fundamental principle of the reforms was to give to the provinces the largest measure of independence--legislative, administrative and financial. The existing system could not work well between a popular and an official government<sup>15</sup> because, if provincial autonomy were to mean anything real, the provinces must not be dependent on the Indian Government for means of provincial development.<sup>16</sup>

To this end, the Joint Report suggested total separation of revenues, and abolition of the old system of 'divided heads'. The whole revenue of India was partitioned between the Central Government and the provinces. To the Central Government were allotted customs

duties, income-tax, salt and opium, commercial stamps, and contributions from railways, posts and telegraphs, while land-revenue, liquor excise, irrigation receipts, forests, judicial stamps and registration fees became provincial sources of revenue.

### Provincial Contributions

As a result of this scheme of distribution, it was anticipated that there would be a large deficit<sup>17</sup> in the budget of Government of India. In order to meet this deficit, the Joint Report suggested a system of contributions from each province, assessed on the basis of their normal surplus, i.e., the difference between the estimated gross revenue under the new scheme and the estimated normal expenditure. The provincial contributions and the net provincial surplus were calculated as shown in Table 1<sup>18</sup>.

Table 1 CALCULATION OF PROVINCIAL SURPLUS

(In lakh of Rupees)					
Province	Gross Provin- cial Revenue	Gross Provin- cial Expen- diture	Gross Provin- cial Surplus	Contri- bution (87 per cent of col.4)	Net Provin- cial surplus
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Madras	13.31	8.40	4.91	4.28	63
Bomaby	10.01	9.00	1.01	88	13
Bengal	7.54	6.75	79	69	10
United Pro- vinces	11.22	7.47	3.75	3.27	48
Punjab	8.64	6.14	2.50	2.18	32
Burma	7.69	6.08	1.61	1.40	21
Bihar & Orissa	4.04	3.59	45	39	6
Central Provinces	4.12	3.71	41	36	5
Assam	1.71	1.50	21	18	3
Total	68.28	52.64	15.64	13.63	2.01

This proposal was severely criticised by several provincial governments. Its result would have been that the poorest as also the most economical province would have paid the most while the most extravagant province would have paid the least; equivalent to putting a premium on extravagance and inefficiency.

### The Meston Award

In order to ease this difficult situation, a special committee was appointed with Lord Meston as chairman to enquire into the whole question of the financial relations between the Central Government and the provinces<sup>19</sup>. The committee recommended that general stamps should also be provincialised and they estimated a deficit of Rs. 9.83 lakh in the Central Budget for the year 1921-22.

The committee also recommended that the contributions should be assessed on the increased spending power of the provinces, i.e., the additional resources which a province would acquire on the separation of the sources of revenue. They observed that the normal revenue of the provinces was ascertainable with greater accuracy than normal expenditure. They claimed that the proposals had "the merit of proceeding on the lines of minimum disturbance of the financial position in each province", and "of inaugurating the new councils without the necessity to resort to fresh taxation"<sup>20</sup>. The increase in revenue had come to the provinces "as a windfall, or as a by-product of a constitutional change". The provinces that gained most had naturally to meet the burden of the contributions, but this was to be temporary. The contributions recommended by the Meston Committee and adopted by Parliament were: Madras, Rs. 5.76 lakh; Bombay, Rs. 93 lakh; Bengal, Rs. 1.04 lakh; United Provinces, Rs. 3.97 lakh; Punjab, Rs. 2.89 lakh; Burma, Rs. 2.46 lakh; Bihar and Orissa, Rs. 51 lakh; Central Provinces, Rs. 52 lakh; and Assam, Rs. 42 lakh.<sup>21</sup>

The committee further sought to find an ideal basis of contributions to serve for future occasions in order "to do equity between the provinces" and felt that the "total contribution of each to the purse of the Government of India should be proportionate to its capacity to contribute."<sup>22</sup> This was interpreted to mean "the taxable capacity, which is the sum of the incomes of its taxpayers, or the average income of its taxpayers multiplied by their number."<sup>23</sup>

The committee, after a thorough inquiry into the economic position of the various provinces, recommended a fixed ratio of contributions, to be put into practice after an interval of time which would be sufficient to enable the provinces to adjust their budget to the new conditions. The initial, intermediate and ultimate ratio of contributions, as recommended by the committee, are given in Table 2<sup>24</sup>.

Table 2 CONTRIBUTIONS RECOMMENDED BY THE COMMITTEE

(In per cent)

Province	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year	5th year	6th year	7th year
Madras	35.5	32.5	29.5	26.5	23	20	17
Bombay	5.5	7	8	9.5	10.5	12	13
Bengal	6.5	8.5	10.5	12.5	15	17	19
United Provinces	24.5	23.5	22.5	21	20	19	18
Punjab	18	16.5	15	13.5	12	10.5	9
Burma	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5
Bihar & Orissa	Nil	1.5	3	5	7	8.5	10
Central Provinces	2	2.5	3	3.5	4	4.5	5
Assam	1.5	1.5	2	2	2	2	2.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

It was also decided that the contribution should be abolished when the financial position of the Central Government improved.

The committee did not favour provincialisation of income-tax which was severely criticised by the public and the provincial governments. The Joint Select Committee of Parliament, in view of the loud protests of the provincial governments, made some changes by revising the Draft Rules made under the Government of India Act, 1919.<sup>25</sup> Devolution rule 15 provided, "whenever the assessed income of any year subsequent to the year 1920-21 exceeds in any governor's province or in the province of Burma the assessed income of the year 1920-21, there should be allotted to the local government of the province an amount calculated at the rate of three pies in each rupee of the amount of such excess."

The Act of 1919 also empowered provincial governments to borrow money either in India or abroad on the security of their revenues, subject, however, to the rules made in accordance with the provisions of Section 30, 1 (a) of the Act.

Finally, the annoying budget restrictions were also relaxed and henceforward, the provincial budget was framed by the Finance Department of each province.

### Criticism of the Meston Award

The new allocation of resources was universally condemned by all the provinces. Bengal and Bombay argued that on account of their wealth, population, trade and industries, and the ports of Calcutta and Bombay, their contribution to the Central Government in the shape of income-tax and customs (apart from other items) far exceeded that of most other provinces. Bombay asserted that the only solution for the success of the reforms was to allow her half the share in the income-tax, including super-tax, collected in the presidency. Madras felt that she was contributing a larger share to the Imperial deficit than any other province. The United Provinces and Punjab claimed to be hard hit and unable to develop their potential industrial activities. Bihar (though making no contribution initially) and the Central Provinces made further claims on account of their backwardness. So did Assam. Lastly, Burma asked for larger revenues to develop her vast natural resources.

By the abolition of the provincial contributions in 1927, the grievances of the agricultural provinces were removed, but those of the industrial provinces (Bombay and Bengal) still remained.

The argument of Bombay and Bengal is indefensible in India. The customs revenue collected at the important ports of Calcutta and Bombay was a tax paid on imported goods by the consumers who were living in the remotest corners of the country and not merely in the provinces where the ports happen to be situated. Similarly, in the case of income-tax the place where the tax was collected was not necessarily the place where the income was earned.

It was complained that although provinces had rapidly expanding needs, the sources of revenue assigned to them were insufficient and showed no signs of adequate growth. Provincial taxes were paid chiefly by the agricultural classes, and it was not possible to add much to their burdens. Other provincial heads of revenue either required a large capital outlay for their development (e.g., forests) or on account of other reasons which were not capable of such expansion. Layton rightly concluded that there was no direction in which the provinces could look for a substantial or even a continuous increase in revenues, except under the heading of 'stamps'.<sup>26</sup> The provinces were though made responsible for the development of the 'nation-building' activities, yet the sources of revenue placed at their disposal were inelastic.<sup>27</sup>

The Meston Award created inequalities of tax burdens between different classes of the community. The growth and development of education, hospitals and dispensaries, roads and industries, was financed by the provinces from the income litigation (stamps), excess consumption of liquor (excise) and land revenue. Consequently, the



burden of provincial taxation was borne by small cultivators and the labouring classes. The defect could have been remedied by the division of the proceeds of income-tax or excise duties between the Central and the provincial governments.

The Award tended to create a separation between the interests of the two categories of governments in India. Though the development of industries and mineral resources were provincial subjects, the benefits of industrial development (in the form of increased receipts from income-tax, excise duty, etc.), accrued to the Central Government. Consequently, it was not unnatural on the part of the provincial governments to refrain from incurring expenditure on development of industries.

The reforms paved the way for the growth of provincial autonomy in India. It demolished the groundwork of the highly centralised system of government and laid the foundations for a new edifice on the principles of progressive provincial autonomy. It made provinces "the centres of the development of social services; and it had also tended to transfer to the provincial executives the prime responsibility for the preservation of law and order".<sup>28</sup>

#### PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

"The provinces are the domain", wrote the authors of the Montford Report, "in which the earlier steps towards the progressive realisation of responsible government should be taken. Some measures of responsibility should be given at once, and our aim is to give complete responsibility as soon as conditions permit".<sup>29</sup> Under the Act of 1919, only the first steps towards provincial autonomy were taken, but much more was needed. The three Indian Round Table Conferences and the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms (1933-34) resulted in the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, which established autonomy in the provinces with effect from April 1, 1937.

The Act caused separation of Burma from India, creating new provinces of Sind and Orissa, and rendered these, as well as the North-West Frontier Province, as governors' provinces.

#### Division of Subjects

The Act classified subjects into: (i) Federal; (ii) Provincial; and (iii) Concurrent.<sup>30</sup> The Federal List included defence, foreign relations, naval, military and air force, railways, posts and telegraphs, currency and coinage, customs and export duties, etc. On the other hand, police, law and order, education, public health, land and forests, local government, etc., were assigned to the Provincial List. Lastly, subjects like employers' liability and workmen's com-

pensation, trade unions and welfare of labour factories, etc., were included in the Concurrent List. Regarding concurrent subjects, both the federal and provincial legislatures could make laws with respect to any of the matters in List III, with provision for resolving any possible conflict of laws.

The Act established a substantial measure of provincial autonomy by devolving authority in provincial matters on to the provincial governments which "meant greater freedom for the units and less interference from the irritating and vexatious treatment which had so far been meted by the Centre"<sup>31</sup>.

### Division of Finance

The conception of provincial autonomy involved financial autonomy which meant that the resources placed at the disposal of the provinces should not only be adequate for the immediate task of government, but also be capable of expansion to meet the growing needs of the new popular governments. The Peel Committee of the Third Round Table Conference had itself observed, "the aims which we have kept in view may be summarised as follows: to provide that all provinces may start with a reasonable chance of balancing their budgets; to afford them the prospect of revenue sufficiently elastic for subsequent development; to assure the solvency of the Federation...."<sup>32</sup>

Under the Act, the allocation of the sources of revenues was as given in the following paras.

### Allocation of Sources of Revenues

#### Provincial

1. Taxes levied and collected by provinces: (i) Land revenue and irrigation; (ii) Excise duties on alcoholic liquors, opium, hemp, other narcotic drugs, medicinal and toilet preparations containing alcohol manufactured or produced in the province, and countervailing duties on similar articles manufactured or produced in other parts of India; (iii) Taxes on agricultural income; (iv) Taxes on lands and buildings; (v) Succession duties in respect of agricultural land; (vi) Taxes on mineral rights subject to any limitation imposed by a federal law relating to mineral development; (vii) Capitation taxes; (viii) Taxes on professions, trades, callings and employments; (ix) Taxes on animals and boats; (x) Taxes on sale of goods and advertisements; (xi) Cesses on entry of goods; (xii) Taxes on luxuries including entertainments, amusements, betting and gambling; (xiii) Stamp duties in respect of documents other than those assigned to the Federal Government for such taxation; (xiv) Taxes on goods or passengers carried on in inland waterways; (xv) Tools; and (xvi) Fees in

respect of provincial legislative list.

2. Taxes to be levied and collected by the Centre for the benefit of the provinces: (i) Duties in respect of succession to property other than agricultural lands; (ii) Stamps duties in respect of bills of exchange, cheques, promissory notes, bill of lading, letters of credit, policies of insurance, proxies and receipts; (iii) Terminal taxes on goods and passengers; and (iv) Taxes on railway fares and freights.

The justification for the method lay in the need for uniformity of rate and economy in administration in the case of these taxes.

3. Taxes divided between the Centre and the provinces and collected by the Centre: (i) Taxes on income other than agricultural income; (ii) Salt duties; (iii) Duties of excise on tobacco and other goods manufactured or produced in India except: (a) alcoholic liquors for human consumption; (b) opium, Indian hemp and other narcotic drugs, narcotics, and non-narcotic drugs; and (c) medicinal and toilet preparations containing alcohol, or any substance included in sub-paragraph (b) of this entry.

4. Export duties, (with special provisions for the Jute export duty, Section 140(2), Government of India Act, 1935).

#### **Federal**

1. **Taxes Levied and Retained by the Federation:** (i) Corporation Tax; (ii) Currency and coinage; (iii) Federal Railways; (iv) Posts and Telegraphs including telephones, wireless, broadcasting, and other forms of communication; (v) Import and export duties (with the exceptions named above); and (vi) Military receipts.

2. **Centre's Share from the Proceeds of (3) above:** The Act authorised the Central Government to make grants-in-aid to deficit provinces and to the provinces for specific purposes. The provinces could also make grants for federal purposes.

The provinces were given an almost unlimited right to raise loans in the open market; they were to keep their own banking account with the Reserve Bank of India, and were free to make their own audit and accounting arrangements as they chose.

#### **Inauguration of Provincial Autonomy**

In January 1936, Sir Otto Niemeyer was appointed<sup>33</sup> for making recommendations, after reviewing the budgetary position of the Central and the provincial governments, on the matters under Section 138(1) and (2)--allocation of taxes on income other than agricultural incomes; on matters under Section 140(2)--the assignment of the net proceeds on jute export duty; and on matters under Section 142 grants-in-aid to the revenues of the provinces under the

Government of India Act, 1936<sup>34</sup>.

Sir Otto's aim was two-fold: (i) maintaining the financial stability and credit of the Centre, and (ii) starting the provinces on their autonomous careers on an 'even keel'.

After taking the financial difficulties into account, relief was found necessary for the following provinces to the extent stated: Bengal, Rs. 75 lakh; Bihar, Rs. 25 lakh; Central Provinces, Rs. 15 lakh; Assam, Rs. 45 lakh; the North-West Frontier Province, Rs. 110 lakh; Orissa, Rs. 50 lakh; Sind, Rs. 105 lakh; the United Provinces, Rs. 25 lakh (for 5 years) thus making a total of Rs. 4.5 crore.<sup>35</sup>

Sir Otto recommended that assistance should be given to the provinces in the following three ways:

1. By increasing the percentage of the share payable under Section 140(2) of the Act to 62.5 on the estimated gross yield of the duty resulting in the following additions to the resources of the provinces<sup>36</sup>: Bengal, Rs. 42 lakh; Bihar, Rs. 2.50 lakh, Assam, Rs. 2.25 lakh and Orissa over Rs. 0.25 lakh.
2. Cancellation of debt resulting in the net annual saving to the provinces as follows<sup>37</sup>: Bengal, Rs. 33 lakh; Bihar, Rs. 22 lakh; Assam, Rs. 15.50 lakh; North-West Frontier province, Rs. 12 lakh; Orissa, Rs. 9.50 lakh and Central Provinces, Rs. 15 lakh.
3. Annual cash subventions to supplement the other two forms of aid<sup>38</sup>: United Provinces, Rs. 25 lakh for a period of five years; Assam, Rs. 30 lakh (in addition to the grant for Assam Rifles); North-West Frontier Province, Rs. 100 lakh (subject to reconsideration at the end of 5 years); Orissa, Rs. 40 lakh (with Rs. 7 lakh additional in the first year, and Rs. 3 lakh additional in each of the next 4 years); and Sind, Rs. 105 lakh for 10 years with Rs. 5 lakh additional in the first year, then to be reduced by stages after 10 years.

#### Distribution of Income-tax

The Act provided for distribution of taxes on income (excluding corporation tax, tax on federal emoluments and receipts from centrally administered areas) between the Centre and the provinces. Sir Otto recommended that prescribed percentage of those taxes, that shall not form part of the revenues of the Federation [Section 138(1)], should be 50 per cent. He further recommended that during the initial prescribed period of five years, the Centre was to retain the whole or part of the share of the provinces as was necessary to bring the proceeds of the share accruing to the Centre and the Railway contribution to Rs.13 crore.<sup>39</sup> After the period of five years, the retained

portion was to be reduced by one-sixth each year so that in the eleventh year of the autonomy the provinces would be entitled to the full share of income-tax.

The next point was to assign their shares to different units. Sir Otto felt, "substantial justice would be done by fixing the scale of distribution, partly on residence and partly on population, paying to neither factor a rigidly pedantic deference".<sup>40</sup>

On this basis, he recommended the percentage scale mentioned below: Madras, 15; Bombay, 20; Bengal, 20; United Provinces, 15; Punjab, 8; Bihar, 10; Central Provinces, 5; Assam, 2; North-West Frontier Province, 1; Sind 2; and Orissa, 2.

### Criticisms

The recommendations made by Sir Otto were criticised by the provincial governments for different reasons.<sup>41</sup>

The Madras Government contended that their comparatively sound financial position was due, not to intrinsic superiority of natural resources of the presidency, but to prudent financial administration and adequate taxation. They pointed out that Bombay, with a population of 18 million, benefits disproportionately by allocation of 20 per cent of proceeds of income-tax, while Madras, with a population of 44 million, has an allocation of 15 per cent only. The Bombay Government complained that no steps were proposed to correct the position in which the Presidency had been placed by the inherent unsoundness of the Meston Award, including the falsification of the forecast of revenue made by the Meston Committee, the complete failure of the anticipations of the Percy Committee, and the cost of development schemes in Bombay City undertaken at the behest of the Secretary of State.

Bengal was not satisfied with the proposals and claimed that the entire proceeds of the jute export duty should be credited to the provincial government.

The United Provinces had a stronger case, and pointed out the peculiar position of the province on account of agrarian difficulties. The Punjab Government contended that the comparative stability of its revenues during the past three years was attributable to four main causes: (i) a high standard of taxation; (ii) drastic retrenchment; (iii) the strictest control over expenditure; and (iv) favourable harvests.

In conclusion, it must be admitted that Sir Otto's task was of extreme delicacy and infinite difficulty, and he discharged it in a manner which must be deemed by all to be on the whole satisfactory. The scheme attempted by him was businesslike, utilitarian and practicable.

## FEDERAL FINANCIAL INTEGRATION OF THE PRINCELY STATES

**General Survey**

The princely states accounted for 48 per cent of the total area and 28 per cent of the population of the Indian Dominion at the time of Independence.

These states, numbering 555, were scattered all over the country and, in the words of Sir Bampfye Fuller, were like "an ancient tessellated pavement, the greater part of which has been replaced by slabs of uncoloured stone work. The tesserae represent the native states"<sup>42</sup>. The states were at various stages of economic, political and administrative developments.

**Relations with the Paramount Powers**

The 'paramountcy' of the British Crown was based on Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads as supplemented by usage and sufferance and by decisions of the Secretary of State embodied in political practice. They had no international life and, even in internal affairs, the authority of the Paramount Power could be interposed, in matters like prevention of dismemberment of a state, suppression of a rebellion against the lawful sovereign, prevention of gross misrule, and economic growth of the whole of India.

**Economic and Fiscal Relations**

The exercise of paramountcy enabled the Government of India to achieve concerted actions in matters of common concern, such as currency, customs, excise, posts and telegraphs, railways, public works, cantonments and irrigation. The Government of India had the monopoly of opium and salt and most of the states had adopted British Indian currency. Agreements and codes were modified from time to time to suit the changed circumstances and economic bonds between the princely states and British India continued to be strengthened. But the states remained independent in many respects and had to be brought in the national mainstream as parts of a united India.

**1935 Federal Plan and Indian Independence Act**

The Government of India Act, 1935 attempted to provide for a constitutional relationship between the princely states and the Government of India on a federal basis. It never came into operation due to the attitude of the rulers as the accession of the states to the Federation was to be voluntary and the establishment of the contemplated Federation was conditional on the accession of states entitled to fill not less than 52 seats in the Council of States and having an aggregate population of not less than one half of the total

population of the states.

The Cabinet Mission, consisting of Lord Pathick-Lawrance, Sir Stafford Crips and Mr. A.V.Alexander also affirmed the right of the states in this matter.<sup>43</sup>

Under Section 7 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947 the "suzerainty of His Majesty over Indian States" lapsed. With this also lapsed the entire code referred to above except for "provisions of any...agreement which relate to customs, transit and communications, posts and telegraphs or other like matters", until they were denounced by the Ruler or the Dominion. This created a void and some of the rulers indicated their desire to assert their technical right to independence; and with the dawn of independence even the political unit of truncated India was threatened.

### Political Unification

The unity of India, including the princely states, was most essential. Coupland rightly came to the following conclusion: "An India deprived of the States would have lost all coherence. For they form a great cruciform barrier separating all four quarters of the country....The strategic and economic implications are obvious enough. The practicability of Pakistan must be admitted, but the more the separation of this state from British India is considered, the more impracticable it seems; India would live if its Moslem limbs in the North-West and North-East were amputated, but could it live without its heart"?<sup>44</sup>

Negotiations were concluded with the princes, barring Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagarh, and the states in the geographical limits of India signed the Instruments of Accession in July 1947 whereby they acceded to the Dominion of India with respect to Defence, External Affairs and Communications, with effect from August 15, 1947. Later Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagarh also joined the Indian Dominion. Sikkim became a state of the Union of India in 1975.

Simultaneously, the demand for responsible government by the people of the states was getting irresistible. "Hopes and aspirations", observed the Montagues Chelmsford Report, "may overlap frontier lines like sparks across a street".<sup>45</sup> And this is what happened in the princely states after Independence. A solution was urgently needed. In these circumstances, the late Sardar Patel proceeded in securing a three-fold integration of the states to bring them into integral relationship with the Union of India.

A total of 216 states, covering an area of 108,739 square miles with population of 19.158 million, were merged in provinces. Sixtyone states, covering an area of 63,704 square miles with a population of 6.925 million, were taken over as centrally administered areas; and



275 states covering an area of 215.450 square miles with a population of 34.7 million, were integrated in the Union of States. Hyderabad, Mysore, and Jammu & Kashmir retained their individual identity.

Under the Constitution, which came into force on January 26, 1950, the component parts of India were divided into four categories. Part A states consisted of the former British Indian provinces, with their territories enlarged by the merger of many states. The states of Mysore, Hyderabad, and Jammu & Kashmir and the five Unions of Madhya Bharat, Patiala and East Punjab States Union (Pepsu for short), Rajasthan, Saurashtra and TravancoreCochin were placed in the second category of Part B states. The old Chief Commissioners' provinces of Ajmer, Coorg and Delhi and the new ones of Bhopal, Bilaspur, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur, Tripura and Vindhya Pradesh formed the third category of Part C states. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands, not treated as a 'State' formed Part D territory.<sup>46</sup>

Thus, the political unification of India was achieved through a bloodless<sup>47</sup> revolution, which was brought, on the one hand, by the operation of the democratic forces unleashed by freedom, and, on the other, by the patriotic attitude of the Rulers who were quick to appreciate the change.<sup>48</sup> Prime Minister Nehru acclaimed the integration as one of the dominant phases of India's history<sup>49</sup>.

### Financial Integration

The need for federal financial integration of the princely states was always there as its absence hindered the country's economic progress. Even the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms (1933-34) had indicated the dangers inherent in an uncoordinated fiscal administration in India and observed:

The existing arrangements under which economic policies, vitally affecting the interests of India as a whole, have to be formulated and carried out are being daily put to an ever increasing strain, as the economic life of India develops<sup>50</sup>.

### Krishnamachari Committee

To consider the problems of financial integration, a committee was appointed by the Government of India in October 1948 under the chairmanship of Sir V.T. Krishnamachari. Under the 'Objectives' Resolution of the Constituent Assembly, the provinces and the princely states would be equal partners in the Union of India. In matters of federal financial relations, the princely states were to be on the same footing as the former British Indian Princes<sup>51</sup>.



The committee recommended:

- (a) The Central Government should take over all 'Central' revenues and services together with the administration of the departments concerned.
- (b) Income-tax should be introduced in all the states, at rates adjusted to local conditions, and that it should be brought up to the full Indian level within a period of two to six years.
- (c) Internal customs duties levied in Hyderabad, Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat, Saurashtra, Vindhya Pradesh and Travancore should be abolished within five years. No compensation should be paid in any case.
- (d) The committee viewed that complete 'federal integration' means a 'functional' bifurcation, the 'federal' portions of the state governments were to become integrated with the Union Government, leaving behind the 'provincial' governments with purely 'provincial' functions. There can, therefore, be no question of compensation for taking over of federal revenues and services except tapering 'revenue-gap grants' in some cases.
- (e) It was recommended that the assets and liabilities should be divided on a functional basis. The Union Government took over the assets relating to federal functions without any compensation and it agreed to share in the liabilities of the states in the same proportion which the federal assets bore to the assets left over with the states.
- (f) As regards the privy purses of the Rulers, the committee felt that this subject was outside its terms of reference. It was, however, decided that no recovery for privy purses would be made from those states which had revenue-gaps. The other states, for a period of ten years, had to make a contribution to meet the privy purse payments of the rulers to the extent of their above mentioned 'gain'.

The integration agreements were executed in February-March 1950 and the financial integration was effected from April 1, 1950, except in the cases of the Pepsu (which was integrated on April 13, 1950, the beginning of its new financial year) and Jammu & Kashmir on May 14, 1954.

#### Gadgil Committee

In 1953, an enquiry was conducted under the chairmanship of Shri N.V. Gadgil, MP, to recommend special financial and technical assis-

tance to Saurashtra, Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat and Pepsu. The committee's main recommendations<sup>52</sup> accepted by the Government of India, were:

- (i) An outright grant of Rs.4 crore (Rajasthan Rs.150 lakh, Madhya Bharat and Saurashtra each Rs. 100 lakh and Pepsu Rs. 50 lakh) for the Five Year Plans of these states.
- (ii) An additional ad hoc grant of Rs. 4 crore (Rajasthan Rs. 150 lakh, Madhya Bharat Rs. 100 lakh, Saurashtra Rs. 90 lakh and Pepsu Rs. 60 lakh) during the next two years to be spent on administrative buildings and for the provision of link roads, public health service in rural areas, etc.

The princely state derived many advantages from the integration. In the words of the Krishnamachari Committee:

Firstly, their people and governments will take their place in the polity of India alongside the people and governments in the rest of India and share in its wider life with equal rights and obligations. Secondly, administrative standards and efficiency will increase by closer contacts with the administration of the Central Government and especially by the uniform accounting and audit system which will result from the supervision of the Auditor-General of India, recruitment to the higher services on an all-India basis, a unified judicial system and access to technical advice and assistance furnished by the Central Government. Thirdly, states will have their share of such federal revenues as may be made divisible from time to time and of the grants, loans and other forms of financial assistance given by the Centre, on the same basis as provinces; an impetus will thus be given to development programmes in these areas.<sup>53</sup>

The distinction between 'the British India' and 'the Indian India' was gone with the completion of the process of integration. India emerged "as a well-knit unit, fully integrated in all spheres--political, constitutional and economic. Its essential fundamental unity will be reinforced."<sup>54</sup>

#### **Distribution of Legislative Powers in the Indian Constitution**

The Constitution attempts to evolve a rational and practicable division of functions between the Union and the state. Subjects of legislation have been arranged under three separate lists in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution. List I, known as the Union List, covers subjects that will come within the exclusive power of

the Union Parliament. List II, called the State List, covers subjects that will come within the exclusive competence of the state legislatures and List III, called the Concurrent List, includes items in respect of which both the Union and the state legislatures will have concurrent powers of legislation; a Union law, however, will override a state law in the event of a conflict.

The Union List includes subjects, such as defence, foreign affairs, citizenship, railways, airways, aircraft and air navigation, posts and telegraphs, telephones, wireless and broadcasting, currency, coinage and legal tenders, banking, foreign and inter-state trade and commerce, industries, the control of which by the Union is declared by Parliament by law to be expedient in the public interest, census, taxes on income other than agricultural income, customs and export duties, corporation tax, taxes on the capital value of assets, exclusive of agricultural land, of individuals and companies, and taxes on the capital of companies.

The State List includes subjects like public order, police, administration of justice, public health and sanitation, hospitals and dispensaries, education, agricultural land and land revenues, forests, water-storage, and water-power, and taxes on agricultural income.

In the Concurrent List are included subjects like criminal law and criminal procedure, bankruptcy and insolvency, civil procedure, economic and social planning, trade unions and industrial and labour disputes, price control, labour welfare, marriage and divorce; and commercial and industrial monopolies, and combines and trusts.

The Union Parliament has been given the residuary power to make laws with respect to any matter, including taxation, not enumerated in the Concurrent or State List (Article 248). Article 249 provides that the Council of States may, by resolution supported by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting, authorise Parliament, if necessary in the national interest, to make laws with respect to any matter enumerated in the State List.

Moreover, every state has to use its executive power in such a way as to ensure compliance with the laws made by Parliament and any existent law which apply in that state (Article 256) and also as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive power of the Union (Article 267). The Union may give appropriate directions to states according to Articles 256 and 257, without prejudice, however, to their constitutional autonomy. Article 258 empowers the Union to entrust functions to the state in certain cases and Article 258A, introduced by the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act 1956, provides for the reciprocal power of the states to entrust certain functions to the Union.

It has been argued that there is over-centralisation under the Indian Constitution which is not desirable in a vast country like India. But the states in India have control over many important subjects like law and order, education, and agriculture, and thus the criticism does not hold good.

Centralisation is the unmistakable tendency of our times the world over. According to Justice Douglas, "Increased complexities of American life, the growth of industrialism, the disappearance of the frontier, the increase in population, the growing dependence of one part of the nation on the others--these were all powerful pressures creating the need and demand for federal regulation in fields where previously only the state had legislated".<sup>55</sup> Even Prof. Wheare realises this and puts these factors as "power politics, depression politics, welfare politics and the internal combustion engine."<sup>56</sup>

The powers enjoyed by the Centre are justified. These were the legacy of the Government of India Act, 1935, and effect of Partition. In the words of the Union Powers Committee of the Constituent Assembly, "Now that partition is a settled fact, we are unanimously of the view that it would be injurious to the interests of the country to provide for a weak central authority which would be incapable of ensuring peace, of coordinating vital matters of common concern and of speaking effectively for the whole country in the international sphere....We have accordingly come to the conclusion...that the soundest framework for our Constitution is a federation, with a strong centre."<sup>57</sup> Centrifugal forces were trying to disrupt the national life at the time and it was necessary to have a strong Centre to hold the country together.

The Constitution provides for a welfare state and wide Central powers are not only inevitable, but very necessary. In the words of the States Reorganisation Commission, "India's development plans may increasingly take the shape of a centrally-directed effort to locate and implement projects....If the maximum advantage is to be derived from any such development plan or plans, the central planning authority must operate under minimum restrictions in its choice of methods and investments, and parochial tendencies within the Union should be discouraged."<sup>58</sup>

In the older federations (USA, Canada and Australia), the supremacy of the Central Government had to be established through constitutional amendments, judicial interpretations, grants-in-aid and mutual cooperation.

Since the Constitution was framed only a few years ago, wide Central powers could be provided for in the Constitution itself. The difference between India and some of the older federations lies in the fact that whereas in the latter "the assumption by national

executive of requisite powers to deal with abnormal situations has been and would always be an extra-constitutional growth, in India it is and will be a move within the framework of the fundamental laws."<sup>59</sup> Dr. Ambedkar rightly observed, "it is difficult to prevent the Centre from becoming strong. Conditions in modern world are such that centralisation of powers is inevitable. One has only to consider the growth of the Federal Government in USA, which, notwithstanding the very limited powers given to it by the Constitution, has outgrown its former self and has overshadowed and eclipsed the state governments. This is due to modern conditions. The same conditions are sure to operate on the Government of India and nothing that one can do will help to prevent it from being strong. On the other hand, we must resist the tendency to make it stronger. It cannot chew more than it can digest. Its strength must be commensurate with its weight. It would be a folly to make it so strong that it may fall by its own weight."<sup>60</sup>

#### DIVISION OF RESOURCES

##### Revenue Allocation Between Union and States in India

The Constitution of India makes a complete bifurcation of taxes to be levied by the Centre and the states and there is a detailed enumeration of taxes allotted to each. The Union, in addition, has been given the residuary powers in matters of taxation (Article 248).

The actual distribution of the sources of revenue is given in following paras.

##### Revenues of the Union

1. **Tax-Revenue:** (i) Share of taxes levied and collected by the Union but distributed between the Union and the states, taxes on income other than agricultural income; (ii) Taxes levied and collected by the Union but may be distributed between the Union and the states: Union duties of excise (other than on medicinal and toilet preparations containing alcohol); and (iii) Taxes belonging wholly to the Union; (a) duties of custom including export duties, (b) corporation tax, (c) taxes on the capital value of the assets, exclusive of agricultural land, of individuals and companies, (d) surcharge on taxes mentioned in (i) above and (ii) in the state 'tax-revenue', and (e) any tax not specified in Lists II and III (residuary taxation).

2. **Commercial Operations:** (i) railways; (ii) posts and telegraphs; (iii) banking; (iv) manufacture of salt and opium, and (v) other commercial operations, e.g., lotteries organised by the Government of India.

3. **Fees:** (i) fees in respect of any matter in List I, excluding

fees taken in any court, and (ii) fees taken in the Supreme Court.

4. **Sovereign Functions and Rights:** (i) currency and coinage, (ii) revenue from Union property, and (iii) property accruing by escheat or lapse or as *bona vacantia*.

#### Revenues of the States:

1. **Tax-revenue:** (i) Levied by the Union but collected and appropriated by the states; (a) stamp duties on bills of exchange, cheques, promissory notes, bills of lading, letters of credit, policies of insurance, transfer of shares, debentures, proxies and receipts; and (b) excise duties on toilet and medicinal preparations (containing alcohol). (ii) Levied and collected by the Union but assigned wholly to the states within which levied: (a) succession and estate duties in respect of property other than agricultural land; (b) terminal taxes on goods or passengers carried by railway, sea or air; (c) taxes on railway fares and freights; (d) taxes on transactions in stock-exchanges and future markets; (e) taxes on the sale or purchase of and advertisements in newspapers; and (f) taxes on the sale or purchase of goods other than newspapers, where such sale or purchase takes place in the course of inter-state trade or commerce. (iii) Levied and collected by the Union but assigned in part to states: taxes on income other than agricultural income. (iv) Levied and collected by the Union but may be assigned in part to the states: Union duties of excise other than on medicinal and toilet preparations containing alcohol. (v) Directly raised by the states: (a) Land revenues; (b) taxes on agricultural income; (c) succession and estate duty on agricultural land; (d) taxes on land and buildings; (e) taxes on mineral rights; (f) octroi; (g) taxes on sale or purchase of goods other than newspapers (but not in case where sale or purchase takes place in course of inter-state trade or commerce); (h) taxes on advertisements other than those published in the newspapers; (i) taxes on consumption or sale of electricity; (j) taxes on goods and passengers carried by road or inland waterways; (k) taxes on vehicles; (l) taxes on animals and boats; (m) tolls; (n) taxes on professions, trades, etc.; (o) capitation taxes; (p) taxes on luxuries, entertainments, etc.; (q) duties of excise on alcoholic liquors, etc. and (r) non-judicial stamps other than those included under head (l) (a) above..

2. **Fees:** (i) Fees taken in courts other than the Supreme Court, and (ii) fees in respect of any matter in List II.

3. **Commercial operations**, e.g., fisheries, transport, etc.

4. **Sovereign Rights and Functions:** (i) Revenues from works, land and buildings vested in the state; (ii) forests; (iii) escheat, or lapse or *bona vacantia*, and (iv) ponds.

5. Grants-in-aid from the Union: In the Constitution, an attempt was made to distribute the sources of revenue according to the principle of efficiency and suitability. There is no overlapping of tax-jurisdictions and, in general, the taxes with an inter-state base have been allotted to the Centre, while those with a local base have been allotted to the states. It, thus, minimises double or multiple taxation and "the Indian problem in this direction is much less pressing than in many, perhaps most, federations."<sup>61</sup>

#### **Financial Adjustment under the Constitution**

The allocation of resources under the Constitution fails on the principle of adequacy due to the following reasons: Firstly, as the allocation has been made generally on the principle of efficiency, most of the productive and elastic sources--income-tax, customs, excise duties, etc.--have been allotted to the Union. Secondly, the yield of the important sources of state revenue, such as land revenue, varies from state to state. Thirdly, the functions of the state and expenditures to give effect to constitutional provisions of "Justice--Social, Economic and Political".<sup>62</sup> Fourthly, the states find it difficult, on account of political reasons and poverty of their people, to raise the rate of existing taxes (like land revenue), or to introduce new taxes. Finally, on account of natural, economic and population considerations, the needs of various states are different. Hence the need for transfer of resources from the Centre to the states.

In India, in contrast to other federations, the Constitution contains detailed arrangements for financial adjustment between the Union and the states. Two types of balancing factors have been provided. Firstly, it provides for the sharing of certain taxes, levied and collected by the Union, with the states. Article 270, contains a mandatory provision requiring the Union, before paying the net proceeds of the tax into the Consolidated Fund of India, to assign a percentage of "taxes on income other than agriculture income" to the states. Proceeds representing proceeds attributable to Union territories or to taxes payable in respect of Union employments are excluded from this requirement, and so, too, is corporation tax. Article 272 permits the Union, if Parliament by law so provides, to transfer to the state the whole or any part of the net proceeds of any Union excise duty. The fact that the actual portion of income-tax and excise duties to be paid to the states is left to be determined according to the degree of adjustment found necessary clearly indicates that the purpose here is financial adjustment, not administra-



tive convenience.<sup>63</sup>

Secondly, the Consitution provides for certain types of grants-in-aid to be made by the Union to the states. Article 273 provided for grants-in-aid in lieu of export duty on jute and jute products to the jute-growing states of Assam, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal for a period of ten years. Under Article 275, grants may be made to the states "in need of assistance, and different sums may be fixed for different state". However, grants-in-aid must be made to Assam for administration and development of tribal areas in that state and to other state for approved development schemes in respect of their scheduled tribes or areas.<sup>64</sup> Article 278<sup>65</sup> contained a transitional provision authorising the Union Government to give special grants to any former Part B State (former princely states or union of such states), if necessary to do so as a result of the federal financial integration of those states. Under Article 282, the Union may make any grants for any public purpose, notwithstanding that the purpose is not one with respect to which the Parliament may make laws. A state may also make any grant for any public purpose in similar way under the Article.

The Union Government, under the Constitution, can adopt a scheme of grants which will enable it to cope with any circumstances at any time and follow the principle of federal finance for India as a whole.

### **The Finance Commission**

The Constitution entrusts the determination of actual tax shares and grants-in-aid to a Finance Commission, consisting of a Chairman and four members, to be appointed by the President within two years from the commencement of the Constitution and thereafter at the expiry of every fifth year, or earlier, if necessary.

The Commission's duty is to make recommendations to the President as to: (a) the distribution between the Union and the state of the net proceeds of taxes which are to be, or may be, divided between them...and the allocation between the states of the respective shares of such proceeds; (b) the principles which should govern the grants-in-aid of the revenues of the state out of the Consolidated Fund of India; and (c) any other matter referred to the Commission by the President in the interests of sound finance.<sup>66</sup>

The Constitution, by leaving the specific amounts and the allocations of tax-shares and grants-in-aid to be determined on non-political basis, has achieved success in placing federal-state financial relations in India in a comparatively happy position.



### Public Borrowings

Under Article 292 of the Constitution, the Union Government may borrow upon the security of the Consolidated Fund of India and give guarantee within limits fixed by Parliament. Article 293 authorises a state to borrow within India (but not abroad) upon the security of the Consolidated Fund of the state and give guarantees within limits fixed by the state legislature. However, a state cannot borrow without the consent of the Union Government if it owes a debt to that Government or there is an outstanding loan for which the Union Government has given a guarantee. Under Article 293, the Union Government may itself offer a loan to a state or give guarantee for state loans.

Apart from constitutional restrictions, the Reserve Bank of India exercises important control over the credit operation of the states. It coordinates the loan operation of the Union and state governments and thus prevents competition between them in borrowing. It is the agent for the borrowing and debt operations of the states as well as the Union Government. It tries to achieve a concerted loan policy for the whole federation.

### CONCLUSION

Our study reveals that the history of federal financial relations in India is in a sense the history of constitutional developments in the country and the people's struggle for independence and national integration. Beginning with a highly centralised system of finance designed to serve a colonial power, under the Constitution we have been able to evolve a rational distribution of powers and resources between the Union and the states. It scores over most of other federations and the only complaint is, what we hear from the state, the inadequacy of resources to meet fully their responsibilities. But provisions have been made in the Constitution itself to take care of this too.

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16. *Ibid.*, para 201.
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21. *Ibid.*, para 17.
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# Role of Grants-in-Aid in Indian Federation

R. SUDARSANA RAO\*

CENTRAL GRANTS have been used as one of the most important devices of fiscal adjustment in India since the advent of planned economic development. It has also been recognised that grants can be used as an effective instrument to bring about equalisation of revenues and levels of essential services. The successive Finance Commissions, Planning Commission and the Central Government have been awarding grants to states and Union Territories for both developmental and non-developmental purposes. These grants are given for purposes, like general services, social services, agriculture, industry, transport and communications and for other economic services. Out of the total grants, 38.31 per cent has been utilised for capital formation in the year 1981-82. Only 18.56 per cent has been spent for non-developmental purposes. The total amount of grants-in-aid from the Centre to the states has increased from Rs. 222 crore in 1960-61 to Rs. 2726 crore by 1981-82.

The total Central grants given to states amounted to 30.41 per cent in the total tax revenue of the Central Government during 1960-61. Though they declined to 23.56 per cent by 1981-82, there has been a substantial increase in absolute terms. The share of Central grants in the total revenue was 25.31 per cent during the year 1960-61. This has declined to 17.51 per cent by the year 1981-82. Similarly, the share of grants in the total revenue expenditure was 26.88 per cent which has declined to 17.18 per cent by the year 1981-82. (However, there has been substantial increase of grants-in-aid in absolute terms. This indicates the important role of grants-in-aid in the Central Government finances.)

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\*The author is thankful to Prof. S. Chandrasekhar, Director, School of Economics; and Prof. M. Jagadeswara Rao, Head, Department of Economics, Andhra University, for their useful comments on an earlier draft. However, responsibility for errors, if any, is of the author.

## INFLUENCE ON STATES' EXPENDITURE

It may be noted that grants-in-aid have an important bearing on the state government expenditures. They have been contributing to the states' expenditure on Revenue Account as much as tax shares. Grants-in-aid accounted for about 22.42 per cent of the states' revenue expenditure in the year 1960-61 and 23.53 per cent in 1978-79. The share has declined to 16 per cent in the year 1981-82 but their contribution in absolute terms has increased substantially. It is interesting to note that the share of grants-in-aid in the revenue expenditure of the states has been more than that of the tax-shares from the Centre during the years 1960-61, 1961-62, 1964-65 to 1967-68 and 1978-79. It follows that they have become one of the most important ingredients that influence state government expenditure programme.

Grants-in-aid influence the state government expenditure programmes in two ways. Firstly, when unconditional or general purpose grants are made to the states, states' total revenue increases to that extent. Consequently, states' expenditure will be affected. Secondly, when grants are given for specific programmes, the expenditure on these programmes gets affected. In both the cases, Central grants are likely to influence state expenditures. As one of the main objectives of grants-in-aid is to equalise the standards of essential social and administrative services, more grants are to be awarded to the relatively poorer states in order to enable them to provide the same quality and quantity of essential services as that of the advanced states. This can be done either by equalising the revenues of the states by giving unconditional grants or by equalising the levels of services by giving specific purpose grants for the essential services. When unconditional grants alone are given to states, it may help in achieving the objective of revenue equalisation. But the attainment of revenue equalisation through unconditional grants need not necessarily bring about a reduction in the inequalities of standards of essential public services. Because the expenditure on these services depends on certain other factors, such as the relative importance to these services accorded by the state and its preferences for other services and programmes, etc. However, it may be assumed that a rational grant policy aims at reducing the inequalities of the standards of essential public services in the federation.

## GRANTS AND STATES' TAX EFFORT

Another important dimension of grant policy of the Centre is whether it is encouraging the states' own tax effort. The importance

of the relationship between grants from the Centre and the states' tax effort cannot be overemphasised. There is a two-way relationship between Central grants and states' tax effort. Firstly, the relative tax effort of the states in relation to their tax-potential should be taken into account while determining the eligibility for and the amount of grants to be awarded to a state. Resources are scarce in a developing country like India and hence, mobilisation of additional resources, in order to finance economic development, gains emphasis. Accordingly, the Centre should insist upon the states to tap their own resources sufficiently and efficiently before anticipating any grants from the Centre. Therefore, any scheme of grants-in-aid should give due allowance to the factor of relative tax effort of the states. Grants given without linking them to state tax effort are likely to impart fiscal imprudence and irresponsibility upon the states. The states may resort to extravagance when they get grants which are not related to tax effort. Therefore, it is necessary to take the factor of tax effort in relation to tax potential while determining the amount of grants.

✓ The second and equally important relationship of grants with tax effort of states is that grants from the Centre may encourage or dampen tax effort of the states. Grants are likely to increase the tax effort when they are given for development finance. When the grant money is substituted by a state for its own revenues, grants may be said to dampen the tax effort of the state. Two reasons may be attributed to the grant substitution. One is that when a state is assured of getting an amount of money in the form of grant from the Centre, it may not put further effort to raise additional resources to the extent of the grant money. Secondly, the state may resort to tax-cuts after receiving grants from the Centre. In either case, grants do influence tax effort of states over a period of time. A rational system of grants may be considered as one that encourages the tax effort of the states over a period of time.

#### NEED FOR RATIONAL POLICY

✓ Thus, there is a great need to arrive at a rational grant policy in order to achieve the twin objectives of equalisation of essential administrative services and encouraging the state tax effort. The Finance Commission and the Planning Commission should aim at achieving these objectives while determining the eligibility for and the amount of grants-in-aid to states. Only after that grants-in-aid will become an effective fiscal instrument for establishing smooth and stable Centre-State financial relations in the Indian Federation.

# Evaluating Planning Machinery at Sub-National Levels : An Integrated Framework

Y. VENUGOPAL REDDY

THERE ARE a number of considerations that go into the setting up of planning machinery at sub-national levels in India (i.e., state and sub-state levels). These relate to economic, political and administrative aspects within the existing constitutional frame. The article aims to present, in a nutshell, an integrated framework for evaluating the alternatives in terms of:

1. Factors that should determine setting up of planning machinery with special reference to sub-national level in India;
2. Composition and functioning of apex body at the state level;
3. Organisation of planning department at the state level;
4. Characteristics of the planning body at the sub-state level; and
5. Administrative machinery for planning at sub-state level.

The factors determining the planning machinery at state and sub-state levels can be summarised in terms of the following eleven rules governing setting up planning machinery:

1. The planning machinery should be in a position to provide necessary rationality or technical input to the process of decision-making on developmental issues in general and plan-investments in particular. This would mean creating institutional capabilities for analysing the socio-economic factors, identifying the objectives, indicating strategies and schemes through which the objectives can be achieved, ensuring the implementation of the schemes and having a constant feedback about the effectiveness so that planning capabilities are enhanced.
2. The planning machinery should also ensure interaction with political leadership since, in the ultimate analysis, the interventionist policies (duly influenced by rationality) are

- decided upon through political processes only. To put it differently, the political leadership has to indicate (formally or informally) value-judgements from time to time, and final approval to the Plan has to be accorded by political executive.
3. Close link between finance and planning departments is also essential both at the professional and at political level. Planning provides only a framework of needs and priorities but actual operationalisation of the plans will be attained essentially through budgetary mechanisms of the government.
  4. Planning, as a function will mean continuous interaction with various developmental agencies. The interaction may involve location of counterpart functionaries in other agencies. The interaction could additionally be with professional experts, such as specialists from autonomous research institutions or universities.
  5. Machinery for planning should ensure that expertise is identifiable within it to perform distinct functions within a time-frame, viz., perspective plans, medium-term plans, and annual plans. Similarly, distinct elements of activity could be visualised, viz., plan formulation, manpower planning, implementation, monitoring and review and (ex-post) evaluation. Implementation, however, has to be essentially through the departments or agencies concerned.
  6. Yet another factor relates to the fact that state is a unit in the Federal set-up of India. It would imply that the machinery should be in a position to interact appropriately with the national level body, viz., Planning Commission. It would also imply that the machinery in the state reflects the overall framework of planning process indicated by the Planning Commission and the framework of machinery that the Planning Commission itself encourages the states to adopt.
  7. The governmental set-up, viz., the existence of a cabinet, a legislature, secretariat, autonomous bodies and field level agencies, etc., will have to be taken into account.
  8. Existence of regional forces (such as Telangana, Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra in Andhra Pradesh, Marathwada in Maharashtra, etc.) and the strength of these forces may not be ignored.
  9. Elected bodies created for sub-state levels, such as zilla parishads and municipalities, should also be recognised, and their role vis-a-vis planning machinery specified. Similarly, the emergence of semi-autonomous bodies like District Rural Development Agency, (DRDA) at the district level and local offices of autonomous public enterprises should be recognised.
  10. The emerging policy orientations in the substance of the plan



are also to be taken into account in understanding the planning machinery. For instance, the emphasis on 20-Point Programme declared by the Government of India and implemented in the state and important element of the ideology of the state (such as Pragathi Padham in Andhra Pradesh) will have to be reflected in the machinery.

11. Finally, and most importantly, the nature of planning machinery should take account of the extent of decision-making and implementing powers that are available to the level or institution with reference to which plan-function is performed.

#### APEX PLANNING BODY AT STATE LEVEL

In this background, the issues that arise in respect of composition of Apex Planning Body at the state level may be summarised as follows:

1. The Administrative Reforms Commission of India as well as Planning Commission have indicated that there should be apex body of planning at the state level in addition to Planning Department and somewhat similar to the Planning Commission in New Delhi. However, many states have not considered it necessary or useful to constitute such a body. In quite a few states, where it has been constituted, it is not very active. It is sometimes argued that the nature of plan activity at the state level does not warrant detailed economic analysis relating to allocative mechanisms of investments as of now. The real thrust, it is argued, has to be in terms of proper project preparation, improvements in technologies and appropriate framework for location. These are best undertaken as decentralised exercises within the implementing departments. In this light, it is argued that apex planning body serves no purpose. At best, the existence of an autonomous body could strengthen hands of planning department in providing technical and rational inputs to the process of decision-making at the state level.
2. If a separate body is created, the question would then arise as to whether it should be on a statutory basis or should it be similar to Planning Commission which has been created through an executive order. The statutory basis by itself does not confer any advantage in terms of effectiveness as evidenced by a comparison between zonal councils provided for in the Constitution and Planning Commission created by an executive order. A planning body is essentially an advisory body and the extent

of its importance would depend on the faith and trust which the political leadership puts in the planning process as well as in the apex planning body that is created.

3. The size of the body and the mix of official and non-official experts is also a matter requiring attention. It is generally agreed that the chief minister should be the chairman as planning is concerned with overall policies. Where there is a separate minister for planning, he is the chairman or deputy chairman (if chief minister were to be chairman) of the apex body. It is also common to advocate that there should be a deputy chairman, who should be the kingpin of the planning board. The Planning Commission has recommended a whole-time non-official to be the deputy chairman or the working chairman. It was also indicated that the deputy chairman should enjoy the rank of a Cabinet minister of the state. The Administrative Reforms Commission also favoured a similar set-up. In some states, they have a non-official, full-time deputy chairman sometimes from public life and mostly from political set-up (that is planning minister or equivalent). The problem really is one of getting the services of a professional person who could command the respect of functionaries, like the ministers and secretaries to government. In respect of membership also, there is a genuine problem of enlisting members who are distinguished enough to command the respect of the rest of the establishment on a full-time basis (perhaps this problem exists even at the Union level). If one were to depend on part-time members, the exposure of such members to the complexities of governmental set-up may be too limited. Hence they may be handicapped. Broadly speaking, apex body could theoretically consist of four categories of members, viz., non-official whole-timers, non-official part-timers, official whole-timers and official part-timers. In reality, most of the boards in the states have a mix of different types of members depending on local circumstances.
4. Yet another issue relates to the allocation of subjects to the members. Considering the nature of work, it is felt that the allocation of subjects to individual members would be useful but such allocation may be practical only if the members are available on a full-time basis.
5. The nature of relationship between the ministers and the board is also important. In any state government, the ministers do take active part in the details of administration. Hence, it may be necessary to take the ministers into confidence atleast whenever the relevant subjects are discussed in the apex plan-

ning body. The secretaries to government will, of course, have to assist the apex body.

6. Depending on the composition and functions, the frequency of meetings can be prescribed. It may also be necessary to have two types of meetings, viz., technical sessions and full-fledged sessions with the apex body (somewhat similar to the practice in the Planning Commission at New Delhi where the Commission meeting is distinct from full Commission meetings since in the latter the Prime Minister and the select ministerial colleagues participate).

### Composition of Apex Body

In regard to the functioning of the apex body, there are a number of issues related to the composition, which are as follows:

1. The need for separate secretariat or exclusive technical support for the apex body should be considered. In the Planning Commission of India, the Commission's secretariat operates as a Ministry of Planning also. In most of the state governments, there is a Department of Planning as distinct from the apex body. Incidentally, it may be noted that planning, as a function, virtually started with the Constitution of the National Planning Commission while in many states the apex bodies like boards have been instituted well after the establishment of the planning department. In the Planning Commission, the staff is recruited by the Commission and the responsibility to build the organisation vests with the Commission. Such a system is seldom prevalent in respect of various state governments though there is nothing to prohibit creation of such a set-up.
2. It is also sometimes advocated that there should be a separate budget to be operated by the apex body not only to run its own affairs but also to be able to fund technical studies. The alternative is to provide necessary budgetary allocation to the planning department. In such a case, formal approval of the government is needed for the apex body to incur expenditure.
3. The nature of relationship between the board and other departments of the secretariat and the heads of departments has also to be considered. The Planning Commission interacts with the ministries directly since it functions as a Department of Planning in India. In most state governments, the apex body interacts with the secretariat departments essentially through planning department. Except for obtaining information, contact between the apex bodies and the heads of departments is generally minimum.

4. The related issue concerns the extent to which the apex body could go into substantive issues of allocation and selection of projects as against concentrating on analytical inputs and methodological issues. It has been noted by the Planning Commission that apex bodies in many states have confined their activity to one of merely considering the plan as formulated by the Department of Planning, which vets proposals of the developmental departments.
5. Yet another issue concerns the relationship of the apex body to the Planning Commission at the national level. The Planning Commission would invariably be discussing various elements of the plan with the state chief ministers or their planning departments. While there is nothing to bar a state level apex planning body to represent the views of the state government, no procedures have been evolved for holding technical sessions between the Union and the state level apex planning bodies in advance of discussions at the level of political executive.
6. The apex planning body at the state level should also determine the nature of its relationships with the planning agencies at the sub-state level mainly at the district level. No direct link seems to exist between the apex body at the state level and the planning departments at the district level. However, in some states, the machinery and methodologies of district planning are the subject matters of advice by the apex body.

#### ORGANISATION OF PLANNING DEPARTMENT AT STATE LEVEL

The planning function is generally performed at the state level by the planning department. In some cases, planning department is part of finance department. While number of other functions may be added, the core functions of the planning department relate to five-year plan, annual plans, monitoring and review, evaluation and sub-state planning. The department of economics and statistics is the only field agency to support planning department while in few cases, separate cadre in the planning department is maintained.

#### Issues Relating to Separate Planning Cadre

These are as follows:

1. On the question whether there should be a separate planning cadre in the Planning Department, dispersed over the state with districts and/or field agencies, the report of Planning Commission's Working Group on District Planning (1984) advocates a single planning cadre for the state encompassing block, dis-

trict and state levels.

2. Similarly, a question might arise as to whether planning officers should be located in different departments. In view of the importance of project formulation and appraisal, there has been a demand that the project appraisal capabilities should be strengthened either by having a project appraisal division in the Planning Department or by having specialists in project appraisal in the individual secretariat departments or locating cells with the heads of departments.
3. In regard to professionalism in the state planning department, there has been a demand to obtain outside expertise preferably by contracting experts on a tenure basis or employing them as part-time consultants. Neither approach has been found feasible in many states partly because people having technical qualifications and expertise are not willing to join the department and partly because supporting systems have been evolved outside the departments to provide professional expertise (such as various institutes of economics and social sciences funded by the state governments).
4. In operational terms, formulation of Five Year Plan generally requires substantial technical input. The apex body, where exists, is able to contribute to this process. Outside expertise is utilised through mechanisms of working groups or assigning studies. However, in operational terms, it is the annual plan that is of significance. Most often, the annual plan exercise, though within the five year plan framework, is undertaken by the planning department. This exercise is essentially in terms of making sectoral allocations and obtaining schemes from different departments. The role of Planning Department in monitoring, particularly physical aspects, is generally emphasised. The Planning Department has still to depend basically on the progress reports from the heads of departments, both on financial and physical aspects. A multitude of returns and monitoring reports are sought by the ministries of Government of India by the Planning Department and even by agencies providing external assistance. Standard and uniform systems of generating and maintaining developmental statistics (i.e., hospitals, extension, etc.) are yet to be evolved (though we have such systems for national accounts). In respect of ex-post evaluation, there is a distinct preference for evaluation to be undertaken by an independent agency and definitely by an agency other than implementing agency. Occasionally, outside agencies are employed for making quick evaluation. In recent times, a number of Centrally-sponsored

schemes, such as IRDP, are insisting on building evaluation function into the programme itself. The role of Planning Department and its evaluation wing in the context of such emphasis on decentralised evaluation mechanisms has to be determined.

#### APEX PLANNING AT SUB-STATE LEVEL

The most common sub-state levels in India are the village, the block, the district and in some of the states a division (consisting of a group of districts). As far as village is concerned, while there has been emphasis from time to time on formulation and implementation of village plans; there has been no serious discussion on planning set-up at the village level. At the block level, interest was shown in the process of block level planning, particularly when Prof. Dantwala had gone into it in great detail in 1977 at the instance of Government of India. Maximum interest, however, is found in regard to the planning at district level. Planning at the divisional level is advocated in respect of some of the larger states and, in any case, is not considered relevant to most states. In this background, the following discussion on the apex body concentrates on the divisional and districts levels.

The Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister in its report on Decentralisation of Development Planning (1984) (henceforth called Council Report) advocates a level similar to the division, viz., a level involving cluster of say four districts on an average. In this connection, the Council Report has stressed some danger in placing district at the apex of decentralised planning on the ground that district could be too small a unit for planning to have some of the infrastructural facilities required for decentralised development. In this connection, the Economic Council's Report advocates elaborate apex machinery called 'Policy Planning Council' consisting of some representatives from the state cabinet, state legislature concerned zilla parishads and the panchayat samithis. The Council Report advocates direct assignment of funds to the divisional development authorities. Planning set-up at the divisional level was, however, disfavoured by the Report of the Working Group on District Planning (1984) of the Planning Commission (henceforth called Working Group). The Report recalls the experience of Maharashtra also. The major argument is that an intermediate tier at the divisional level would only delay the matters. In this background, it may be enough to pose issues relating to apex body at the district level on the assumption that an intermediate tier at the divisional level is not warranted.

In examining the apex planning body at the district level, it is

necessary to recognise certain important relevant features.

Firstly, there is no constitutional provision in order to ensure uniformity in the political as well as administrative set-up at the district level. It should be readily conceded that there are a large number of common factors in terms of administrative machinery among the districts.

Secondly, the nature of political bodies that are created (that is local self-government) are changed from time to time even in the same state.

Thirdly, there are a number of autonomous bodies involved in the planning and developmental activities at the district level. While zilla parishads (where they exist in some form or the other) represent the locally elected political body, a number of other district level agencies, such as DRDA/DPAP/ITDA (i.e., District Rural Development Agency, Drought Prone Areas Programme, Integrated Tribal Development Agency) have been created. The apex planning body should be able to deal with all these autonomous agencies without any co-ordinating centralised power-source (such as a Cabinet in the state or the centre).

Fourthly, unlike Union Government or the state, where the planning function has developed as part of the governmental system, there is no such compulsion so far at the district level in as much as there is no district government in the real sense of the word.

In this background, some of the important issues that crop up in the constitution and working of apex planning body at the district level can be summarised as follows:

1. Whether a locally elected body, such as zilla parishad, should really be the political executive to determine the frame of the plan. Theoretically and on the analogy of the Centre and the states, this should be so. The working group concedes that ultimately district planning will have to be taken over by the panchayati raj institutions and other local Government institutions. However, in the scheme suggested by the Working Group, a different set-up is advocated.
2. If it is conceded that the apex body does not get subsumed in the local self-government, it follows that the constitution of any apex body will have to be determined by the state government. In such an event, it can be on a statutory basis (sometimes as part of legislative provision relating to local self-government as in the case of Andhra Pradesh) or through an administrative order (as in the case of Maharashtra and Gujarat). In the latter case, the planning body cannot but be a totally advisory body.

3. The related issue in respect of such apex planning body would be involvement of a minister at state level in his capacity as a minister. The state minister, if he is to be associated with the district level planning body, would normally be the chairman of the district body. The propriety of a state-level minister, incharge of a specific portfolio, presiding over a district-level planning body can be questioned.
4. The involvement of all MLAs is often advocated. In some cases, select MLAs (i.e., Members of the Legislative Assembly at the state level) are nominated by the state government. Where legally constituted local-bodies exist, their representation should normally override that of MLA's. The real issue here is whether people elected by the people to be in-charge of legislative affairs of the state be actively associated with planning at local-level.
5. Yet another issue relates to the membership of the presidents of panchayat samithis (i.e., elected heads of block level body) where, again, the pattern could be mixed, viz., involvement of all select few chosen by the state government, and none else (as in the case of Andhra Pradesh). To make district planning comprehensive, the chairmen of municipalities have also been involved. Here, again, the pattern can be none except select few or all.
6. Often it is suggested that interests of weaker sections -- like SCs, STs, women, etc.--be represented (on a nomination or co-option basis) in the apex planning body. It may be noted that this idea or issue is raised only with reference to sub-state planning and not at state or Union level. Similarly, association of interest groups, such as farmers, is advocated. These ideas are relevant only if apex planning body is meant to enable participation rather than (or in addition) being a technical body.
7. As regards officials, the role of Collector seems to be a matter of concern. The association of Collector with such a body is generally recognised though the importance to be accorded varies. Here, again, the working group on district planning favours providing a crucial role to the Collector. The logic appears to be three folds: first, Collector as representative of state should be involved; second, Collector is the main coordinating official at the district level; third, the traditional image helps. A number of other officials representing autonomous bodies or departments are also associated. Association of officials as members appears to be a deviation from the common practice at the state level.



8. Another major issue relates to the association of experts other than permanent civil services in the government. Unlike the state or Union level, a reluctant or part-time association is practised/advocated. In other words, among the large membership of the body, occasionally there are some educationists, economists, etc. In this connection, an interesting suggestion made by the working group is that there should be an expert body in addition to the apex body which will scrutinise the proposals before being placed for consideration at the apex body.
9. Sometimes having a smaller body, like executive committee. is advocated to carry out the transactions.
10. Distinct units/functionaries to perform identifiable functions as annual plans or evaluation are seldom noticed. The emphasis appears to be on combining planning and programming functions. For instance, DRDA, or ITDA do attempt to develop such expertise.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY FOR PLANNING AT SUB-STATE LEVEL

In regard to the administrative machinery for planning at the district level, the general thrust is towards locating Chief Planning Officers (CPO), whose status will invariably be below that of the District Collector. It is not clear as to whether CPO will be answerable to the local self-government, the collector or the Planning Department at the state level. Here, again, the Working Groups preference is for a separate planning cadre from the state level and the CPO is expected to be part of this state level cadre. In regard to planning machinery to assist the CPO, there are three possibilities: (1) Expertise could be drawn from disciplines like economics, statistics, cartography, sociology, geography, engineering, banking, etc., and located in the office of CPO; (2) Expertise could also be drawn from special areas, like agriculture, animal husbandry, horticulture, etc., and kept in the office of CPO; (3) The planning capabilities of district level officials in departments/bodies could be identified and strengthened.

So far, no separate machinery at the block level has been positioned. However, the Working Group advocates appointment of planning officer of the rank of chief executive of the block to be assisted by two research assistants. Here, again, it is not very clear as to how the planning officer should function with reference to the district level body as well as other elected and bureaucratic institutions at the block level.

It is, thus, evident that in the absence of appropriate political

bodies and relevant budgetary procedures for sub-state planning, it is difficult to even identify framework for analysing the apex planning body or machinery for planning at sub-state levels.

In fact, the various issues discussed above would indicate that there is confusion about the role of sub-state planning body/machinery in terms of popular participation in project-identification, location and implementation vis-a-vis the process of planning as one which introduces rationality.

On a more general plane, the distinction between plan and non-plan and confining the activities of planning machinery to plan gives rise to incrementalism. In other words, substantial developmental activity (even within the budgetary mechanisms) occurs outside the technical definition of plan and the consideration of such non-plan developmental activity tends to be outside the planning process in the country.

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# Strategies for Rural Development in Countries of Asia-Pacific Region : An Overview \*

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FOR THE last quarter century or more, Asian countries in particular, and Third World countries in general, have undergone a massive experimentation in rural development.<sup>1</sup> Evolution of the models of rural development can be traced with the inception of the Community Development Programmes of mid-1950s. Later, severe food crises during 1960s led the developing countries to opt for agricultural development, popularly known as **Green Revolution**.<sup>2</sup> Agricultural development model, however, showed a clear bias for mere production dimension and resulted in 'class hatred' and 'social tension' in many parts of rural Asia.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, there evolved a new strategy called 'rural development' taking both agricultural and non-agricultural aspects of rural lives. Nevertheless, socio-economic conditions of rural Asia did not show significant change and rather generated 'ugly facts'.<sup>4</sup> Thus, during the mid-1970s, under the sponsorship of several international donor agencies, there emerged a new approach called 'integrated rural development' with a challenging task to make a direct 'frontal attack on rural poverty'.<sup>5</sup> Ironically, rural poverty, landlessness, unemployment still persist and are characterised rural lives in many parts of Asia.<sup>6</sup>

## RURAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Rural development strategy can be defined as a set of goals, operation processes, terminal objectives and structural arrangements designed to bring about change and development in the lives of the

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\*Research for this article was supported by a grant from Eastern Regional Organization for Public Administration (EROPA), Manila. The author is grateful to Dr. Raul P. deGuzman, Secretary General of EROPA, for his valuable comments on the earlier drafts of this article. However, the ideas expressed in the article are author's own and do not necessarily reflect those of EROPA.

rural people. A typical rural development strategy is defined as one "that achieves desired increase in farm output at minimum costs, makes possible widespread improvements in the welfare of the rural population, contributes to the transformation of a predominant agrarian economy, and facilitates a broader process of social modernisation".<sup>7</sup> Rural development strategies, therefore, outline the processes that lead to a rise in the capacity of the rural people to control their lives and environment, accompanied by wider distribution of benefits resulting from such control.

Rural development strategies are also viewed as 'strategic intervention'<sup>8</sup>: (a) in the rural economy through change in production and pricing, fiscal, monetary and credit policies; (b) in the rural institutions directed toward the creation of favourable changes in the rural infrastructure; (c) in the social structure by bringing about change in property relationships, distribution of rights and privileges by different rural classes; (d) in the power and authority structure at various levels; and (e) in the cultural matters, in ideas and beliefs about nature, man and society.

In a typical Third World country, rural development strategies result from a complex decision-making process having various external and internal constraints. Effectiveness of rural development strategy is, therefore, determined by the extent to which it integrates a variety of activities in the field in which it operates, aiming at creating or maintaining a certain set of conditions for the future. Thus, in understanding a rural development strategy, one has to determine to what extent it is well articulated, free from internal and external inconsistencies, and autonomous of immediate circumstances, and to what extent it lacks these characteristics.<sup>9</sup>

### **Typologies of Rural Development Strategies**

Based on programme components, assessment of implementation problems, strategies for optimum programme management, a convenient classification of rural development strategies can be made.

Griffin<sup>10</sup> classified rural development strategies into three broad categories--technocratic, reformist and radical. These strategies differ in their objectives, in the performance priorities, in the ideology used to mobilise support and action, in the dominant form of land tenure institution, in the patterns of property rights, and in the way the benefits of the economic system and growth process are distributed.

The first approach is described as **technology-oriented**, primarily directed at increasing rural productivity, either by incorporating more conventional inputs, such as land, or by encouraging farmers to adopt improved technologies. This objective, together with the rest

of the economic system, is justified in terms of a liberal capitalist ideology. Operating with such ideology, the technocratic strategy relies on the principles of competition, free markets and private property as sufficient conditions for achieving the growth objectives.

The reformist approach is basically an attempt to make a compromise between the two extreme approaches, namely, the technocratic strategy, on one end, and the radical strategy, on the other. It attempts to reconcile redistribution with faster growth, which is done by changing agrarian institutions. The beneficiaries of this strategy most often are the middle peasants and large farmers. The redistribution, however, takes place largely from the upper income group to the middle. The lowest stratum may have higher income but its relative share does not increase accordingly. This strategy is generally quite popular, emerging as a nationalist stand in most of the developing countries.

As the extreme end of the spectrum is the **radical strategy**. It aims to achieve rapid social change and redistribute political power, wealth and income to attain a higher level of production. It calls for greater mass participation. The radical strategy sets aside the growth objective and puts primacy on social, political and economic equality. This strategy assumes that human labour is an untapped resource and can be mobilised by labour-intensive efforts.

Roth<sup>11</sup> made a three-fold classification more or less similar to Griffin's. He identifies **radical-structural** strategies as those which seek to sharply alter the existing institutionalised social, economic and political structures of the rural areas within a short period of time. The **incremental-structural** strategy include the gradual changes, e.g., community development schemes, land ceilings, changes in tenancy laws, intensive investments in agriculture and establishment of voluntary cooperatives. The **radical-functional** approaches are characterised primarily by changes in productive processes, adoption of new high-yield varieties (HYV), intense scientific application of technical inputs and extension facilities.

Gable and Springer<sup>12</sup> examine the rural development strategies from the level of resource consumption and use of technology. The **technology-based** strategy emphasises the application of science and technology in the field of rural development, while the **resource-based** strategy depends primarily on expanded or intensified use of traditional inputs and indigenous resources. The former strategy places unusually heavy demands on the administrative system while the latter emphasises internal mobilisation of local and indigenous resources and depends considerably on local initiative and participation.

An almost similar classification of rural development strategies

has been formulated by the Asian and Pacific Development Administration Center (now APDAC)<sup>13</sup>. These are: (a) those oriented to increased agricultural productivity without seeking any structural changes in the form of land ownership and the unit of production; (b) those seeking to raise rural solidarity through limited changes in property relations and through creation of institutions, such as cooperatives and institutions for village self-government; and (c) those seeking to radically transform the social structure and property relations in rural community in order to eliminate economic, social and political inequalities.

Inayatullah<sup>14</sup> classifies the rural development strategies in terms of the level of intervention with respective broad policy goals where productivity, solidarity and equality are considered as broad indicators. The models are: (a) Low Intervention Productivity Model (LIP), (b) Medium Intervention Solidarity Model (MIS), and (c) High Intervention Equality Model (HIE).

#### **Low Intervention Productivity Model (LIP)**

This model primarily seeks to raise productivity without necessarily bringing about significant changes in the social structure and land tenure system. The strategy of this model is to assist those who have the necessary capital, resources, skills and motivation to raise productivity. This model calls for easy access to inputs and technical innovations and more incentives to organised production for market chain and self-consumption. The model allows, to a great extent, the production priorities to be determined by the market forces. This model also advocates for some "ad hoc and limited planning" to achieve these production goals. The intended beneficiaries are the large farmers who, according to this model, can mobilise the necessary inputs for greater productivity.

#### **Medium Intervention Solidarity Model (MIS)**

The basic assumption of this model is that the decay and degeneration of the rural community and lack of a participatory institution and associative capability are the basic reasons for rural underdevelopment. The model, therefore, seeks to remove the bottlenecks through creation of new institutions, modernisation of the rural elite, and diffusion of organisational and human relations skills. The model permits limited intervention in rural institutions through moderate changes in the land tenure system and in the local power structure. It encourages cooperative activities by creating community-based credit, marketing and consumer cooperatives. Through these cooperatives, it attempts to mitigate exploitation in rural areas and to strengthen the economic power of the rural producers and

consumers. The main beneficiaries of the model are those belonging to the rural middle class.

### **High Intervention Equality Model (HIE)**

This model of rural development views the inequality of income, wealth and power as the main cause of rural underdevelopment. It rejects the assumptions regarding poverty offered by the other two models. Thus, it regards those assumptions as symptoms of poverty of rural people which exists as a result of lack of available opportunities and resources for those people. The primary goal of this model is to narrow down and consequently eliminate the social, economic and cultural inequalities and exploitation of the poor by the rich classes. Rural development, according to this model, therefore, requires a two-fold struggle: control of the state apparatus at the national level through appropriate political organisations by the rural poor to facilitate radical changes, and an organised struggle against the rich at local level through which the poor will enter the power structure and control resource bases and means of production. Such struggle would ultimately bring about a rational distribution system and appropriate social tools for development, and thereby eradicate rural poverty and underdevelopment.

### **RURAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES: PRIORITIES OF THE DONOR AGENCIES**

In recent years, several international aid-giving agencies have shown considerable interest in rural development. In many cases, these agencies have institutionally and financially supported several projects in Third World countries.<sup>15</sup> However, the donor agencies have their own models and approaches to rural development. The following section attempts to highlight the approaches, assumptions and policy options of some of these donor agencies.

#### **World Bank: Functional Coordination Strategy**

During the last decade, the World Bank has made a substantial adjustment in the scale and direction of its assistance for rural development. In fact, at present, the World Bank is the largest single source of external funds for investment in rural sector. The annual contribution of the World Bank in the rural sector has increased substantially in recent years, rising from an average of US \$120 million a year in the mid-1960's to more than US \$1.6 billion a year in mid-1970's.<sup>16</sup>

World Bank, in its policy priority, stresses on three basic assumptions regarding the issues of rural development in the developing countries.<sup>17</sup> First, in most of the developing countries, the rate of



transition of people from low-productivity agriculture and related activities to more rewarding pursuits has been very low. Second, the mass of the people in the rural areas of the developing countries faces varying degrees of poverty; their condition is likely to get worse if population expands at high rates while restraints continue to be imposed by limited resources, technology, institutions and organisations. Third, rural areas have labour, land and at least some capital which, if mobilised, could reduce poverty and improve the quality of life. This implies fuller development of existing resources, including the construction of infrastructures, such as roads, irrigational works, etc., introduction of new production technologies, and creation of new types of institutions and organisations.

Upon such assumptions, the World Bank proposes three possible approaches for rural development to tackle the unique situation of a particular country. The first is the **minimum package approach** co-ordinated in a single project where technical, administrative, financial and institutional inputs, infrastructure and technology are organised to raise agricultural production. Credit, extension service, fertilisers, feeder roads and new basic public facilities are combined in packages of projects appropriate for local communities. The second is the **comprehensive approach** which attempts to improve the productivity of selected crops throughout a country or to deliver financial and technical assistance to selected regions where the productivity of a range of commodities can be increased. In either case, functional inputs are coordinated by a special authority or government agency at the national level and emphasis is placed on creating community or cooperative organisations to deliver services. The third and final one is the **sector or special programme approach** which provides single services, such as public works, health, and education. This kind of programme may be nationwide in its coverage.

The World Bank is however, reluctant to prescribe a definite strategy and, thus, argues: "no single package or formula is likely to be either necessary or sufficient for effective rural development".<sup>18</sup>

#### **United Nations: Rural Modernisation Strategy**

The United Nations lacks an overall, unified rural development strategy. Each of its specialised agencies, regional commissions and semi-autonomous research institutes is usually concerned with certain specialised aspect of development, viewing rural problems and their solutions from functional and geographical perspectives. Unlike the World Bank, UN agencies have not clearly defined potential beneficiaries of rural development other than marginal farmers and peasants.

United Nations strategies are based on four major assumptions regarding rural development problems of the developing countries.<sup>19</sup> First is that increasing gaps in income from agricultural and non-agricultural sector are and will continue to be a primary cause of rural urban migration. Second is that reducing those income gaps depends on promoting agricultural productivity, technological progress and industrial diversification and on modernising rural, social and economic structures. The third assumption is that modern production techniques will increase agricultural output sufficiently to keep pace with controlled population growth. Finally, the fourth assumption is that rural social and economic structures can be modernised through coordinated investment in services, facilities, infrastructure and technology.

The UN strategy of rural modernisation is a complex process involving a variety of components. It is thus conceived as a means of achieving rural-urban integration within the context of the national development process. However, the main focus of the strategy is farm development, increased agricultural production through cooperatives and extension, functional literacy, community development, agricultural education, and health.<sup>20</sup>

#### **USAID: The Integrated Development Strategy**

The USAID is one of the leading sponsors of development programmes in the Third World. The USAID's help is directed toward the collaborative style of assistance by placing developing countries at the centre of development efforts. The USAID focuses on the growing problems of income redistribution, and projects aimed to benefit the majority of the rural poor.<sup>21</sup> It recognises that traditional elements of development, such as roads, irrigation, and public works alone are not enough to bring about rural development and do not directly benefit the rural poor. The USAID planner, therefore, emphasises those elements of the strategy that enable the landless and near landless to gain relatively a greater share in the fruits of economic growth. The USAID strategies, thus, give strong emphasis on expansion of non-agricultural work opportunities and on building institutional and administrative capability at the local level.

#### **Asian Development Bank: Rural Investment Strategy**

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) lately has become one of the leading institutions sponsoring several rural development programmes in the Asia-Pacific region.<sup>22</sup> The ADB identified the following as major problems of the countries in the Asia-Pacific region. These are: (a) widespread underemployment and poverty among rural population; (b) unsatisfactory performance of agricultural production and

distribution system; and (c) poor implementation capabilities of the government machinery both at the national and grassroot level to meet the developmental tasks.

In the light of the objective conditions of rural Asia, the ADB, therefore, developed the following guidelines in supporting and designing rural development programmes for the member countries: (1) programmes that simultaneously expand rural employment as well as agricultural production, (2) programmes that assure more and better public services in the rural areas; (3) programmes that induce changes in rural institutions so that they function more efficiently; (4) develop longer perspective with regard to land-use management; and (5) reorientation of policy which considers the needs of rural economy and society. Upon the above mentioned general policy options, ADB took its strategy of agricultural and rural development on the premise that the Bank would help the developing member-countries in the following ways:<sup>23</sup> (a) supplying more capital for productive off-farm activities in the rural areas; (b) giving high priority to projects in which there is a minimum absorption of currently under utilised rural labours into economically viable occupation; and (c) establishing or upgrading components of agricultural extension services which are aimed at the economic activities of rural women.

The ADB's basic concern of involvement in the rural development activities, so far as organisation, management and design are concerned, is guided by a five-point principle. The Bank finances only those rural development projects which are: (a) basic human need oriented, (b) participative, (c) economically integrative, (d) environmentally sustainable, and (e) cost-effective or cost-reducing.

### **Focus on Institutional Limitations**

In spite of comprehensive design and implementation of some of those above-discussed strategies of rural development, success story is few and far between. Recent studies reveal that most of the countries in the Asia-Pacific region have not yet succeeded in satisfying the aspirations of the rural people and their basic requirements consistent with principles of human dignity, social justice and solidarity.<sup>24</sup> The past development efforts and programmes in many countries have largely failed to reach and adequately benefit the rural areas and have in many cases contributed to urban-rural imbalance in development,<sup>25</sup> neglected the dynamism and diversity of authentic cultural values of the rural population and led to imbalance within the rural sector.<sup>26</sup>

In a typical Third World politic-administrative milieu, nature of the ruling regime as against objective choice, usually determines the overall strategies for socio-economic development.<sup>27</sup> Empirical ob-

servations further reveal that in the competitive interest-oriented party system, rural development strategies are mostly short-term and concentrate on a specific short-range problem; consequently, the planning process has to accommodate conflicting and contradictory demand of interest groups. On the other hand, in an authoritarian regime, rural development strategies are mostly formulated by a dominant technocratic oligarchy. These strategies and policy choices are overly ambitious but met with a variety of practical limitations.<sup>28</sup>

Noting the experiences of the Third World countries, some critics observed that in some selected cases, rural development strategies are found to be political instrument to achieve political purposes.<sup>29</sup> In such cases, project priorities of rural development programmes result largely from the perception of political requirements as well as the socio-economic priorities of the ruling elite where objective realities surrender to subjective choices. Consequently, rural development strategies are being used as instruments for regime maintenance.<sup>30</sup>

Situational studies on different cultural and national settings have highlighted several built-in structural institutional limitations of these models or strategies of rural development.<sup>31</sup> Some underscored that these strategies were found to be inconsistent with the broad national development policies and plans and, therefore, in most cases failed to generate adequate political support from the national political leadership.<sup>32</sup> In some other cases, it has been observed that the dominant bureaucratic culture has frustrated the participative and decentralised institutional arrangements for rural development.<sup>33</sup>

### CONCLUSION

Scholars, practitioners and development planners are still confused with the various premises of rural development. It is still more confusing whether rural development is a means or an end for development.<sup>34</sup> Frustrating experience, therefore, made some observers to label the past three decades as "a quarter century of anti-rural development".<sup>35</sup>

There is a running debate among the rural development experts over the exact coverage and level of intervention of a strategy for rural development. One school of thought propagated by what has come to be known as "rural development optimist", composed of such organisations, like the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, USAID, etc., advances the idea that strict administrative supervision and a structural-functional modification of the organisation and management

could invariably lead to a balanced institutional framework where the interests of diverse rural communities are protected.

On the other hand, the radical school of thought is for a complete and absolute renovation of existing distribution system and made of production through drastic policies initiated and supported by the power regime.

Finally, another group argues for a rural development strategy which "democratises property relationship" through class conscientisation, political motivation and mobilisation of disadvantaged groups especially with regards to determining and establishing their rights and privileges.

Experiences of the countries of the Asia-Pacific region, however, show that the choice of any set of rural development strategy depends on the following factors:<sup>36</sup> (1) political commitment of the national leadership to certain socio-economic values or ideology; (2) knowledge and awareness of possible consequences of public intervention in economic, social and political spheres; (3) nature and extent of dependency in external environment; (4) level and extent of internal stability; (5) organisational and administrative capability; and (6) overall level of national development.

An effective rural development strategy is basically the product of a systemic interaction of the components where patterns of asset distribution, organisations and institutions, incentive systems, mode of production and production relationships and selected endogenous and exogenous factors maintain a dynamic equilibrium. However, the success or effectiveness of such strategy would depend not so much on technical inputs and token changes in administrative infrastructure but on conscious and deliberate reforms with total political commitment.

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# Characteristics of Large Service Organisations in a Developing Country Like India : A Conceptual Model

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INTUITIVELY WE attribute to size the performance, or largeness of an organisation. At the back of our mind are the functional and dysfunctional, structural and behavioural implications of an organisation's being not just large but also giant. Size and its largeness seem to have captivated academicians, and there is abundant literature on conceptual analyses and empirical studies on the effect of size on organisational characteristics. Many of the empirical studies<sup>1</sup> have tried to relate size directly with particular organisational features. Hall<sup>2</sup> took the analysis further when he said that technological and environmental factors needed to be considered in conjunction with size to explain organisational structure and processes. However, even this has left unexplained a significant structural variation in inter and intra type industries which, as Child<sup>3</sup> has mentioned, calls for a shift in theoretical orientation from viewing it as a functional imperative to a political process. He has pointed out, "It is argued that available models in fact attempt to explain at one remove by ignoring the essentially political process, whereby powerholders within organisations decide upon courses of strategic action. This strategic choice typically included not only the establishment of structural form but also the manipulation of environmental features and the choice of relevant performance standards."

In developing countries, the causation links of large service organisations are all the more unclear as most of these are state-owned enterprises. For the sake of some level of commonality, the types of organisations discussed in this article are restricted to service organisations in government sector, providing infrastructural facilities, like transportation, banking, hospitals, and communication. They vary in degrees on various dimensions acting as mediating variables between size, structure and performance. The dimensions that we have chosen as having significant influence are: profit orientation, resource availability, and extent of competition. Another factor that would be crucial to the analysis is the significant



influence exercised by the powerholders outside these organisations, that is the ministries. In other words, the effort will be towards developing a conceptual model to explain the intra and inter industry structural and behavioural variations in large organisations, in the context of the environmental factors and the three dimensions, and viewing the outcome as a result of political process.

#### WHAT OTHERS HAVE SAID

The term 'size' has been defined in various ways. We, however, will take it as referring to volume of business. It may refer to sales force for a marketing organisation, number of beds for a hospital, enrolment for an university and so on. We need to be guarded against one pitfall. If we say, for example, that the civil hospital in a city is large because it has 2,000 beds or a bank is large because it has 7,000 branches, no one can dispute it. But since they deliver different services, it cannot be claimed that the civil hospital is larger than the bank or vice versa.

The focus of literature on size has been on the relationship between size and structure to explain: (1) relationship among the structural characteristics of organisations, (2) determinants of variability in the structural characteristics, and (3) consequence of structural characteristics.<sup>4</sup> In general, it is found that larger organisations tend to be more bureaucratic with a tendency towards more specialisation, more standardisation and more formalisation<sup>5</sup>. Complexity along with size is another factor that determines bureaucratic control.<sup>6</sup> The complexity of the organisation is determined by the organisational context and environmental context. The organisational context comprises size of the organisation, integration and automation of technology, number of operating sites; and environmental context in terms of degree of contact across organisational boundaries. Technology is another mediating variable and formalisation would tend to increase with size depending upon whether the technology is built around standard or non-standard products.

Worthy's<sup>7</sup> study of behavioural implications of size is one of the earliest and most extensive studies. He concluded that larger organisations have lower employee morale and lower individual output. This arises from larger organisations tending to become taller, resulting in proliferation of hierarchical levels. Another study<sup>8</sup> found that trade salesman in flat organisations perceived more self-actualisation and autonomy, felt lower amounts of anxiety and stress, and performed more efficiently than in medium or big organisations. It also found that the relationship between size and job satisfaction is curvilinear with the medium sized organisations, out performing lar-

ger and smaller organisations.<sup>9</sup>

The studies mentioned above and numerous other studies point out that the focus has been on specific relationship between size and other factors and that they need to be put together into a comprehensive model. For a complete explanation, we need to bring in the concept of strategic choice as proposed by Child.<sup>10</sup> Incorporation of the process, whereby strategic decisions are made, can help us direct our attention to the sets of choice available in respect of organisational design. Such choices do exist and are exercised by the power-holding groups. They are the dominant coalitions and, in India's context, the external coalition also need to be considered. The concept of dominant coalition is useful in drawing attention to the realm of decision making and, "If, as we have argued, there is some freedom of manoeuvre with respect to contextual factors, standards of performance and structural design then some choice is implied as to how the organisation as an ongoing system will be maintained."<sup>11</sup> The freedom of manoeuvre would depend on the choice set which in turn is constrained by the three dimensions. The three dimensions need to be explained before we trace out their implications.

#### INFRASTRUCTURAL SERVICE ORGANISATIONS

We have considered only service organisations as we believe there are similarities among them. Service organisations are generally labour intensive which necessitate greater focus on the behavioural implications. Spatial dispersion is another factor that signifies service sector. The need for contact with the customers makes them spread out spatially. This factor also has its own implications. These organisations make crucial contribution to the economy and are often saddled with conflicting objectives and nuclear trade-offs. These factors, coupled with nebulous input-output relationships, provide scope for rich analysis.

The earliest classifications of organisations were based on univariates. Etzioni<sup>12</sup> classified organisations on the basis of forms of power used to obtain compliance. Accordingly, organisations are classified as: coercive, alienative, remunerative, utilitarian and normative-moral. Another approach is to classify organisations beneficiary-wise. Such organisations are mutual benefit associations, business concerns, service organisations, and commonwealth organisations. These criteria do not seem to satisfy our requirement because the organisations that we are examining have multidimensional and conflicting objectives. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that, as per their criteria, banks fall in business type, communication in commonweal, insurance in service organisation, eventhough

we would like to classify all of them as providing infrastructural service.

Khandwalla<sup>13</sup> has advocated the use of more than one dimension--like public service orientation, and profit orientation--and classification of these organisations on the basis of the extent to which they vary on these dimensions. Following his line of thought and on the basis of opinion of various writers on this subject, and some intuitive thinking, we suggest profit orientation, resource availability and extent of competition as dimensions having significant influence on the organisational characteristics. These dimensions are not entirely orthogonal. They are fairly distinctive. Though there may be other factors influencing strategic choices, we chose this for the reasons given in the following paras.

### Profit Orientation

Rushing<sup>14</sup> has correctly observed, "Despite the apparent fundamental distinction between profit and non-profit organisations, their differences in organisational efficiency and effectiveness have received very little systematic conceptual analysis by organisational theorists and few, if any, organisational studies have been conducted comparing these characteristics". His study of small, short-stay profit and non-profit hospital showed that differences do exist in the efficiency and effectiveness which suggest that these arise mainly from the fact that one type is primarily an economically oriented organisation and the other is not. For profit-making organisations, economic outcomes exert greater influence on decision-making and hence on the organisational process.

Profit orientation would vary from profit maximisation objective to not-for-profit objective and an organisation has to be placed in this scale based on its stated and pursued objectives. Empirical studies will be beset with many problems because each organisation caters to many segments governed by different levels of profit orientation. Profit orientation of banks may be more than that of railways but, within bank's activities, some sectors may be heavily subsidised at the cost of other sectors. Almost all public sector organisations are saddled with social objectives and one does not simply have an idea of the cost of bearing their social responsibilities, if we are to make a judgement regarding their profit orientation. This problem arises because some of the organisations, which ought to have profit orientation, pretend to be not-for-profit organisations even though their losses may be due to sheer inefficiency rather than due to social obligations. It cannot even be called as perceived level of profit orientation. At the other end of the spectrum are those organisations which earn huge profits often due to monopolistic

conditions. State Trading Corporations, dealing in canalised items, are often of this type and their inefficiency gets hidden behind their gifted profits.

Higher profit orientation is helpful to organisations in the sense that they can negotiate for better terms with the ministries with lesser amount of convincing. Another advantage would be that it is easier to attract talents, especially at higher levels, since even if profit is not motivating, losses are definitely demotivating. Higher profit could lead to higher level of resource availability which is again an advantage. It is here that the two dimensions are not fully orthogonal. They are distinctive because higher resource level need not necessarily mean higher profit orientation.

### Resource Availability

The main focus of literature on resource availability has been on the effect of environmental munificence on inter-organisational conflicts and the strategies followed by the organisation as a member to adopt itself to it.<sup>15</sup> For example, resource-constraint situation may lead to zero sum game among sub-groups of the organisation or may lead to enhancement of their resources through illegal means. As such, it can be said, "Scarcity-munificence of the environment may have important effects upon several intraorganisational processes; interpersonal and intergroup conflicts, differentiation of individual and subgroup goals, and the felt need for joint decision making".<sup>16</sup> Resource availability has been considered by some authors for its effect on the process of budgeting, on the perceived rationality of distribution, on the motivation of coalition groups, and ultimately on the performance of its members.

Resource availability is to be understood in a relative sense. It is unlikely that any organisation can boast of surplus resources as one can always find a need for resources. Resource availability has to be judged in relation to the load on the organisation. Conceptually, resource availability can be defined as the ability to command resource. The resource could be monetary, material and human. The ability to command resources would be determined by factors, like extent of dependence on outside agency for funds, avenues open for resource mobilisation, profit orientation, etc.

The dependence on outside agency for funds is likely to increase the uncertainty regarding its continuity and size. The ability of an organisation, in this context, would be enhanced by the priority of its service to the external agency. It can also be helped by the demand generated in the society for its service. Dependence can be reduced by identification of more than one source of funds. For example, an educational institution by offering its services for

consultancies and management development programmes, can reduce its dependence on Government. This not only reduces uncertainty regarding availability of funds but also increases its negotiating power vis-a-vis its donor. The more important factor in such a situation is the scope that such activities give to its members for job satisfaction. It is also useful in giving 'side payments' necessary to keep the members in the organisation. Profit orientation also contributes to resource availability to a large extent. Here, it has to be borne in mind that the profits earned go to a central pool, that is the public fund, and do not necessarily remain with the respective organisations. So higher profit orientation does not necessarily imply higher level of resource availability though it is certainly a contributing factor.

### Competition

Some of these organisations operate in monopolistic markets and where they are not, they are dominant partners by virtue of their size. Even under these circumstances, competition among the nationalised organisations in certain sectors is present. For example, even though major banks in India are nationalised, there exists fierce competition among them.

The advantage of encouraging competition among these organisations is that competitive orientation per se may act as a motivating factor. It induces confidence and pride in the minds of the members, especially when the organisation is on the right side of competition. It also provides them an opportunity to compare organisational performance.

### THE MODEL

The model tries to interrelate size, structure, behaviour and performance. As explained below, the choice of size itself is a decision variable for the external coalition, mainly the ministries. The decision-makers, keeping in mind the size and the three factors discussed so far, determine the structure of the organisation. Behaviour of the organisation is simultaneously determined and it is also directly influenced by the profit, competitive orientation, and resource availability. The performance is determined by the optimality of these organisational characteristics and it also acts as a feedback to the external and internal coalitions. Performance is one of the bases of bargain between external and internal coalition. Organisations vary in degrees on the three dimensions and an analysis of implications of all possible combinations of these dimensions is not possible. But it is possible to discuss organisations at the

extreme levels and situations where some of the existing models can be directly fitted in. Some hypotheses have been suggested which may be broadly applicable to organisations with particular combinations of characteristics. These hypotheses are only indicative and not exhaustive.

### **Environmental Impact**

In view of their largeness and visibility, these organisations are often under public scrutiny. They are answerable to the parliament for their performance and, in India, the monitoring is ensured through the Committee on Public Undertakings. The fact of public accountability has overriding influence on the strategic decisions, which includes even recruitment of personnel. Since nowhere the line of demarcation has been drawn between the ministries and the organisations in the area of decision-making, each organisation settles for its own level of autonomy that it can wrest from the ministry. The ministries are often overzealous about their jurisdiction and the organisations approach them with apprehensions. With an apprehensive attitude, the organisation often loses autonomy by default. There are also instances when the Chief Executives set their conditions before accepting the offer. So, if we take coalition within the organisation as one party and the ministry as the external sector, each party tries to probe the limit of the other and it goes on until a suitable transient local maximum is reached. It is only local because of the inertia to attempt global maximum which could be beneficial to both the parties. This is because of the uncertainty that such attempts create. The process may often be started by the new Chief Executive if he finds the old arrangement unsatisfactory. It is only transient because it could be disturbed by the shocks or stimulants from the environment (this will be discussed later). The disturbances can, of course, be used by the bargaining parties to get better terms. On the whole, one can say that drawing of boundary line will depend on the strength of coalition vis-a-vis the ministry. So we hypothesise:

### **Hypothesis 1**

The degree of autonomy that an organisation possesses is decided by the exercise of boundary probing by the external and internal coalition which is a political process.

In the bargaining process, an organisation is helped by its position regarding profit orientation and resource availability. An organisation with a higher profit orientation and resource availability can wrest more autonomy than the other if it can show reasonable

level of performance. Loss making ones are prone to attract more attention from the ministry. Inability to command adequate resources will increase dependence on the ministry. It will also add to uncertainty regarding future flow of resources as the ministry becomes the source of all resource. Intuitively speaking, organisations starting at a lower level of resources seem to be destined to be over-governed by the ministries. However, it will be too simplistic to reach this conclusion, for some organisations have wriggled out of such situations due to dynamic leadership. They often achieve this through resource-building activities. They may try to find new avenues for augmenting their resources or by generating public demand for their services. They may even try to build resources through unethical means.<sup>17</sup>

### Hypothesis 2

The less endowed in resources an organisation is, the more binding will be the boundary.

### Corollary

The more binding the constraints the more an organisation will try to resist through resource-building activity.

Can we say anything about the form of control likely to be exercised by the external actors on the organisations? As already mentioned, the service sector does not yield for simple analysis of input-output relationship. Also, most of them are either monopolist or dominant partners in their respective sectors, and inter-firm comparisons are not possible. The ones which are fortuitous to earn profit may in reality be no more effective than other organisations. In the absence of any better measure, cost control provides an easy option. This is especially so for organisations with low profit orientation or resource availability or degree of competitiveness. But as Burke<sup>18</sup> says, "Mere parsimony is not economy. Expenses and great expenses may be an essential part of the economy. Economy is a distributive virtue and it consists not in saving but in selection. Parsimony requires no providence, no sagacity, no powers of combination, no comparison, no judgement. Mere instinct may produce false economy in perfection. The other economy has larger views. It demands a discriminating judgement and a firm sagacious mind". Given that it is always tempting to choose easier alternative, no wonder we find plethora of controls emphasising efficiency rather than effectiveness. Besides cost control, procedural control is also popular. The parliamentary debates, committee reports and audit reports will indicate that the focus has been on procedural formalities rather

than on outcome. Always under scrutiny from various sections for irregularities, the organisations would rather go through the archaic procedure even if it is at the cost of better performance.

### Hypothesis 3

Organisations with low profit orientation and resource availability and low level competition are specially prone to greater external control which is likely to be more in the form of procedural control with emphasis more on efficiency than on effectiveness.

The implications of various types of uncertainties in terms of the demands it makes on the organisations and their coping mechanisms have been dealt with in literature.<sup>19</sup> At the first glance, the environment for the public sector organisations should be highly unstable, one would conclude. Being giant sized, their fortunes are closely linked to the fortunes of the economy. Changes in the fortunes of the economy may affect not only their markets but also the inflow of funds as their parent ministries themselves will then face financial crisis. Add to this the pulls from various pressure groups. Uncertainty as an attribute of environment does not mean much unless it is perceived to be so. Environmental uncertainty is a stimulant"... which lacks inherent meaning or information value until structured by an individual perceiver".<sup>20</sup> It can be thought of as the coalition group's behavioural environment, instead of being an attribute of physical environment. The reactions of the organisation to its environmental uncertainty will be in direct proportion to its own judgement of its capabilities in terms of its resources. Beyond a level, uncertainty ceases to be a stimulant and only results in the organisations building up its defence mechanisms. After a period of time, its own perceptive level of uncertainty may go down to the level of its capabilities.

### Hypothesis 4

An organisation's coping mechanism to its environmental uncertainty is in direct proportion to its capabilities and where the uncertainty is disproportionate to its capabilities, it is met with defence mechanism.

As we know, public sector organisations in developing countries are saddled with many and often conflicting objectives. Also, they have to cater to a large population and often are ill equipped to meet the demand. In these conditions, the organisation tries to respond to standardised responses. "When the organisation does no-



thing, decision makers fear the risk involved in the disparity between its means and the demands made. A sort of cognitive dissonance develops and the decision makers retreat to safer grounds. When organisations repeat standardized behaviour, even though it is known to be unsatisfactory to the sectors, they are reflecting trained incapacity".<sup>21</sup>

In such situation, the performance itself acts as a gatekeeper to the inflow of demand. Imagine a civil hospital trying to cure all the patients it gets. The hospital will soon be flooded with patients. In reality, it is not, and patients go to Government hospitals only at last resort. Another technique is to maintain a distance from the public through red-tapism or even through physical distance. A municipal corporation, which found that a centrally located office is not conducive to meeting the complaints speedily, opened zonal offices in various places. Soon the zones were flooded with complaints and for obvious reasons they did not have the resources to fulfil the demands. The zonal offices were soon wound up. So when an organisation reaches its level of equilibrium, howsoever sub-optimum, it may be given all facilities. It is often pushed to the sub-optimum level because of inadequate facilities.

#### **Hypothesis 5**

Given the capabilities of an organisation, the load that it can shoulder effectively is simultaneously determined. Disproportionate load is dysfunctional and invariably the organisations are pushed towards that.

For external sectors, the choice of size is not something that is given, and that itself can be tinkered with. Why should we have only one Life Insurance Corporation (LIC), while we have four General Insurance Corporations (GIC), and 22 nationalised commercial banks in India. The LIC was the first to be established and later on, when GIC was established, the major consideration was the number of corporations to be set up. The LIC was set up as a single corporation in which all the existing companies were merged. Poor performance of LIC subsequently made the government to believe that it was due to its monolithic nature. The report on the reorganisation of GIC<sup>22</sup> citing the example of LIC, has opined that its monolithic nature has been the cause for its poor customer service and that LIC has perhaps become too unmanageable in size to be efficient in its operation, and also that "It is safe to assume that competition per se, would generate the vigour and effectiveness necessary in an organization to provide good customer service". Ultimately, it suggested four corporations under the overall control of GIC. It needs to be stressed

that the choice that exists at the time of nationalisation will not be available once the organisation is allowed to be settled. For soon, various pressure groups would have developed vested interests and it will be very difficult to overcome their pressure.

#### **Hypothesis 6**

The formation of organisations is likely to be used as a strategic instrument to influence performance, and size and competition are the two major considerations influencing this decision.

The large size and spatial spread has lead to, by choice or compulsion, more and more vertical and horizontal differentiation, though they differ in degrees among organisations. One trend is discernible and it is regarding the role of corporate office. Its role is getting reduced to that of planning and advisory body. This is helped by several factors, like heterogeneity in the environment of various geographical regions, demand for attention by each region, and competition (wherever it exists). Decision-making gets more decentralised and there is almost a replication of the functional specialisation that exists in the corporate office at the divisional office level. A logical extension of such a development would be one in which GIC is operating. The GIC is at the top and it operates through the four insurance corporations coming under it. It prescribes policies and rules and procedures for common functions and acts as a planning and coordinating body.

#### **Hypothesis 7**

As an organisation grows in size, an extension of vertical and horizontal differentiation that takes place is likely to re-define the role of the corporate office as a true 'strategic apex'.

Assuming that growth in size does lead to vertical and horizontal differentiation, we cannot ignore the differences that are found in the structure of the organisations from the same industry, and between the industries. In the banking sector, for example, we find vast difference in the structure of the banks in spite of the fact that they face similar environment and are governed by same considerations. One of the reasons often cited is the difference in the culture of the organisation and the style of functioning of top management after nationalisation. The top management style, especially in the formative years, seems to make lasting impression on the organisation. It is, of course, also constrained by the pre-nation-

alisation culture.

The differences in the inter-industry organisational structure ought to be arising more from differences in the resource endowment, competition and profit orientation. It is easier for a bank which is relatively resource abundant to go in for one more division than for a police department. In the case of resource scarce organisations, the trend may be even reverse. They may go for more centralisation so that they may be able to conserve whatever resources they have, say for example specialists or sophisticated equipment, at the headquarters level. Competition and profit orientation have similar effect in that they may lead to more differentiation. It is problematic for those organisations, which are relatively resource scarce, to face competitive environment. The resource considerations will inhibit reaching optimum structure and often they have to compromise with their ability to compete.

#### **Hypothesis 8**

While the intra-industry differences in the organisational structure are more likely to arise from the culture of the organisation, the inter-industry differences are more likely to arise from resource availability, competition and profit orientation.

The stability of organisational coalitions that we talked of earlier will depend on the payments made to the members of the coalitions. Slack "consists in payments to members of the coalition in excess of what is required to maintain the organization".<sup>23</sup> Though every member of an organisation gets a share in the slack payments, the stability of the groups depends upon who gets how much. It depends upon their bargaining power and the ability to foresee slacks. At the outset, one can say that organisational slack will be more in relatively resource abundant organisation than in resource scarce organisations. There is also reason to believe that distribution of slack will be more skewed in resource scarce than in resource abundant organisation. The coalition group that is critical to the working of the resource scarce organisation will be able to extract maximum slack through threat of withholding their services. Also, the group with low priority will be more successful in getting a satisfactory share in a resource-abundant organisation than in the opposite case.

#### **Hypothesis 9**

The distribution of slack in a resource-scarce organisation is likely to be more skewed than in a resource-abundant

organisation.

In order to study the motivational aspects of large organisations, one has to draw lessons from various studies conducted in the context of size, tall structures, resource scarcity, etc. Research findings have shown that large size leads to tall structures and tall structures lead to a sense of alienation among its employees. Since these organisations are also spatially spread out in most cases, the scope for sense of alienation is much more. What is not clear is, why should it settle down sooner in some organisations than in other organisations? It has to be seen in the context of overall motivational level prevailing in the organisation influenced by the three dimensions, besides size. A continuous resource scarcity is seen as a demotivating factor. If the resource constraint is imposed by the external actor and if it is done over a period of years, it will be seen as arbitrary, leading to a sense of normlessness. Again, competition may be useful in motivating the members provided it is compatible with the capabilities of the organisations. Broadly, we can conclude:

#### **Hypothesis 10**

While growth in size of an organisation may lead to motivational problems, the process gets hastened by poor resource endowment, low profit and competitive orientation.

The performance is the outcome of various characteristics of an organisation and it also provides feedback to external actors and internal coalitions. At the outset, on the nature of relationship between size and performance, one can draw lessons from economics. We have a useful tool, that is the law of diminishing returns of scale. The returns to scale (that is growth in capacity) is determined by economy and diseconomy of scale. They arise from managerial, technological, financial, and marketing factors. What is advantageous at one level may become disadvantageous at another level. When the diseconomies of scale outweigh economies of scale, diminishing returns set in. As an organisation grows in size beyond the optimum level, there is every chance of economies of scale to turn into diseconomies. It gets accentuated when large corporations show propensity to become larger. The intra industry differences in performance of organisations of similar sizes suggest that the economies of scale are not rigid. Some of the managerial problems, for example, can be solved with computerisation, decentralisation and application of more management techniques. But introduction of these technologies or techniques may be constrained by resource availability, poor

leadership, etc.

It is very difficult to explain under what levels of resource availability, competition and profit orientation the organisations can perform better. As such, competition and profit orientation should be positively contributing to the performance for reasons explained above, provided such competition is not out of tune with the resources of the organisation. A detrimental situation arises when the organisation has very low resource availability and profit orientation and has to face a competitive or non-competitive situation. Here, the organisation gets trapped in a low level equilibrium. The performance is poor because resources are low and resources are low because the performance is poor. If the performance is poor, the external agency tightens its control which further aggravates the problem. As already mentioned, the organisation develops defense mechanism and comes out with stereo-type responses. This strengthens the tendency toward 'status quo', as the consequences of any deviations are highly uncertain. Every state government has to maintain the edifice of civil hospital, whatever may be its contribution. The functioning will be smooth as long as a doctor does not amputate a wrong leg or operate on a wrong eye. Then it will be all hell let loose.

Displacements from low level equilibrium do occur and they occur through 'shocks' or 'stimulants'. Leibenstein<sup>24</sup> used these terminologies to explain how a country may get trapped into low level equilibrium and how it can get out therefrom. If the stimulants are sufficiently strong, the country can escape the low level equilibrium trap. Widespread occurrence of jaundice in a city may prove to be a boon to civil hospital as it can hope to get additional resources. Such shocks or stimulants help precipitate crises forcing organisations to take decisions. These situations have to be strategically exploited to make the best out of it. For turn-around management, such situations offer better opportunities than when the organisation is in a steady state. Else, they may be used merely for settling across and all that will happen is that a new coalition group will emerge.

Performance, as a feedback loop, comprises a useful basis for negotiation with the environment. Some of the turn-around strategies, including showing profits, even if it is for a short run, to boost the morale of the organisation and negotiate better terms with the external actors. It works in the reverse way also.

## CONCLUSION

An attempt has been made towards understanding large sized service organisations in their entirety, instead of viewing it in parts. In this context, it is felt that size has to be considered along with other factors, like resource availability, profit orientation, and competition. At the outset, some hypotheses have been provided to link these factors with the characteristics of these organisations. To conclude, quoting Kimberley,<sup>25</sup> "It is difficult to conceive of an interesting or important aspect of organisational life that does not require a dynamic perspective. Nowhere is the contention more evident than in the case of the relationships between organisational size and structure. The conceptualisation of size, as a dimension of either an organisation or its structure, is a direct result of a static orientation, one which is concerned with description of organisational configurations at particular points in time. Such descriptions do not themselves provide a basis for understanding and explaining their etiology. However, only a less static view will serve the purpose. Movement in the direction of a fuller and theoretically richer view of size as a variable in the study of organisation will inevitably lead to a more dynamic theoretical and empirical orientation in the field".

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# Job Satisfaction of the Village Extension Workers in Rajasthan \*

RAVINDRA SHARMA

JOB SATISFACTION, like physical or mental satisfaction, is inherent in human nature. It is closely connected with the upkeep of the right spirit in one's work. Thus, there is a high positive correlation between the extent of job satisfaction and the interest of an employee in his work. The higher the level of job satisfaction, the greater and fairer are the chances of his putting heart and soul with single-minded devotion and undivided attention to give perfection to the task. It is purely a psychological problem. The concepts of motivation, moral and job satisfaction are inter-related.

It is not an easy task to measure the job satisfaction. However, certain methods have been devised to estimate it. In this study, the schedule method has been employed to measure the extent of job satisfaction of the Village Extension Workers (VEWs).

## **VEW's Sense of Satisfaction with the Post**

In an enquiry, 83.41 per cent VEWs mentioned that the post was according to their taste and choice. They were thus satisfied with the posts they held. On the contrary, 14.21 per cent of them presented a different view altogether and were not fully satisfied with the posts they were appointed to (Table 1).

## **VEWs Enjoying the Work**

As many as 71.08 per cent VEWs felt pleasure and took interest in the work of the present posts. Only 26.54 per cent held the contrary view (Table 2).

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\* It is a part of a research project conducted by the author on 'Agents of Agricultural Change in the Context of Training & Visit System' (A Case Study of VEWs in Rajasthan), which was submitted to the ICSSR in 1985.



Table 1 DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS ACCORDING TO  
SUITABILITY OF POST

Suitable	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	156	12	8	176
No	27	3	-	30
NR	4	-	1	5
Total	187	15	9	211

Table 2 DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS IN ACCORDANCE  
WITH ENJOYMENT IN THE WORK

Enjoyment	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	131	12	7	150
No	52	3	1	56
NR	4	-	1	5
Total	187	15	9	211

**VEWs Considering Their Task as Ideal**

It is interesting to note that as per the Table 3 as many as 84.36 per cent VEWs considered their task as an ideal one. Only 13.27 per cent of them did not treat it as such.

Table 3 DISTRIBUTION OF VEWs IN ACCORDANCE WITH  
CONSIDERING THEIR TASK IDEAL

Task Ideal	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	158	13	7	178
No	26	1	1	28
NR	3	1	1	5
Total	187	15	9	211

**VEWS Considering Fortunate to be on the Present Post**

Nearly a half of the VEWs consider themselves fortunate to be on the present post. The percentage of VEWs holding the opposite view is not insignificant, i.e., 45.49 per cent (Table 4).

Table 4 DISTRIBUTION OF VEWs CONSIDERING THEMSELVES  
FORTUNATE TO BE ON THE POST

Fortunate	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes.	95	6	5	106
No	87	6	3	96
NR	5	3	1	9
Total	187	15	9	211

**VEWS Liking to Opt other Post or Profession**

When asked about, around 50 per cent of the VEWs stated that they would rather opt for some other post or profession if they were given an opportunity even on the same pay or income (Table 5).

Table 5 DISTRIBUTION OF VEWs LIKING TO OPT OTHER POST

Opt Other post	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	89	9	6	104
No	92	5	2	99
NR	6	1	1	8
Total	187	15	9	211

**VEWS Feeling the Payment of Adequate Wages**

Slightly more than three-fourths of the VEWs felt that people performing good work in their department were not paid adequate wages. Less than one-fourth of them held just the opposite view (Table 6).

Table 6 DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS FEELING PAYMENT  
OF ADEQUATE WAGES

Adequate Wages	VIEW (A)	VIEW (B)	VIEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	89	9	6	104
No	92	5	2	99
NR	6	1	1	8
Total	187	15	9	211

#### VEWS Satisfaction with the Service Conditions

A large majority of the VEWs, i.e., 62.57 per cent, was found to be dissatisfied with the prevailing service conditions. This is in conformity with the dissatisfaction shown regarding their pay.

Table 7 DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS IN ACCORDANCE WITH  
THEIR SATISFACTION WITH THE SERVICE CONDITIONS

Satisfied with Service Conditions	VIEW (A)	VIEW (B)	VIEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	71	2	2	75
No	114	12	6	132
NR	2	1	1	4
Total	187	15	9	211

#### VEWS Getting Opportunity to Give Suggestions on the Working of their Department

Only 55.45 per cent VEWs said that they got an adequate opportunity to give suggestions and advice on the working of their department.

Table 8 DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS ACCORDING TO OPPORTUNITY TO GIVE SUGGESTIONS IN THE WORKING OF DEPARTMENT

Get Opportunity to Give Sugges- tions	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	111	3	3	117
No	73	10	6	89
NR	3	2	-	5
Total	187	15	9	211

**VEWs Feeling Free in Showing Disagreement with the Plans and Policies of the Department**

The VEWs were asked whether they were free to express disagreement with the plans and policies of the department. In response to that, around 60 per cent of them replied in the negative (Table 9).

Table 9 DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS BY FEELING FREE IN SHOWING DISAGREEMENT WITH PLANS OF THE DEPARTMENT

Feeling Free	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	73	3	3	79
No	110	10	6	126
NR	4	2	-	6
Total	187	15	9	211

**VEWs' Satisfaction with the General Conditions of the Department**

Of the total, 37.91 per cent of the VEWs were not found satisfied with the general conditions of the department (Table 10).

**VEWs' Satisfaction with the T & V System**

In all, 69.19 per cent of the VEWs were satisfied with the T & V System. Only 28.43 per cent of them held the contrary view (Table 11).

Table 10 DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE  
GENERAL CONDITIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT

Satisfied	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	116	5	3	124
No	65	9	6	80
NR	6	1	-	7
Total	187	15	9	211

Table 11 DISTRIBUTION OF THE VIEWS ACCORDING TO THE SATISFACTION  
WITH THE 'T & V SYSTEM'

Satisfied	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	134	10	2	146
No	49	5	6	60
NR	4	-	1	5
Total	187	15	9	211

**VEWS' Satisfaction with the Opportunities Given for Enhancing  
Academic and Professional Qualifications**

Only around a half of the VEWs were satisfied with the opportunities provided by the department to enhance academic and professional qualifications. But the other half were dissatisfied (Table 12).

Table 12 DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS ACCORDING TO SATISFACTION  
WITH THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR ENHANCING QUALIFICATIONS

Satisfied	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	98	6	-	104
No	85	9	8	102
NR	4	-	1	5
Total	187	15	9	211

**VEWs Considering the Post as Essential for Agrarian Development**

It is interesting to note that as many as 96.20 per cent VEWs considered their post as essential to bring improvement in the field of agriculture (Table 13).

Table 13 DISTRIBUTION OF VEWs CONSIDERING THEIR POST ESSENTIAL

Post Essential	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	179	15	9	203
No	6	-	-	6
NR	2	-	-	2
Total	187	15	9	211

**VEWs Feeling for the Higher Level of Officials Taking Interest in this Welfare**

Out of the total, 49.76 per cent VEWs opined that the higher level officials by and large took interest in their welfare whereas 48.34 per cent held the contrary view (Table 14).

Table 14 DISTRIBUTION OF VEWs ACCORDING TO THE FEELING THAT HIGHER LEVEL OFFICIALS TAKE INTEREST IN THEIR WELFARE

Take Interest in Welfare	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	97	6	2	105
No	86	9	7	102
NR	4	-	-	4
Total	187	15	9	211

**VEWs Feeling that their Higher Level Officials Appreciate Good Work**

In all, 57.83 per cent VEWs said that their superior officers appreciated whenever they performed any good work, whereas 39.80 per cent replied in the negative (Table 15).

Table 15 DISTRIBUTION OF VEWs ACCORDING TO THE FEELING FOR APPRECIATION

Appreciate	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	108	10	4	122
No	75	4	5	84
NR	4	1	-	5
Total	187	15	9	211

**VEWs Feeling Being Exploited by the Department**

It is pertinent to note that except 7 VEWs, who did not respond, all the rest were equally divided on the issue of their being exploited by the department (Table 16).

Table 16 DISTRIBUTION OF VEWs ACCORDING TO FEELING OF BEING EXPLOITED BY DEPARTMENT

Being Exploited	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	92	5	5	102
No	90	9	3	102
NR	5	1	1	7
Total	187	15	9	211

**VEWs' Satisfaction with the Promotion System**

Every body wants that he should be promoted to the higher post after an interval of some years. The study reveals that the provisions for promotion of the VEWs are not sufficient. Whatever limited provisions do exist, even these are not implemented in the desired manner and to the satisfactory extent. The last regular promotions of VEWs were made in 1970 by the Departmental Promotion Committee. *Ad hoc* promotions were made by the department thereafter. According to many VEWs, there was a good number of their colleagues who had been working on the same post for the last 24-25 years awaiting their promotion to a higher post.

In response to a question regarding effective implementation, as many as 68.24 per cent VEWs mentioned that the government was not effectively implementing the provisions of the promotion. The VEWs, who admitted that the government had not been effective in implementing the provisions of promotion, were asked to mention the factors responsible for it. Around 21 per cent VEWs reported more than one factor. As many as 66.66 per cent VEWs held the administrative factor responsible, and 45.13 per cent reported that the political factor was responsible for it.

Many VEWs mentioned that the officers sitting at the higher level were the least bothered about their progress. They also said that the officers did not show the exact number of posts of the VEWs/Agriculture Supervisors (AS) and the Assistant Agriculture Officers (AAO). Fewer number of posts have been shown by the Agriculture Department than the number that really exist. On account of it, many VEWs are deprived of their due promotions.

During an informal interview, two active members of A.S. Sangh reported that the provisions of promotion were not being effected, firstly, due to lack of will on the part of the authorities of the department, and secondly, due to irregular appointments and promotions to the post of VEW/AS. Since many of the VEWs/ASs are not capable of performing the responsibilities of AAO, the authorities were reluctant to effect the promotions. So far as the academic qualifications were concerned, many VEWs/ASs were not even middle-class passed. It was surprising how they could work effectively as AAO. ASs/VEWs have complicated the matter of seniority also. The department does not have a seniority list of the VEWs.

In all, 57.81 per cent VEWs opined that favouritism existed in 'some or most' of the cases of promotion. Only 35.07 per cent of them said that favouritism 'not at all' existed (Table 17).

Table 17 DISTRIBUTION OF VEWs BELIEVING FAVOURITISM IN PROMOTION

Favouritism in Promotion	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes, mostly	30	4	2	36
Yes, in some cases	77	7	2	86
Not at all	67	3	4	74
NR	13	1	1	15
Total	187	15	9	211



In response to a question, around 57 per cent respondents said that VEWs showed dissatisfaction about the present state of promotion (Table 18).

Table 18 DISTRIBUTION OF THE DISSATISFACTION  
ABOUT PROMOTION

Showing Dissatis- faction	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	101	14	5	120
No	83	1	3	87
NR	3	-	1	4
Total	187	15	9	211

In response to another question, around 55 per cent respondents said that they were not satisfied with the promotional avenues available to them on the post of VEWs (Table 19).

Table 19 DISTRIBUTION OF VEWs ACCORDING TO SATISFACTION  
ABOUT PROMOTION

Satisfied	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	79	2	3	84
No	98	13	5	116
NR	10	-	1	11
Total	187	15	9	211

There is a lot of uncertainty about the promotion of the VEWs. Consequently, around 70 per cent VEWs were not sure that they would get promoted at the proper time (Table 20). Thus, it can fairly be concluded that a large majority of the VEWs is not satisfied with the present state of promotion.

Table 20 DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS EXPECTING PROMOTION AT PROPER TIME

Promotion at Proper Time	VEW (A)	VEW (B)	VEW (C)	Total (A+B+C)
Yes	51	2	-	53
No	130	11	7	148
NR	6	2	2	10
Total	187	15	9	211

## Value System in Administration\*

KRISHNA MOHAN MATHUR

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH on human values is a recent phenomenon, and their study in a future-oriented, predictive context of administration, is certainly still in its infancy. Human values tend to form a system having some organised set of rules, norms and standards which become the driving force of behaviour. Let us examine some questions relating to values. What is a 'value' or a 'value system'? How do values relate to one another? What configuration do they form? How do they change? What is the inter-play of value systems within a society?

Values are so inextricably woven into our language, thought and behaviour patterns that they have fascinated philosophers for millennia, yet they have proved so 'quick-silvery' and complex that, despite their decisive role in human motivation, we remain desperately ignorant of the laws that govern them. "Policy-makers and scholars have been equally troubled by how much importance they should place on the role of values and attitudes in the modernisation process".<sup>1</sup> The real problem is to analyse and sort out the values that motivate administrative, social and individual behaviour of administrators at various levels of administration. The value universe can be compared to a great, unchartered and invisible ocean, a part of Chardin's 'noosphere'.

The objective of this article is to identify and specify the value structure and value-orientation of our administrators. However, there is no agreed or even promising method for finding out and stating what changes in the values of an administrator or group of administrators have taken place during a given period or what these values are at a given time.<sup>2</sup>

Values differ from individual to individual, group to group and community to community. To generalise about the value system of

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\* It is an edited version of an essay which was awarded third prize in IIPA's Annual Essay Competition, 1985.

administrators in India is a very dangerous undertaking. What level of administrators should be studied--higher, middle or lower? What should be the age group of administrators--younger group between 20 years and 35 years, middle-aged group between 35 years to 50 years or older group from 50 years to 60 years? In what social environment--urban or rural or suburban? From which economic level--the rich, the middle or the lowest ones? Generalisations on value system are really very difficult and probably unscientific. However, some attempts have been made to present a blurred image of value system in administration.

### CONCEPT OF VALUES

The concept of values is quite vague and complex. Different thinkers have explained the term in different ways. Howard Beeker says: "Values are any object of any need." According to Elyde Kluckhohn, a value is a concept, explicit or implicit, distinctive of any individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available means and ends of action. According to Neil J. Smelser, values are the desirable end states which act as a guide to human endeavour or the most general statements of legitimate ends which guide social action. The concept of value refers in general to the normative standards by which human beings are influenced in their choice among the alternative courses of action which they perceive.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes 'human value' is restricted to the area of personal values (of character and personality), but the concept of values can be extended over a broad domain ranging from individual to social to universal values. A few generally used terms related to values are broadly explained here. A person who subscribes to (i.e., has, accepts, holds, is dedicated to, gives his adherence to, etc.) a certain value is characterised as a 'value subscriber'. When a person begins to subscribe to a value to which he did not previously give adherence, it is said that he has acquired the value. In the reverse case, when he gives up adherence to a value to which he previously subscribed, one may say that he has abandoned this value. These two processes are termed as 'value acquisition' and 'value abandonment'. It is termed as 'value redistribution' when there is a change in the extent or in the pattern of its distribution in the society.

The social values are those values which are generally acknowledged and widely diffused throughout the society, are explicit, overtly appeal to them, and can well be expected from publicly recognised spokesmen for value--i.e., newspaper editorials, religio-moral sermonisers, political orators, intellectuals, public leaders and the

like. Values change due to change of information, ideological or political change or due to economico-technological change. Value erosion can be induced by boredom, disillusionment and reaction. Four most important and dominant social values of the Western societies are: (1) survival of the society, (2) welfare of the society, (3) advancement of the society, and (4) reality adjustment of the society. The most dominant individual values of the Western societies are: (1) materialism, (2) independence, (3) self-advancement, (4) individualism, (5) comforts and amenities, (6) self-reliance and selfsufficiency, (7) personal liberty, and (8) self-fulfilment. In contrast, hierarchy, holism, continuity and transcendence are the traditional dominant values of Indian society. Honesty, truth, non-violence, peaceful co-existence, *nishkam karma*, obedience, *purusharth* (*Arth, Dharma, Kam and Moksha*), sacrifice and high character are the dominant traditional personal values of Indian society. However, a gradual but noticeable change in both personal and social values is coming up in Indian society after independence.

There is a continuous conflict between individual, organisational and societal values. Values can also be affected by the pathology of ego or opportunism and can be inimical to organisational good. An understanding of values is important and necessary before value conflicts can be resolved at any level. Value system has to be dynamic and keep pace with the changing needs and attitudes of the society towards concepts of development. Yet there has to be an underlying element of continuity in the value system that would ultimately direct the administrative effort to promote a good quality of life. More concretely, values can be conceived according to Rokeach Milton as "abstract ideas; positive or negative, not tied to any specific object or situation, representing a person's beliefs about (ideal) conduct". Values are essentially global beliefs that guide people's behaviour regarding specific objects and situations. Value system determines the relationship of a man in his family, his political or religious activity, and the choice among alternatives. In selecting goals, in choosing means for reaching them, in resolving conflicts, an individual is influenced by his value system. There are two types of values:<sup>4</sup>

1. Operative values are the criteria or value assumptions according to which actions or choices are actually made.
2. Conceived values are the values which are taught by culture, religion and ethics and at times have little practical influence on behaviour.

Generally every individual builds up his value system on the basis

of the following four sources of understanding:<sup>5</sup>

1. Cultural influences,
2. Science and innovations,
3. Religion and ethical influence, and
4. Life experience.

According to Nicholas Rescher, value change occurs when a specific value is redistributed through society (when, in other words, it gains or loses adherents); when it elicits greater or lesser commitment from its holders; when its subscribers extend or restrict what they regard as its range of applicability (as when, for example, equal opportunity is extended to include Negroes); when the holders of a value alter the criteria by which they measure its attainments; when they revise the priorities of action intended to implement the value or when they set different target dates for these actions and so on. Certain types of changes may be characterised as 'upgrading' a value; others are value 'down-grading'. Value-system is a psychological concept related to the mental processes of value judgements at conscious and at times sub-conscious levels.

A value system comprises three elements: (1) cognition or perception, (2) cathexis, preferences, involvement or affect, and (3) evaluation. Cognitive values include beliefs, information and analysis; affective values include feelings of attachment, aversion or indifference. Evaluative values include moral judgements and ethical codes of 'right' and 'wrong'. Admittedly, every administrator brings to the administration his own expectations and values which he acquires as a result of the several socialisation processes he undergoes as a member of his family, school, church, profession and society in general.<sup>6</sup> The personal value system that is built around him is also influenced by his neurological and general biological constitution, the food he eats, the climate he lives in, the community he belongs to and the physical environment he lives in. The personal value system of an individual "is a relatively permanent perception framework which shapes and influences the general nature of an individual's behaviour".<sup>7</sup> Personal values can be considered similar to ideology and philosophy, ingrained and stable in nature, encompassing a wide range of an individual's activity and not tied to any specific referent object. McLaughlin has summed up the attributes of values thus, "... values: (1) are not directly observable, (2) have cognitive, affective and cognitive elements, (3) do not operate independently of the biological organism or social field ... values are also conceived as: (a) referring to standards of the desirable rather than to be desired, (b) hierarchically organised in the personality sys-

tem, and (c) relevant to actual behaviour as a function of personal commitment and situational factors".<sup>8</sup> There are value imperatives which pervade or govern the organisations. Meta-value is "a concept of the desirable so vested or entrenched that it seems to be beyond dispute or contention". Hodgkinson describes four such meta-values--namely, maintenance, growth, effectiveness and efficiency. The administrator has his own personal meta-values of maintenance, growth, efficiency and effectiveness. The value continuum for an administrator may range from non-commitment or detachment at one end to engagement at the other. His values may be governed by beliefs, commitment to work and even to success; meta-values of 'power' and success are also important for administrators.

The main characteristics of a value system are as under:

1. Value system is both internally consistent and integrated with the individual's total personality.
2. Value system implies a hierarchy of values which enable the individuals to choose confidently between things of greater and lesser importance.
3. Value system provides meaning and practical guidance in the world of reality and has certain amount of flexibility.
4. Value system changes and keeps pace with the individual's changing roles, life situation, physical and socio-cultural environment.
5. Value system provides satisfaction, sense of fulfilment and meaning to the various activities of life.
6. Values are of different kinds: social values, historical values, institutional values, structural values, professional values, and personal values. At times, different values present a picture of contradiction or contrary pulls. A person faces dilemma when personal values come in conflict with other types of values referred to above.

The value system of administrators at various levels of hierarchy need not be similar and can differ. The value system of the experienced administrators will be more conservative, pragmatic and flexible than young or newly recruited administrators. There are bound to be regional variations and value-gaps between the administrators working in different parts of the country. Value-gaps or differences of values pertain to differences in the conditions of life--age, sex, education, culture, religion and environmental conditioning--and thus there are variations in value system in each organisation.

In order to measure the value system, Milton Rokeach has worked out a standardised psychological test of 18 values.<sup>9</sup> The test is

based on the following assumptions:

1. The total number of significant values are finite, indeed quite small.
2. Values are universal.
3. People differ from each other only in placing emphasis on each value.
4. Values are considered to be arranged hierarchically within a value system and the importance of a particular value is determined by its relationship with other values.
5. Once a new value is internalised by the members of a society, it develops some degree of functional autonomy.

#### VALUE SYSTEM--A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Value system comprises a cluster of inter-related and inter-mixed values or group of values which are subscribed by a group of professionals or group of people. The attitudes, values and the moral hierarchy of the bureaucrats depend on three major factors: (1) socio-economic, (2) type and extent of education/training received by the individual, and (3) professional ties of the particular individual. Value system is a holistic reality and becomes meaningful only with reference to a 'pattern' or complex. Indian value system traditionally is characterised by the dominance of "a sacred society where the assessment of needs, occupations, interests, etc., was largely oriented towards non-utilitarian, non-pragmatic standards of evaluation". Value system can be considered as 'psychological dispositions' and cluster of socio-cultural and ethical values and attitudes which an individual or group of people possess or internalise.

Value system embodies those crucial internal principles, accepted norms, generic sanctions, and beliefs which determine the mode of expectation and characterise the pattern of motivation of individuals as well as that of the group in a society, involving their conscious, unconscious and sub-conscious activities. Value system includes those principles in terms of which a culture interprets, what is 'right' and what is 'wrong', and the endeavours of the individuals are organised in terms of those generic sanctions and internalised beliefs. Value system of a society is the conception held by its members, with varying degree of unanimity, of a good society and hence the standards by which they measure the good things and shortcomings of their own society.<sup>10</sup> Value system is governed by certain sanctions. According to Bentham, there are four types of sanctions:

1. **Physical Sanctions:** As a general tendency, right actions



lead to physical health and the feeling of well-being while wrong actions like drunkenness and debauchery lead, ultimately to physical pain.

2. **Political Sanctions:** The political laws lead to punishment of such evil actions as theft and murder.
3. **Social Sanctions:** Public opinion gives praise and consequent happiness to the benevolent man while it condemns and ostracises the miser.
4. **Religious Sanctions:** Good actions give them a consciousness of God's approval and a consequent happiness. It is in the promise of a life beyond death that the good would be regarded by a superlative happiness and bad punished with an excess of pain that religious sanctions have chiefly operated. According to Bentham, "utilitarian doctrine of sanctions" influence values. J. S. Mill added a fifth sanction - "the internal sanction of conscience", the pleasure that comes from a sense of duty well done, and the pain comes from remorse of conscience.

Education and communication can be helpful in changing attitudes and values, but their capacity to do so should not be over-rated. Initially traditional values may be an impediment to behavioural change, but if the incentives for the latter are strong, behaviour does change and value changes often vary.

A value system is more a matter of perception for the top management or policy-making levels and may not affect the day-to-day operational levels in an organisation. Hodgkinson, while analysing the process of decision-making, finds the presence of internal value components in the decision-making process which thereby give it philosophical status. Administrators would find it useful to keep the question of value upper most in their minds at the time of taking organisational decisions. A value system may be very useful in promoting the organisational interest as salient rather than the self or extra-organisational interests. A value system can also prevent opportunistic or doctrinaire slants to policy-making. Planning for economic growth is an extremely complicated exercise which presupposes deep administrative insights and a keen evaluative perspective in the administrators. Administrators have an important role in the process of planning and development administration. Bureaucrats and administrators have a big role in nation building. Administrators, in all developing societies, have to adopt the ideals and values of modernity. They have a wide zone of fluid values which they have to accept and cherish. The culture of politics in independent India has posed a definite threat to the bureaucracy's structure, values and

interests. In the new context, a closer identification with the masses is called for, the authoritarian tone of administration has also to change. Administration for nation building necessitates a different approach involving a new value orientation and a modified institutional set-up.

According to Yogendra Singh, the dominant traditional values of India are characterised by hierarchy, holism, continuity and transcendence.<sup>11</sup> After independence, the Western cultural values have led to the contemporary challenges in our cultural values. It implied intrection of the values of equality in place of hierarchy, of individualism as replacement of holism, of historicity in place of continuity and of techno-scientific rationalism in place of the principle of transcendence. India today is witnessing a fundamental revolutionary transformation. The introduction of western technological and institutional innovations, the adoption of Indian Constitution, mass mobilisation for independence and the adoption of adult franchise, new modes of communication and transport, high degree of mass exposure, planned economy, new legislations and institutions of justice, law and order, new forms of administration have all created conditions for a far-reaching revolutionary change in the value system in India. The new cultural values of egalitarianism, social justice, secularism, legal rationalism, democracy and planned transformation of society have created a crisis in traditional value system and now the old and new values co-exist in a random non-syncretic fashion. The conflict between the old and the new value systems poses a real challenge to the administrators and bureaucrats because the two have not been integrated or synthesised.

The general picture, however, continues to be one of twilight of transition; old values persist and new ones are being added to them.<sup>12</sup> In traditional societies, fundamental values encompass operative values and in modern societies, operative values encompass the fundamental ones. With operative values one evaluates activities in the context of a means and relationship. The fundamental values evaluate behaviour in terms unconditional in nature and not involving a means and relationship--these are ends in themselves. Operative values are amenable to rationality tests but fundamental values are beyond rational appraisal or scientific proof. The administrators believe in modernising values in abstract, but they find difficulty in the practice of these modernising values because of certain environmental factors and their unwillingness to do away with the authority accorded to them by tradition. In the words of Strauss, "the administrator is not a self-contained and self-regulating mechanism but an instrument for the furtherance of specific social interests and therefore intimately concerned with the world at large and

its problems.<sup>13</sup>

All societies today are caught in a massive upheaval of value system. The collapse of the values of the past has hardly gone unnoticed. Value turnover is now faster than ever before in history. While in the past, a man growing in a society could expect that its public value system would remain largely unchanged in his life time, no such assumption is warranted today, except perhaps in the most isolated of pre-technological communities.<sup>14</sup> All value systems are now-a-days short-lived, more ephemeral than the value of the past. Most previous societies have operated with a broad central core of commonly shared values, but today we find diversification of values with the fragmentation of societies. Pluralistic societies are fast changing and losing their consensus on standards of conduct and manners. There is no evidence whatsoever that the value systems of the modern societies are likely to return to 'steady-state' condition. For the foreseeable future, we must anticipate more rapid value change. We are facing today 'colliding value systems'. A fast changing, developing society is likely to find fragmentation at the levels of values and life styles. The working of our minds and even more their subconscious reactions are to a far greater extent than most of us are aware, the resultant of our value system. No man can hope wholly to eliminate from his thinking the effect of his value system.

#### FACTORS INFLUENCING OR CHANGING VALUE SYSTEM

Throughout human history, the value system of society changed so slowly and so imperceptibly that seen from the vantage point of a single life time, it appeared to be unchanged. The advance of higher education, the discovery of new medical techniques, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the expansion of the welfare state, the advance of automation, politico-economic equalisation, improvement in the means of transport and communication and the population explosion are some of the causal factors which can bring about gradual changes in the value system. A value change can come about either derivatively or directly. It is derivative when, for example, the value at issue is subsidiary or subordinate to another value and changes because this other value does so. For example, think of a complex value cluster (e.g., 'economic justice') and a subordinate value that represents a constituent element of this cluster (say, 'equality of opportunity'). At times, an upgrading or downgrading of one value will call a corresponding change in the hierarchical status of the other. A value change is direct when it comes about under the direct, immediate operations of causal factors, like ideological or political change, environmental change, economico-technological

change or change in information. National oriented values (patriotism, national pride), rationality, civic virtues, social welfare, social accountability, public service, egalitarianism, and secularism are some of the values which get upgrading when some one joins public services and gets the responsibility for administration. After independence, in the planning process of India, in the evolution of the public sector, in the impetus to the industrial development, in the mobilisation of external resources for the country's economic development, the imaginative efforts and initiatives of Indian administrators made a significant contribution and "can be identified as initiators of change and propagators of new ideas".<sup>15</sup> The modern administrators of free India need to build a value system which comprises a cluster of modern values needed for a developing nation, such as the ethos of national unity, secularism and modernisation under a democratic and egalitarian social order and promotion of policies of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence in international relations. These ideals have not yet become the shared conscience of the nation and at times opinions have been expressed suggesting some changes in some of these values in content as well as in emphasis. The forces of integration, rationality, modernisation, religious tolerance and understanding have been sought to be replaced by passions of disintegration, orthodoxy, religious fanaticism, parochialism, and narrowness in outlook. The situation makes an urgent demand on our administrative and political system to work constantly towards safeguarding our values and commitment to secularism, modernisation and national integration ethos.

Value system is built up on the following factors:

1. Values inculcated in early childhood within the family;
2. Education;
3. Training;
4. Mass media, cinema, TV, newspapers and books;
5. Technological developments, high speed mass transit, computer, and contraceptives;
6. Environment;
7. Political system;
8. Religious and ethical thinking of the community;
9. Moral atmosphere; and
10. National culture, ethos and environment.

Mass media, democratic, polity, technological and scientific developments of the modern era would upgrade the values pertaining to physical well being, convenience in the style of life, self-respect, love, affection, friendship, reasonableness and rationality, con-

scientiousness in service to others, equality and civil rights, democracy, social justice, peace and reverence for life.

### Concept of Administration

Administration is a very broad term and includes both public administration and private administration. But in this article, administration is mainly concerned with public administration. It can be broadly classified as follows:

1. Overall administration of the economy, the environment and political units (like states or districts).
2. Public utilities, for example, roads, railways, airports, electricity, etc.
3. Social service, for example, health, education, welfare, etc.
4. Scientific and technical services, for example, scientific and technological research, agricultural development, advisory services, etc.
5. Police, military and para-military services, for example, defence, police, prisons, etc.
6. Basic powers of regulation and assistance for example regulation of industries, regulations concerned with safety, health and security of citizens, etc.
7. Developmental administration including implementation of economic plans.
8. Financial management and fiscal administration.
9. Administration and management of political system and its processes, for example, conduct of elections.
10. Overall administration and management of human and other resources within a given political system.

The word 'administration' is quite complex and vague and can not be easily comprehended. Administration, according to Luther Gullick, includes activities of planning, organising, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting and budgeting in a given administrative system. Administration is the ability and capacity of coordinating and controlling many and often conflicting, social energies in a single organism so that they operate as a unity. Administration is a dynamic art of the direction, coordination, control and management of many persons to achieve certain objectives and required goals. Administration is one of the most important instruments available to the government to achieve the goal of nation building and socio-economic progress. Administration is not merely execution of a given policy but includes helping to form it. Administration comprises the organised activities of the state for orderly social development measured

in terms of individual citizens.

Administration can be broadly divided into three levels:

1. Policy formulation at Secretariat (Centre or State) level;
2. Middle level administration (District level); and
3. Grassroot, field level.

Each administrator performs some basic functions, such as planning, organising, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting and budgeting but the secretariat system is the nerve centre of the entire administration and the mainspring of all governmental activities.

Administration keeps the fabric of society intact. It is an instrument of ordering of human relations to help the individual in developing his individuality as a consistent, coherent personality and at the same time to achieve the same collective objectives. Administration can provide the patent catalytic force to harness the vast potential energy of the nation. Administration can be viewed as a game of chess, in which there are no right or wrong moves, but effective or ineffective moves. The administrator becomes an agent of performance. Administration in the modern world and, particularly in the developing countries, is no longer a static concept (law and order or revenue administration) but a dynamic one (rural and urban development, planning and projects, irrigation and energy). German sociologist Max Weber, the master theoretician of bureaucracy, spelled out four attributes of administrative bureaucracy. It was efficient, predictable, impersonal and fast. Weber stressed the importance of structures (authority, command and delegation) and specialisation in bureaucracy and recognised the importance of departmental hierarchy. The development which overshadowed administration in the past independence era are: (1) planning for economic development, (2) democratic decentralisation, (3) democratic socialism, (4) secularism, and (5) commitment to social justice and upliftment of the weaker sections of the society. The administrators today have to direct the scarce resources towards developmental goals if they manifest their beliefs in the broad societal goals of democracy and equality. These values have to form part of the administrator's philosophy and thinking for carrying out their burden of development administration. Every society gets the administration it deserves and the value system of the society is the value system of its administrators. In all democracies, we find 'representative bureaucracy' which reflects the ideas and the values of the society as a whole. Commitment and loyalty of administrators to particular organisations is a variable phenomenon depending upon such factors as social culture, career system, professional allegiance, and value system. The

administration can be analysed from both 'micro' and 'macro' approaches. Theories of the social system provide a 'macro' perspective upon administration whereas organisational theory offers a 'micro' perspective. Firstly and most basically, motives and values can be ascribed directly only to individuals and not to organisations and agencies.

Administration is culture bound because administrators are citizens drawn from the same cluster or members in society and they can not be therefore different from the average citizens except to the extent to which their organisational rules and conventions as well as personal training and supervision enable them to act differently. One of the principal uses of organisation, according to Simon, is to secure individual compliance with the value system and norms of the group. This can be called 'identification'. Organised society through identification 'imposes' upon the individual the scheme of social values "in place of his personal motives". Organisational structure is socially useful to the extent that the pattern of identifications which it creates "bring about a correspondence between social value and organisational value".<sup>16</sup> The value system and the behaviour of administrative agencies vary greatly according to the nature of their staff resources and clientele, and of the political and professional groups concerned with their operations. Concepts of inner-democratisation, of administrative decentralisation and of delegation of authority and responsibility receive at best only lip service in many developing societies. P.R.V. Rao's study of a few important cases in his book *Red Tape and White Cap* shows that although rules are often framed specially to help the citizen, actual implementation of rules leads to greater injustice and hardship. Every official in administration is significantly motivated by his own self-interest even when acting in an official capacity. Officials have direct personal interest (in terms of power, income or prestige) in the survival and growth of the organisation or agency to which they belong. Anthony Downs has categorised officials into five categories, namely, conservers, climbers, zealots, advocates and statesmen. The first two types are wholly self-interested while the other three types combine self interest with attachment to successive broader policies of the organisation.

#### **A Philosophy for Administration**

The humanists emphasised the importance of 'human system' over the technical system in administration. Work motivation has been given due importance and the concept of Maslow's 'self actualisation' has become the end of the value system in administration. The humanists talk of 'satisfiers' and 'dissatisfiers' in human motivation. Import-

tant thinkers in this group are Mary Park Follet, Mayo, Argyris, Maslow, Herzberg and Douglas McGregor and Henry Fayol. H.A. Simon looked at administration as fundamentally a decision-making process. Chester Bernard was greatly concerned with the moral element in administrative behaviour linked with the concepts of responsibility and leadership. Management tools serve the organisational need better when the organisation is attuned to a value system for common good. In the 20th Century, the question of 'philosophy' of administration received attention in the writings of Chester Bernard, Geoffrey Vickers, Oakeshott, Peters, Simon, Thompson, Leys and Lassem. In 1958, Marshall E. Dimock brought out his book **A Philosophy of Administration Towards Creative Growth**. Values, not techniques (though techniques are important) are the eventual determinants of the actions of the administrators. An organisation seeks to identify social values with individual motives. To quote Peter Drucker : "the blending of institutional and individual values becomes the 'ultimate principle' in administration". In 1978, Christopher Hodgkinson, published his book **Towards a Philosophy of Administration**. This book has given a very useful philosophy for the administrators. Karl Marx has analysed bureaucracy in the following words:

The general spirit of bureaucracy is secret, mystery, safeguarded itself by hierarchy and outside by its nature as a closed corporation....within bureaucracy the spiritualism turns into a crass materialism, the materialism of passive obedience, faith in authority, the mechanism of fixed and formal behaviour, fixed principles, attitudes, values and traditions.

Hodgkinson presents an analytical model of the value concept in which he presents three types of values: Type I: 'Transrational', Type II: 'rational' and Type III: sub-rational; and divides them into two components - 'rights' and 'good'. Transrational values are meta-physical in nature (examples: Code of Buddhism or Communism). Rational values correspond to humanism, utilitarianism and pragmatism. These values emphasise reason and compromise, prudence and expediency, and are therefore attractive to administrators. Sub-rational values correspond to reduction of behaviouralism and logical positivism. They are expressions of emotional preference. Hodgkinson has given three postulates which are characteristic of this value-system. Firstly, Types I, II, III values are superior in that order. Secondly, there is a natural tendency for values to lose their force over time. Thirdly, there is a natural tendency to avoid resolution of value conflicts. An administrator has to possess broad education, magnanimity, integrity, capacity for self propulsion, human sensi-



vity with a steady value-system. The professional sights of the administrators still stand in great need of elevation in both motives and methods. Administrators have to exhibit an integration of universal values, such as wisdom and reverence, honesty and integrity, devotion to human interests as well as those traditions which are favoured in the cultural stream of a particular civilisation. Administrators have to develop a sense of mission, an understanding of inter-relations and a compelling sense of overall objectives and values. Administrators, according to Mayo, need an increased quota of 'social skills' for modern management. He requires more promotional ability, more imagination and more integrative ability. According to Marshall E. Dimock, to be an administrator, at the highest level of organisational leadership, requires first a philosophical cast of mind accustomed to generalising, a high intelligence, a free-ranking imagination, a willingness and an ability to entertain new ideas and a certain adventuresomeness.<sup>17</sup> An ability to deal with men, good judgement, a willingness to assume responsibility, a facility for inspiring team work, a concern for bringing into administration, the democratic spirit, an appreciation of social, economic and political relationships, perseverance, drive and inclination are some of the social skills needed for our administrators. According to Simon, there is no place for ethical assertions in the body of administrative science; that there is an 'administrative man' who is comparable to 'economic man' and that administration is concerned with the maximum attainment of administrative objectives with 'scarce means'.<sup>18</sup> An able administrator has to plan for the future keeping into consideration the tempo of modern life and the rapidity of social change. He has to look twenty years and more ahead and management planning must be increasingly projected ahead in order to keep up pace with change. According to Peter Drucker, practically every basic management decision is a long-range decision - with ten years a rather short time span in these days.<sup>19</sup> Administrators need to develop more administrative skills in coordination and integration.

The problem is to find the common element in today's and tomorrow's decision, how to reconcile conflicting demands, how to keep pace with the tempo of change--all this requires integration. The integration of a cultivated, wise and penetrating mind. In all democracies, administrators are ultimately open to public challenge, criticism, scrutiny and pressures. Administrators operate the levers of power in very subtle and anonymous manner. Administrators are expected to be 'neutral' which includes within itself anything like impartiality, anonymity, obscurity, and political aloofness. The concept of neutrality, in its positive perspective requires that the administrator must be in tune with the public opinion and changing

needs of the society. No administrator can possibly take a neutral position between welfare and stagnation, between service and apathy and between action and inaction.

During the last 25 years, there has been a change in the structure of values and attitudes but this change is characterised by ambivalence both to tradition and to modernity. In point of fact, a new set of attitudes and values are super-imposed on the traditional value-attitude system. Administrators have to develop a new political responsiveness and commitment in developing societies. The public administrators have to be committed to the ideals of democratic, socialist, secular republic. Shrimati Indira Gandhi held that "only a committed bureaucracy in place of old, indolent, passive, apathetic and political one could possibly bring out the desired change in the country" (*The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, December 1, 1969). But in most of the developing countries administrators remain concerned with the grabbing of power in their own hands. In every bureaucracy we find place hunting, a mania for promotion and better postings, and obsequiousness towards those upon whom posting and promotion depend. There is arrogance towards inferiors and servility towards superiors. They at times became hand maid of the politicians. The administrators must operate within a liberal democratic framework in sincere cooperation and harmony with the norms and values of a social welfare state.

#### ADMINISTRATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND THE RIGGSIAN CONCEPT OF ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM--'SALA'

Fred W. Riggs has identified five functional requisites for any society--economic, political, symbolic, communicational and social. The developing societies of Asia, Latin America and Africa are facing multi-dimensional problems--political (legitimacy, political structure and infrastructures, law and order etc.); economic (eradication of poverty, disease, hunger, industrial growth, etc.); social (class confrontation, social upheavals, etc.); and administrative (developmental paradoxes). These developing societies, according to Fred. W. Riggs, are sociologically speaking transitional societies which are main characteristics of 'prismatic societies'. According to Riggs, in prismatic societies "a discrepancy exists between the prescriptive and descriptive, between formal and effective power, between the impression given by the Constitutional law and regulations, organisational charts and statistics and actual practices and facts of government and society."<sup>20</sup> The administrative system of such a society has been termed by him as 'Sala' which inherits the salient features of prismatic societies like 'formalism', 'heterogeneity' and 'over-

lapping'. Formalism refers to "the degree of discrepancy or congruence between the formally prescribed and effectively practised norms and realities".<sup>21</sup> Riggs has very clearly indicated that actual official behaviour does not correspond to any legal statutes. In such an administrative system, he finds 'heterogeneity' which refers to the simultaneous presence side by side, of quite different kinds of systems, practices, and view-points. Modern gadgets of administration like computers, electronic typewriters, western styles of modern office equipments, exist side by side with traditional systems of administration like village chowkidars who combine various duties of executives in them. There is overlapping—a social schizophrenia of contradictory, formal (conscious) and informal (unconscious), behaviour patterns. New values and norms generally associated with modern advanced countries are paid only lip service and overlooked in favour of older values of 'nepotism' 'poly-communalism' and the 'prismatic bazar canteen model'. Nepotism and favouritism are practised in practice but officially proscribed. Public officials favour the people of their own group in matters of recruitment, promotions, postings, transfers and administration of rules. Ethnic, religious and communal groups live in a relatively hostile interaction to each other. In such an administrative system, the economic organisations generally act like a subsidised canteen providing goods and services at lower rates to the members of the privileged groups. There is a state of 'price indeterminance' because higher prices are charged from the members of the 'outside groups'. It results in considerable bargaining on the amounts of financial dealings with regard to such areas as taxes, fees, rebates and bribes. Public officials, although claiming to follow objective, universalistic and achievement oriented practices actually follow more subjective modes of conduct and there is lack of consensus or what has been termed as 'poly-normativism'. Similarly, the officially sanctioned or legitimate power and control exist at different places and 'power distribution' is highly concentrated at a certain place. Riggs has observed that there is an inverse ratio between administrative output and bureaucratic power; the more powerful officials become less effective as administrators.<sup>22</sup> Riggs concept of 'Sala' (Administrative system) can be conveniently applied to Indian Bureaucracy particularly at the district level as many conditions enumerated by Riggs actually exist in these settings.<sup>23</sup> In India, 'poly communalism' is best exhibited through the presence of caste, religious and political loyalties. Nepotism can be found in administration in matters of appointment, promotions, transfers and rewards. The value system of the administrator and the civil service is essentially built up in response to the public image of the public administration. The values like

equity and propriety are highly prized in western liberal democracies but these are not so prized in the developing countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa. Certain new problems of administration arise in democratic societies where culture, traditions, societal norms and politico-economic system give rise to a particular value system not oriented to developmental administration. In economic development, as in other fields of national activity, there is a disconcerting gap between intention and action. To bridge this gap, far-reaching changes have to be boldly introduced in administration. In words of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, there is an urgent need to instil into government machinery greater efficiency and a sense of urgency, and make it more responsive to the needs of the people.<sup>24</sup> In a transitional society like India, some of the bureaucratic maladies concerning administrator's attitudes which impede effective development administration are as under:

1. Lack of initiative and imagination.
2. Inaccessibility and faulty handling of the public.
3. An over devotion to precedents, arrangement and procedures.
4. A failure to recognise the relations with other segments of polity as an essential part of the democratic process.
5. An indifference towards the feeling and convenience of individual citizen.
6. An excessive sense of self importance.
7. Corruption and illegal qualification at lower levels.
8. Laziness, apathy to punctuality and lack of sincerity.
9. There is ignorance of rules and procedures at lower levels and there is arrogance and tendency to harass people.
10. Citizens are not given due respect and consideration by administrators particularly at lower levels.

### **Administrative Accountability**

Administrative accountability is the kingpin of democratic administration. Administrators, in a democratic context, need to temper their professional judgement with an awareness of citizens preferences. Administrators have to be accountable to themselves in terms of values and norms of a professional class as a whole. Accountability is not dehydrated mechanistic, philosophical concept in the flux of the human affairs, but a dynamic concept in terms of ethical imperatives of administrative conduct. Accountability, like electricity, is difficult to define, but possesses qualities that make its presence in a system immediately detectable. Hierarchy, span of control, unity of command, inspection, supervision, etc., are well known accountability facilitating devices. In actual realities, many pub-

lic officials have been found to be guilty of non-feasance, malfeasance and over-feasance. By non-feasance is meant that officials have not done what the custom or law requires them to do owing to laziness, ignorance or want of care for their charges or corrupt influence. Malfeasance means that a public duty is performed with waste and damage because of ignorance, negligence, and technical incompetence. Over-feasance occurs when an official duty is undertaken beyond what law and custom oblige or empower. It may occur out of dictatorial temper, vanity and ambition of an official or his genuine, sincere, public-spirited enthusiasm. The public officials must be held accountable for any of these three activities. In a democratic government, public officials have political, legislative, financial, judicial and normative accountability. Public administrators in a democratic system have to remain accountable to the press and other mass media. The concept of administrative accountability is culture-oriented. The norms of administrative behaviour constitute the values affecting the accountability of public officials. Public interest is a continually changing outcome of political activity among individuals and groups within a democratic political system. As Harmon has shown, four sets of conflicting values regarding the public interest can be compared by viewing the 'public interest' as: (i) unitary or individualistic, (ii) prescriptive or descriptive, (iii) substantive or procedural, and (iv) static or dynamic.<sup>25</sup> When government enters into business and undertakes commercial activities, new problems of administrative accountability of the managers arise. The nature of the political structure, the nature of societal organisation, nature of political culture, level of popular expectations, value system of the public and the levels of administrative morality basically determine the nature of accountability to be found in a political system at a particular point of time. Accountability is closely linked with specific social context and the power relations in a society. Research has proved that the blood and flesh of accountability is provided by social status of the clients of public agencies. Pai Panandikar has rightly observed that "a large majority of big cultivators had received a sympathetic consideration to their problems from the officials when they had met....The first preference of the visiting officials in meeting the people was for big cultivators and the second preference for local leaders and influential persons".<sup>26</sup> The accountability of the public servants in India encompasses three categories of control mechanism: (1) external system controls, (2) Internal system controls, and (3) internal individual controls. The individual control mechanism is composed of such things as the bureaucrat's attitude towards the law, the value placed upon each individual as a human being and the general personal moral

hierarchy. Public accountability has the positive connotation in terms of achieving results and serving the vital interests of the public. Public accountability is a matter of value system and is reflected by every act of the public servant.

### Bureaucratic Values in India - Some Empirical Research Studies

A rapidly developing country, committed to the ideals of democracy, secularism, social justice and economic planning, is bound to have emphasis on nation building and socio-economic progress. The crucial question that emerges is whether the traditional bureaucratic structure and behavioural values and norms are contradictory or complementary to the requirements of a developmental administration. A voluminous study undertaken by Ralph Braibanti and others on "Asain bureaucratic system" in 1966 had clearly shown that the British values still continue to set the tone of bureaucracy in India and there had been no radical departure in their behaviour from the pre-independence norms.<sup>27</sup> Kuldeep Mathur in his survey of block development officers in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh has noticed that much of the bureaucratic pursuit was directed towards activities other than the achievement of developmental goals.<sup>28</sup> A recent study by V.A. Pai Panandikar and S.S. Kshirsagar has revealed that the administrators involved in the task of development at the field level tended to be less rigid and behaviourally more flexible than the administrators at headquarters, while the bureaucracy in a regulatory and non-developmental agency tended to be more rigid and behaviourally less flexible.<sup>29</sup> Ramashray Roy has revealed that officials, engaged in the agricultural development in the Mehsana district of Gujarat, were found generally to have structural properties of the organisation modified to suit their role effectively and efficiently.<sup>30</sup> H.R. Chaturvedi held that a radical change in the orientations, attitudes and value system of the administrators is needed for the transformation of the rural society.<sup>31</sup> N.K. Singhi has found that there is dissonance between the defined goals and the rational norms of bureaucracy and the value orientation of the bureaucrats.<sup>32</sup> The bureaucrats reveal ambivalence and contradictions in values which is the result of the twin processes of traditionalism and modernity in India. Administrators find a lack of compatibility between the goals of socialism, democracy and rationalism. Though there are ills like nepotism, favouritism, graft, and corruption, yet half of the administrators feel high satisfaction with their jobs, nature of work, prestige and power. According to N.K. Singhi, the realisation of an effective welfare society based on justice, equality, and democracy needs new values, structures and high commitments to goals of national restructure. Prem Lata Bansal in her empirical research on

Indian Administrative Service indicates that a majority of administrators are developmentalists but the level of their commitment to modernising values is low. Much of the India's development depends upon the value system and attitudes of the top administrators towards developmental values. About 57.5 per cent of the administrators view democratic institutions and processes favourably.

The IAS officers having over 7 years of service experience are more democratic than those having a service of less than 7 years.<sup>33</sup> The value of equality has penetrated more amongst administrators who have entered the service, either through regular competitive examination or by selection and those whose parents form the middle class. According to survey, 62.5 per cent of the administrators, believe that authority should be delegated as needed. The study shows that the longer the stay in the administration the more one becomes suspicious of others probably as potential threat to one's own powers and authority, in a democratic set-up. The study indicates that the modernising values are penetrating into the IAS with only limited impact on those officers whose thinking is retrospective and whose acceptance of the new order is slow. Stanley Higginbotham has studied the impact of cultural environment and the prevalent value system in a society on the bureaucratic behaviour.<sup>34</sup> According to Stanley Higginbotham, rules, regulations, procedures, control mechanism and basic management practices have remained essentially unchanged over the past 25 years and bureaucrats still relied on authority and prestige of office in dealing with citizens. However, no comprehensive study has so far been made on a macro-level of the value system of the administrators in India and there is a need for enquiry into the value system of the administration in India. Dharendra K. Vajpeyi has carried out an empirical research about the patterns of changes in the bureaucratic values in the three geographically and economically diverse states, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh and has given very interesting findings.<sup>35</sup> The research data show that Indian administrators demonstrate continuity in political culture, that is, a high sense of national identity, trust of government, belief in freedom, moderate sense about class consciousness, belief in equality and high to moderate political effectiveness.<sup>36</sup> It is due to this value system which is characterised by democratic temper, dominance of civil procedures for conflict management, orderly political succession, diffuse political trust among social groups and reasonably strong and stable regime loyalties that India has survived as a strong, secular democratic nation in spite of internal turmoils, external wars, economic chaos and super power manipulations. This integrative value system has been a key variable in stabilising India through political change since Independence.<sup>37</sup>

These values have to be internalised and transferred to all levels of administration in India. A number of other researchers have also reported prevalence of similar values and bureaucratic behaviour in India.<sup>38</sup> Another research study reveals that "57.5 per cent administrators view democratic institutions and processes favourably. Almost 27.5 per cent administrators are certain or strong in their beliefs in democracy. About 56.25 per cent of the administrators think that the public administration will be more effective if politicians leave administrators to decide what and how to carry out programmes".<sup>39</sup> The study further indicates that the administrator's belief in democratic principles is a resultant of the environment in which he operates rather than his predisposition towards democracy. According to the above referred study, 66.25 per cent of the administrators view that the provisions to provide equality of opportunity to the citizens of India, including the provisions of special privileges for the socially depressed classes, are good. The study further reveals that 92.5 per cent of the administrators are positively inclined towards trust and 78.75 per cent are strong on the dimension of modernity. It also shows that longer the years service, the more one becomes suspicious of others probably as a potential threat to one's own powers and authority, in a democratic set-up. As much as 57.5 per cent of the administrators believe that the employee jurisdiction should be properly defined.<sup>40</sup>

A syndicate group of senior police officers at S.V.P. National Police Academy, Hyderabad, conducted a survey about the value system of the subordinate ranks of police, i.e., Sub-Inspectors and Inspectors belonging to four functional groups in three different states. The significant conclusions of the research study are as under:

1. There is a significant difference between the police and civilians in all the groups of the study which may probably account for the existing rift between two groups.
2. 'National Security' has been rated as the most important value.
3. Level of education has a significant effect on the value system.
4. There is uniformity in perception by all groups regarding the need of wearing uniform by police personnel.
5. Police officers felt that Press coverage of police work and problems is inadequate.

Another research survey has proved that administrators in India whether engaged in developmental or non-developmental tasks share the same values and role-perceptions. Among the behavioural values which



seem to be most cherished amongst the administrators have been the strict observance of codes, rules and regulations and adhering to the rationality in decision-making. In India a majority of administrators show less orientation towards change and achievement of development targets due to authority-oriented administrative system. The value constellation of the administrators in India reflects the ethos and value system of the society from where the administrators are recruited. A majority of administrators show a high orientation to the clubbed values of structural characteristics of bureaucracy like hierarchy, rationality, anonymity and rational legal, authority. The public servants and administrators in the developing countries are not mere 'brokers' or 'middlemen' but 'missionary', teachers, exemplars, planners, politicians and social workers. Developing nations require a bureaucracy which is adaptable but not unprincipled, idealistic but not unrealistic. Administrators must keep 'public interest' as their prime consideration. Public interest is a texture of multiple strands - too comprehensive, too rich in variety and depth, and too penetrating in our complex life to be either escaped or canalised in a definition. In a free democratic society public servants must always aim at realisation of public interest. Lok Sabha Speaker Balram Jakhar has said, "An administrator has to be accessible at all times to the people. He can not isolate himself in an ivory-tower. He has to have a healthy respect for the people and people's institutions from the village panchayat to Parliament". The administrators have to develop an outlook conducive to rapid pace of development without sacrificing criteria of fairness, just distribution and allocation of resources with an overall object of economic progress. Administrators need a framework of socio-personal, socio-administrative and behaviour value patterns which: (1) are flexible in operation, (2) are pragmatic, i.e., able to take into consideration the exigencies of the circumstances from a practical point of view, (3) encourage open decision-making processes on democratic lines, and (4) are laden with human values of service and sympathy for the people.

#### A CLOSE LOOK AT THE VALUE SYSTEM OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATORS

Some important variables of the value system have been analysed by Dharendra K. Vajpayee<sup>41</sup> who in his findings has noticed that despite political and administrative problems, administrators have high pride in political and administrative leadership, social legislation, spiritual values and religion as can be seen in Table 1. Despite ideological and political differences among Indian political parties and politicians, administrators in India have accepted democratic insti-

tutions and practices in an unusual consensual manner as can be seen in Table 2.

A majority of administrators have confidence in major political institutions like Parliament/legislative assembly, judiciary, local government and political parties. Most of the administrators felt that social and political system was in fine shape. The 1976 data demonstrate that Indian administrators at the state level (48 per cent in MP, 51 per cent in Tamil Nadu and 56 per cent in UP) and district level (43 per cent in MP, 48 per cent in Tamil Nadu and 48 per cent in UP) were satisfied with democratic system. However some administrators believed that the democratic system was inefficient, corrupt, not suited to India and went against the traditional socialisation patterns which are, by and large, restrictive and authoritarian, e.g., decision-making process in a family, respect to authority, age, etc. Administrators in all the three states favoured the participation of weaker sections in the political process and having rights to enjoy equal opportunities in educational and cultural spheres. Attitude towards participation of weaker sections is given in Table 3.

The administrators exhibited a high level of trust in other people. In all the three states administrators felt that rich people benefited a great deal from the government. Administrators in many cases admit that few interests dominate and benefit from the government. In India administrators in all the three states and district levels possessed a high sense of civic competence as can be seen from Table 4.

Administrators in India have preference for strong leadership. Administrators believed that freedom is not a licence and hence should be restricted in the national interest. Value system of Indian administrators is based on the culture of superior subordinate relationships with a clear allocation of rights and duties across the boundaries which determine the social hierarchy. Indian value system is based on ruler subject relationship all wielders of power were to remain aloof, father from their sons, teachers from students, rulers from subjects and bureaucratic from petitioners. In Indian administrators there is a higher empathetic capacity as can be seen by Table 5.

In India exposure to the mass media is an important variable in the process of modernisation. Newspapers, radio, films magazines, journals and TV provide powerful influence upon administrators. Table 6 shows that a high percentage of Indian bureaucrats were exposed to mass media.

In India a high percentage of state and district level administrators were modern in their perception of time in relation to the

Table 1 RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION: GENERALLY SPEAKING, WHAT ARE THE THINGS ABOUT INDIA THAT YOU ARE PROUD OF?

System Pride (per cent)												
Respondent is Especially Proud of	1976						1981					
	MP		TN		UP		MP		TN		UP	
	Sta- te	Dist- rict	Sta- te	Dist- rict	Sta- te	Dist- rict	Sta- te	Dist- rict	Sta- te	Dist- rict	Sta- te	Dist- rict
1. Political Institutions	58	61	53	50	60	56	55	57	56	53	63	59
2. Spiritual Virtues and Religion	62	64	60	63	60	61	64	64	61	63	66	64
3. Characteristics of People	63	60	54	51	51	53	59	61	63	62	56	54
4. Physical Attributes of the Country	76	79	73	75	78	81	80	83	78	76	81	82
5. Social Legislation	19	17	21	21	12	16	19	19	23	22	17	19
6. Political Leadership	29	31	27	23	36	32	31	31	30	29	30	31
7. Administrative Leadership	49	53	51	54	45	51	52	55	55	57	59	61

Table 2 RESPONSE TO QUESTION ON DEGREE OF SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRACY

Democracy is	1976						1981					
	MP			TN			MP			TN		
	Sta- te	Dist- ric	te	Sta- te	Dist- ric	te	Sta- te	Dist- ric	te	Sta- te	Dist- ric	te
1. Best form of Government (Satisfied)	48	43		51	48		46	41		48	48	
2. Another form would be better (not satisfied)	41	46		39	43		41	47		41	43	
3. Undecided	10	10		8	7		12	11		10	8	
4. Don't know/No answer	1	1		2	2		1	1		1	1	
Total	100	100		100	100		100	100		100	100	

(per cent)

Total

Table 3

ATTITUDE TOWARD PARTICIPATION OF WEAKER SECTIONS OF SOCIETY

100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100

4. Don't know/no answer

(per cent)

3. Undecided

e e

Differ (not satisfied)

Attitude per form among pe

(satisfied)

Best form of government

1. Favourable

2. Not favourable

DEMOCRACY IS

3. Undecided

4. Don't know/no answer

Total

100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100

e e

e e

e e

Table 4 SENSE OF CIVIC COMPETENCE

Responses	1976										1981									
	MP					TN					MP					TN				
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1. Can do much	49	47	51	50	49	51	49	51	49	51	50	51	50	53	50	54	51	54	51	51
2. Can do something	50	50	48	47	48	48	50	48	50	48	48	48	48	46	47	44	48	44	48	48
3. Can do nothing	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	3	2	1	2	1	1
4. Don't know/No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(per cent)

(Don't know/No answer)



Table 6 LEVEL OF EXPOSURE TO MASS MEDIA

Level of Exposure	1976						1981					
	MP			TN			MP			TN		
	Sta- te	Dist- ric	te	Sta- te	Dist- ric	te	Sta- te	Dist- ric	te	Sta- te	Dist- ric	te
High	76	72		77	73		76	73		77	72	
Medium	14	12		17	19		12	18		11	14	
Low	10	16		6	8		12	9		12	14	
Total	100	100		100	100		100	100		100	100	

(per cent)



modernisation and social change. The complex process of modernisation assumes a service of inter-penetrating and inter-dependent transformations. It assumes rationality, empathy, mobility and high participation by the individuals.<sup>12</sup> Modernisation assumes directed change in the system of attitudes, beliefs and values and also in the institutional complex to enhance the acceptability of modern technology and its organisational and operational framework. As regards secular outlook of administrators, majority of administrators felt that there should be separation between the state and the religion as shown in Table 7.

In spite of changes in the outlook of administrators towards political culture, fatalism is still somewhat dominating value in administrators. Fatalism is an ethos of passivity and breeds inaction, apathy, superstition, irritational behaviour and pessimism. The level of fatalism found in administrators in India is given in Table 8.

In post-independent India two different value systems operate at different levels of Indian society. One value system permeates local politics, both urban and rural, local party level and local administration. It is permeated with traditional elements and values. The second value system predominates in Delhi and can be found among Indian planners, many of the national political leaders, and in the senior administrative cadre. This modern value system believes in national integration, secularism, socialism and democracy. In India there is coexistence of both value systems in administrators. Narrow self-interest or family obligations motivate most administrators who pay primary attention to particularistic ends rather than to collective goals. However, a positive change in the value system of administrators towards modernising values is discernible though the degree of commitment is much below the level to be reflected in their behaviour. Administrators believe in modernising values in abstract terms but they find difficulty in the practice of these modernising values because of certain environmental factors and their unwillingness to do away with the authority accorded to them by tradition.<sup>42</sup> Administration in India is carried out by a large number of officials at various levels and there are individuals with different value systems all working together at their respective area of work. From the stand point of socio-economic and political dimensions of values and attitudes, administrators can be very broadly identified into following five basic types of administrators.<sup>43</sup>

1. A radical state socialist, sub-due civil servant.
2. A liberal democracy supporter of the civil service and free economy.

Table 7 SEPARATION OF RELIGION AND STATE (SECULARISM)

Responses	1976				1981			
	MP		TN		MP		TN	
	Sta- te	Dist- ri- ct	Sta- te	Dist- ri- ct	Sta- te	Dist- ri- ct	Sta- te	Dist- ri- ct
1. Agree	48	46	48	42	50	47	49	43
2. Agree with qualifications	41	34	36	38	23	18	24	23
3. Disagree	6	10	14	16	21	19	18	18
4. Disagree with qualifications	3	6	2	3	4	12	8	15
5. Undecided	2	4	-	1	2	4	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(per cent)

Table 8 LEVEL OF FATALISM

Level of Fatalism	1976			1981			(per cent.)
	MP		UP	MP		UP	
	Sta- te	Dist- rict	Sta- te	Sta- te	Dist- rict	Sta- te	
High	22	24	20	26	26	23	24
Medium	50	53	47	49	51	44	43
Low	28	23	33	25	23	33	33
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

3. A moderate, democratic rationalist civil servant.
4. A conservative, socialistic authoritarian democrat.
5. A civil servant with equivocal transient attitudes.

Administrators in India due to the internal and external environment seem to be hampered in their effective performance. Corruption seems to be all pervading and has afflicted the polity at various levels of administration. Corruption is surely prevalent in every society and in every age, the difference being its dimensions. The Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has acknowledged in a recent interview with an **American Quarterly** Chief Executive that "the real problem is the massive corruption at the bottom".<sup>44</sup> Administrators in India are governed by a given set of rules regarding their conduct, integrity and behaviour. Administrators are liable to disciplinary action if they are found guilty of misconduct or negligent in the discharge of their duties. Administrators are required to project their public image of impartial and honest functionaries and develop an attitude of "client-orientation".

#### Value-Orientations of Administrators

Human values are the driving force of behaviour and refer to those aspects of the individual's orientation which commit him to the observance of certain norms, standards and criteria for selection. Dr. Narendra K. Singhi has analysed some aspects of value-orientations of Indian administrators.<sup>45</sup> According to the data, 70.8 per cent of the administrators agree with the statement that "caste system is a drag on the forces of development". The studies by Srinivas and Harrison also support the view that with democracy and freedom, caste loyalties have not vanished.<sup>46</sup> Regarding Marriage, 54 per cent of the administrators agreed with the statement that the best form of marriage is by free choice of boys and girls whether within caste or outside. Regarding value-orientation in relation to political commitment, 62.6 per cent of the administrators considered democracy to be harmful in present socio-economic situation of the country. It clearly indicates that administrators who are responsible for carrying out the policies of the democratically elected leaders are not committed to the value of democracy. According to N.K. Singhi, it is found that 59.0 per cent of the non-technical bureaucrats and 68.3 per cent of the technical bureaucrats consider democracy to be harmful in the present-day society.<sup>47</sup> 56.2 per cent of the administrators agree with the statement that "all economic troubles of our nation have been caused by emphasis on socialism and public sector which has no incentive for economic investment and growth". It is significant to note that value orientations administrators are in contradiction

with the policies of the government. There is low perception in administrators regarding allocation of work and on competence and rational method of selection. Relations in administrators tend to be formal though informality exists in patches and subsumes parts of bureaucratic system. Regarding transfer of administrators 79.1 per cent have agreed with the statement that transfers of officers are motivated by factors other than administrative efficiency. Value orientation with regard to planning is significant in India where planning is aimed at improving the standard of living of the people through measures which promote equality and social justice. To the statement that means of planning and development undertaken by the government are defective, 75 per cent of the administrators according to Singhi gave the reply in affirmative. As much as 81.2 per cent of the upper, 74.0 per cent of the middle and 70.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats consider means of planning to be defective. Defective formulation of plan, lack of resources, defective execution and institutional limitations have been identified as some of the most important reasons for the failure of plans in India. In order to bring out effective implementation of economic plans, a change in the outlook and approach of administrators is necessary. Such new norms do not appear to have emerged because these administrators, having resistance and reservations, doubts and cynicism pose some important problems for the formulation and implementation of government programmes.<sup>48</sup> Administrators must have the required talents as well as will-power to execute the plans effectively and for this re-socialisation and inculcation of new values, in consonance with the tasks of development are necessary pre-requisites. Administrators in India have exhibited universalistic orientation with regard to conscious and ethical self. At the level of protective self, they reveal high particularism. There is significant inconsistency between the responses at the three levels of consciousness. At the ethical level 84 per cent have universalistic orientation. At the level of projected self 77.4 per cent of the administrators have particularistic orientation. At the level of conscious self 62.3 per cent have universalistic orientation. Administrators in India are under the double impact of traditional forces and modern pressures. They tend to be ambivalent to their value-orientations due to turn pressures of traditionalism and modernity. The growth of representative and democratic institutions have accompanied modernisation in many countries but in India, the old tradition and culture is continuing to assert their influence on the administrators. There is dissonance between goals and rational means of bureaucracy and value orientation of bureaucrats which are ambivalent, complex and contradictory.<sup>49</sup> Administrators in India have developed a sub-culture although only a

few studies have dealt with some aspects of sub-culture and style of the administrators. The culture of administrators in India does not reflect the mass culture. The gap between the masses and the administrators continues to exist, sub-culture of bureaucrats is an urban middle class sub-culture having certain new elements of western culture. The material sub-culture of administrators is more universalistic and modern though some traditional feudal elements have been amalgamated within its fold without any strain of fusion and thus a new sub-culture of administrators continues to exist. There is crisis of values in administrators because there is decline in moral standards. A large number of administrators at various levels are reported to be inefficient, incompetent and ineffective. Formation of cliques and groupism, improper procedures, lack of initiative, lack of competence, lack of coordination, too much work, communalism, groupism and political factors are considered some of the main factors responsible for dysfunctions of bureaucracy in India. By and large Indian administrative system has exhibited an inclination to keep the Weberian bureaucratic characteristics both in the developmental and non-developmental tasks. The four structural characteristics of bureaucracy, namely, hierarchy, division of labour, system of rules and impersonality continue to exist predominantly in the various branches of developmental and non-developmental administration. More than 50 per cent administrators attach high importance to the system of rules and impersonality. In Indian ecology enormous disparities arising out of caste and class structures exist giving rise to a pattern of administrative sub-culture which is based on traditional norms, social pressures, political interference and economic considerations. There is however an overwhelmingly high degree of consensus about a high value to the integrity of character among the administrators at all levels. Regarding socio-administrative value, it has been found that the senior officers are generally more or less quite conscious of their status and keep distance from their junior officers. Change and result orientation of the administrators, which are the important characteristics of developmental bureaucracy for bringing about successes in socio-economic development performance, does not seem to be deeply ingrained in most of the officials at various levels of administration. The psychological hiatus between the administrators and the citizens is very much present in India. Citizens feel that the administrators had to be pressurised through political leaders to get their just demands fulfilled. Value system of administrators in various states does not correspond to any given set pattern, and there are clearly perceptible inter-state variations. In India there are significant differences in the value perceptions of the administrators belonging to different states. R.B.

Jain and P.N. Chaudari have clearly brought out a comparative study of the bureaucratic values, orientation and behaviour of the administrators of two different states, namely, Punjab and Madhya Pradesh. A majority of administrators show a high orientation to the club-bed values of structural characteristics of bureaucracy and less orientation towards change and achievement of development targets. At the district and block levels, the administrators wield enormous power and prestige. If given proper training and appropriate orientation, an administrator can truly become an organiser, a leader, a pathologist, an expediter, a specialist, a reformer and a change agent - all rolled up in a single personality. Administrators have to develop a result-oriented value system without becoming corrupt. Minor deviations in terms of taking minor advantages and fringe benefits are widespread phenomena even amongst the officials who are considered relatively upright and honest. There is status consciousness among the administrators and it extends even to their wives and children. The gap between the administrators and citizens, though narrowed during the last 35 years, yet continues to be wide and there is an urgent need to bridge the gap.

Value System in Administration can be Changed by Adopting the following Agenda for Improvement:

1. A change of heart of public administrators in order that they cease their self-serving behaviour and become true public servants.
2. A moral revolution which should lead to the suppression of corruption and the bureaucratic rot.
3. Strengthening of rationality as an organisational value.
4. Implementation of existing proposals for administrative reforms.
5. Unification and professionalisation of the bureaucratic elite by de-emphasising the generalist principle and incorporating top level specialists and professionals for strengthening administrative capabilities.
6. Transformation of the image and style of the public bureaucracy so as to emphasise dedication to social goals, identification with the aspirations of the public and personal integrity.
7. Though bureaucracy will always be vulnerable to political pressures, norms will have to be evolved to protect the officials from penalties imposed on them because of their failure to accede to the unreasonable demand of the politicians.
8. The relationship between the administrators and the politicians needs to be re-examined and sharply defined in realistic

terms.

9. Administrators should be better sensitised to the socio-political climate and the cultural ethos in which they have to function.
10. The administration will have to devise objective indicators of merit, efficiency, integrity and honesty to guide the selection and promotion of bureaucrats.
11. Through careful reorganisation and better training, the structural incompatibilities and the value conflicts in bureaucracy should be eradicated.<sup>50</sup>
12. Specialised training in human relations, development administration and managerial skills will have to be imparted to detect the pathologies and dysfunctions of administration so that necessary correctives to them may be devised.

Administrative orientation must shift from making decisions and giving orders to helping the people make decisions.<sup>51</sup> The administrators have to develop a new value system which was enunciated by G.B. Pant, a former Union Home Minister in the following words: "To serve the villages you have to identify yourself with rural life; to find joy in the air you breathe and consciousness of the fact that you are engaged in the act of building a new society. You have to train people in the art of life and in the art of living. You have to see that they move onwards".<sup>52</sup> The First Five Year Plan has envisaged that "the civil servants must have the right outlook and the right attitude to fulfil the many demands of public service". The right outlook and attitude include qualities of integrity, humility, purposeful zeal for public service, adaptability to the demands of each function which a public servant may be called upon to perform and a commitment to broad societal goals. The problem of attitudinal adjustment of the administrators, too has come to the fore.<sup>53</sup>

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

"The search for values has to be a continuous process, accompanied by a constant endeavour to lead lives approximating to those values. Value merely perceived is value-less. It must be lived".<sup>54</sup> The administrators have to rededicate themselves to the values of hard work, discipline and the pursuit of clearly perceived objectives of economic growth and social justice. Administrators must have a keen perception of the future and be sensitive to change. Administrators have to go, all out to regain the people's trust and to look into the genuine hardships and grievances of the citizens to establish a democratic society. Administrators can best prepare for the future by



developing minds which are free from prejudice and which override divisive bonds of caste, creed, religion and language. All administrators have to develop a positive attitude towards the problems of the common people. They must possess a certain flexible outlook in administration. In the tasks of nation-building and modernisation of transitional societies, administrators have a vital role to play. Attempts have been made at reorienting the value system of bureaucracy to the new philosophy of administration, but they have often been viewed as mere short-lived fads and fancies. Administrators and all public servants, according to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, are supposed to serve the society, people and the country. They have to serve the larger causes that society has, that the nation has. (Indian Journal of Public Administration, October-December 1955, p. 289). Administrators in a democratic country like India should learn to be the servants of the people and not behave as if they were masters. This requires internalisation of a new value-system in which administrators are committed to the national objectives and responsive to the new needs and aspirations of the people. The essence of a good government is efficient administration. Pope has rightly remarked:

For forms of government, let fools contest,  
 Whatever is best administered is best.

According to Shrimati Indira Gandhi, what India needed today was a revolution in the administrative system without which no enduring change could be brought about in any field. India today needed a new administrative sub-culture which is goal-oriented, effective, democratic, secular and yet flexible and dynamic. In a rapidly developing country like India, Administration has to be effectively geared to the goals of socio-economic development and nation-building on the sound principles of secularism, socialism and democracy. Administration needs goal-oriented, innovative and efficient administrators which practise the cherished high values of integrity, honesty and public service.

The search for values has to be a continuous process, accompanied by a constant endeavour to lead lives approximating to those values. Value merely perceived is value-less. It must be lived. Administrators have to reeducate themselves to the values of hard work, discipline and the pursuit of clearly perceived objectives of economic growth and social justice. Administrators must have a keen perception of the future and be sensitive to change. Administrators have to go all out to regain the people's trust and to look into the genuine hardships and grievances of the citizens to establish a democratic society. Administrators can best prepare for the future by

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  4. A world at peace (Free from war and conflict);
  5. A world of beauty (Beauty of nature and the arts);
  6. Equality (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all);
  7. Family security (Taking care of the loved ones);
  8. Freedom (Independence, free choice);
  9. Happiness (contentedness);
  10. Inner harmony (Freedom from inner conflict);
  11. Mature love;
  12. National security (Protection of the country);
  13. Pleasure (an enjoyable, leisurely life);
  14. Salvation (Moksha, eternal life);
  15. Self respect;
  16. Social recognition (Respect, administration);
  17. True friendship; and
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# Housing for the Poor

P.S.A. SUNDARAM

EVEN A casual glance at the present housing situation in the country would reveal that the gap between demand and supply is lengthening at an alarming pace, that the present level of investment in the housing sector is low and inadequate, and that the housing agencies in the public and private sector are neither building the houses fast enough to meet the growing needs nor building cheap enough to reach the poor and needy. The sum of all is that the weaker and poorer sections have become the worst sufferers as the formal housing agencies are not able to provide dwelling units to them at affordable prices. Grim as the situation is in the cities, it is still worse in the rural areas.

## HOUSING SITUATION IN INDIA

Over the Sixth Five-Year Plan period, the requirements of dwelling units for the additional population were estimated at 4.5 million in the urban areas and 8 million in the rural areas. This was over and above the housing shortage estimated by the National Buildings Organisation at 5.6 million units in the urban areas and 18 million units in the rural areas. Even the quality of existing housing, against which the shortage has been computed, is not encouraging. In urban areas, about 68 per cent of the housing stock is pucca, 24.7 per cent is semi-pucca and the balance unserviceable kutcha housing. In rural areas, however, kutcha and semi-pucca houses are the rule. A very large proportion, i.e., more than 80 per cent of households in major cities, reside in small one-room dwellings. Due to tremendous overcrowding flowing from urbanisation and industrialisation, about five persons live in one-room house. The quality of housing also depends

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\*It is an edited version of an essay which was awarded second prize in IIPA's Annual Essay Competition, 1985.

on the access to services, like water-supply and sanitation. As seen from the NSS 28th round, 57.3 per cent of the urban households only received drinking water from taps within or outside the house in 1973-74, and others depended on wells, tubewells or purchasing water from vendors. Of urban households, 33 per cent do not have access to any kind of latrine while only seven per cent have exclusive use of a latrine. The availability of these and other amenities, including health care, school and recreation is not only relatively less for

the poor, but it also varies in quantum from city to cities, and even within different parts of a city like Bombay.

The shelter problem is credited on the demand side with a number of causative factors such as rapid growth of population, rate of urbanisation (especially in large cities outstripping the capacity of civic bodies to provide the basic services), pressure of industrialisation and economic development, growth of incomes and black money (which is invested in real estate to get protection against inflation), push of migrants in search of employment opportunities, etc.. on the supply side, we have the poor record of the formal sector, inadequate supply of affordable houses for the poor, shortage of developable land and paradoxically sub-optimal utilisation of land by public agencies, inadequate access to housing finance on reasonable terms, various legal and administrative impediments to provision of affordable shelter for the poor and that also to private initiatives in housing. The visible symptoms are overcrowding, dilapidated housing stock, severe shortage of rental accommodation, rapid increase in the prices of land and houses even in smaller cities and the pervasive spread of slums and squatter settlements without any basic facilities.

The rapid growth of slums in the major cities and the invasion on vacant lands by huts is more often seen as an urban malaise or an aberration to be wished away or removed and excites strong feelings on the part of the protagonists of civil liberty and the civil guardians of pavements and open spaces alike. The recent judgement of the Supreme Court on the pavement and slum dwellers of Bombay and Madras is a classic description of the conditions under which the unfortunate hutment families live as also a vindication of the right of public authorities to shift offending obstructions subject to certain safeguards. It is forgotten in this surcharged atmosphere that, making allowance for organised invasion on lands in big cities by slum-lords, the existence of slums is essentially a problem of urban poverty, lack of remunerative employment opportunities and lack of affordable legal shelter for the poor.

Statistically speaking, about 33 million people, as estimated by the Planning Commission, are living in slums which represent some

form of housing stock, albeit of the kutchra type, with materials ranging from polythene sheets, mats, dry twigs, gunny sacks, etc., to recycled tin sheets, broken bricks in mud mortar and plaster, clay roof tiles, thatch, etc. Roughly, 20 per cent of the urban population lives in slums. Over 13 million people lived in slums in 12 metropolitan cities, forming 43 per cent of the total slum universe. It could be as much as 50 per cent of the total population in Bombay or an average of 31 per cent in the million-plus cities. The conditions in the slums are, of course, far worse than what has been noted for housing in other areas. About 65 per cent of the total slums were under public ownership on an average though the percentage is lower for Bombay and Kanpur. The availability of basic facilities was better in the metropolitan cities, obviously due to the political clout of the slum dwellers. The condition of slums are more deplorable in smaller towns as bulk of the efforts for slum improvement has been concentrated in the bigger cities.

#### PROFILE OF POOR CONSUMER IN HOUSING MARKET

In Bombay, for example, 60 per cent of households have an income less than Rs. 600 p.m.; percentage of such households is larger in slum areas. According to a World Bank study, it has been estimated that 68 per cent of the families in Nairobi, 64 per cent in Madras, 63 per cent in Ahmedabad, 55 per cent in Mexico city, and 47 per cent in Bogota cannot afford a house even at Rs. 5,000. Based on HUDCO norms of financing, all the urban families can afford only a housing unit costing less than Rs. 2,940, and only families with a monthly income of Rs. 500 and above can afford a house costing Rs. 6,600. At an average construction cost of Rs. 150 per square foot, a house of 10 sq. meters can be afforded by families having an income of Rs. 1,050 or above.

Importance of housing for welfare and the economic development is well-recognised, especially when the international agencies define housing to cover not only buildings, but also land on which construction stands and the services in the neighbourhood. This is how the United Nations Centre for Human Settlement looks at shelter in the context of the objective of providing shelter for all the homeless by 2001, and would like the member-countries to take up pilot projects for the year 1987 as 'International Year of Shelter for the Homeless'. At the national level, housing accounts for a significant portion of the total capital formation, and is also an important item in the household spending throughout the world. It is a major outlet for private household savings and generates employment at low foreign exchange cost. For the poor, it provides substantial private and



social benefits in offering shelter from the elements, space for work and leisure and access to sanitation, education and health services and to employment opportunities. In spite of this recognition, however, urban housing needs are seen as a bottomless pit because of the manner in which assessment of the problem is made. The exercises often begin by defining standards of adequacy in terms of space, structure and services at levels comparable to those of middle-income housing, which are beyond the paying capacity of the poor. Such estimates inevitably imply huge investments, which cannot possibly be made either from private or public resources. The implementation of public housing projects, based on such standards, in fact, has often aggravated the housing deficiencies of the majority of the poor urban households since they tie up scarce resources in a small number of housing units, usually for the benefit of the better off.

A different and more appropriate view of the urban housing problem has recently been gaining ground in India and elsewhere. Housing shortages, overcrowding, poor infrastructure services, and escalating housing prices are seen to result from failure of the supply of land, services and shelter to expand commensurately with the rapid increase in housing demand. The poor people are particularly adversely affected as they do not have resources or influence to bid for scarce supplies of housing. They also tend to suffer from higher rents, either in the formal sector or in the slums, rather than to benefit from increased values of housing to the extent they do not own houses. It is paradoxical that public policy, which crucially influences supply of land, services, finance and legal framework for housing, has, in fact, been working at cross-purposes with the declared objective of housing for the poor, which has been the plank of electoral promises of all the political parties.

#### REVIEW OF POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES OF HOUSING FOR THE POOR

A review of social housing schemes introduced by the government from the First Five-Year Plan onwards reveals that bulk of such investment has gone towards construction of formal housing by government, semi-government agencies and cooperatives. Starting from 1952, schemes of integrated subsidised housing for economically weaker sections, industrial workers, plantation workers, village housing, etc., were introduced in the Central sector. The upper income limit for eligibility in the case of housing schemes for the industrial workers was Rs. 500 p.m. and the pattern of the assistance to the state government was broadly 50 per cent loan and 50 per cent subsidy. The scheme was expected to provide developed plots or two-roomed

houses in major cities within prescribed ceiling of costs, and implementing agencies for such schemes were state housing boards, local bodies, and industrial employers. The tenements were offered to the allottees on subsidised rents. It is estimated that about Rs. 125 crore were spent on this programme and approximately 2.5 lakh houses were constructed all over the country. It was later decided to transfer the houses to the authorised or unauthorised occupiers on hire-purchase basis. Low income group housing scheme provided for a grant of loan up to Rs. 18,000. This was, again, implemented either by the state agencies or the individual beneficiaries were expected to construct houses with loans advanced by the state government. It is estimated that about four lakh houses have been constructed with an expenditure of Rs. 234 crore. Middle income housing scheme also provided for loans to individuals and cooperatives with a ceiling cost of Rs. 42,000. About Rs. 121 crore were spent on this scheme to construct about 50,000 houses. The plantation worker scheme provides employees loan and subsidy for construction of tenements for the plantation labour. So far 40,000 houses have been constructed under this scheme. By 1974, all these schemes, except the one for plantation workers, were transferred to the state governments. Plan assistance was given by way of block grants and loans.

It is obvious that total production of houses through state budgetary support over a period of 30 years is a tiny proportion of the country's total effort and a small fraction of the real requirement of housing for the poor. It is also clear that even if additional effort had been made and larger funds approved, the production of formal housing in the public sector would have had little impact on the market, since this was not the best way to apply limited resources available for housing. The scheme criteria fixed for eligibility for public housing soon became out-dated and selection procedures adopted by the public agencies were such that they failed to reach large segments of people in real need. Monitoring of public investment on housing at the level of the Central and Planning Commission has also been extremely inadequate and there is little evidence of the extent to which the investments have made a dent on the housing problem. Although the plan schemes have played an important role in stimulating systematic investments in the housing sector and have been responsible for establishment of specialised institutions in the field of housing and urban development, yet they have made only a marginal contribution and have mostly benefited middle and higher income groups. Working of these schemes in a number of states leads to the inevitable conclusion that, as in the case of economic growth, addition to the total housing supply does not necessarily mean housing the homeless. Studies made by the HUDCO have shown that houses

constructed for a particular income category are largely occupied by families in the next higher income group, as repayment of the instalments are beyond paying capacity of the income group for whom houses were ostensibly meant. Even transfer of ownership of rental housing to the industrial labour and poor sections has not ensured permanent habitation for those groups, but instead, houses have changed hands many times. Those tenants who continue to occupy tenements are prone to run into arrears of payment.

#### EMERGENCE OF INSTITUTIONS

One important fall-out of the public housing programmes has been the establishment of city improvement trusts, housing boards and other authorities for undertaking land acquisition, development and construction of houses for various income groups. The improvement trusts came up in early 1930's and basically catered to middle income and higher income housing. The lands were purchased at market prices and plots were allotted by auction or at pre-determined prices to the public. There is not much evidence to show how far lower income groups benefited from the housing schemes of the trusts, but they wisely kept away from actual construction of houses and left it to the individuals and cooperatives. One of the first housing boards to be established was the Maharashtra Housing Board, and this was followed by similar initiatives by other state governments to set up housing boards and slum clearance boards. These were statutory bodies set up primarily to undertake housing. Most of them are entrusted with schemes for construction of tenements for the industrial labour and Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) as well as construction of slum clearance tenements. From the late 1960's these agencies took up direct construction of houses in a large way, the reasons given being that land was scarce and multi-storeyed tenements were inevitable, and further that people could not construct houses themselves due to scarcity of controlled items. In the context, where the activity of the private developer came down due to the Rent Control Act and the Urban Land Ceiling Act, the public agencies acquired a monopolistic position in the land market and had to assume the burden of satisfying practically the entire demand for housing in the major cities. Due to organisational and financial problems, as well as bottlenecks in the acquisition of land, the output of the public agencies has been extremely short of the requirement. The quality of public housing, as is often written about, has been extremely uneven. In the absence of a long-term perspective about the requirement of housing for various income groups, especially the poor, in different growth centres within each state, and a delineation

tion of the role which housing boards need to perform to meet these demands, the construction programme of these agencies has degenerated into annual engineering exercises related to available funds and land, dominated, of course, by the inclination of the engineering lobby to go in for concrete structures. As far as the urban poor are concerned, as the earlier figures of affordability indicated, the cost of their tenements is far beyond the means of most people earning less than Rs.600 per month.

A major initiative taken by the Central Government in the cause of housing for the poor was the setting up of the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) in 1971, in response to the need of housing agencies in the country for long-term finance. It is the apex housing finance institution which is expected to finance or undertake housing and urban development programmes. It operates a graded system of interest rates ranging from 5 to 13.5 per cent and repayment periods ranging from 10 to 20 years. The HUDCO terms include all inclusive cost ceilings, graded scale of loan assistance geared to the capacity of different income groups. The HUDCO finances plots and houses ranging from Rs.5,000 to Rs. 1.25 lakh and also provides loans for upgrading squatter settlements and rural housing. It is claimed by the HUDCO that over 55 per cent of its funds are earmarked for economically weaker section and lower income group leading to generation of as many as 90 per cent of the total dwelling units constructed by the borrowing agencies for these income groups. In absolute terms, the achievement of HUDCO has been impressive. It has financed construction of over 1.5 million houses during its 14 years of existence. It has now extended its operations to practically all parts of the country, although its impact on eastern India is not so significant. The HUDCO is encouraging a multipronged approach for the EWS by providing different options by different cost levels to suit various paying capacities, such as a bare developed plot, a plot with sanitary core, skeletal housing, slum upgradation, etc. The HUDCO has made a commendable effort to bring uniformity to houses supplied by different state agencies in line with the economic composition of the beneficiaries in the country and their affordable capacity. Through its differential income rates and repayment terms, as well as insistence of a stipulated proportion of funds for the lower income groups, it has induced housing agencies to construct more and more dwelling units for the poor and to adopt austere standards.

Unfortunately, there has been no statement on housing policy from the Government of India despite repeated requests by various interested groups. What has been outlined in the plan documents is only

a strategy having the following objectives:

1. Promotion and encouragement of self-help housing.
2. Provision of house sites and assistance for rural landless labour.
3. Formulation and operationalisation of social housing schemes for different income groups.
4. Augmentation of the resources of HUDCO and various state agencies in order to provide the infrastructure for housing as well as to construct dwelling units.
5. Promotion of research in building technology and development of low-cost building materials,
6. Effecting efficient and equitable distribution of land to meet requirement of land for public purposes and use land as a resource.

Funds made available for implementing this strategy over the successive five-year plans have, however, been a tiny percentage of the total plan investment. Direct investment through the five-year plans in the first three decades totalled to just about Rs. 1,253 crore, while investment by other public agencies were about Rs. 1,800 crore. As against this, investment by the private sector during the same period was estimated at Rs. 12,740 crore. Even during the Sixth Five-Year Plan, public sector investment was envisaged only at Rs. 1,300 crore, while about nine times of that amount was expected to come from private sector. The HUDCO was expected to invest Rs. 600 crore during the Sixth Five-Year Plan period to yield about seven lakh dwelling units, of which over 80 per cent would go to the EWS and LIG. In the Fifth and Sixth Five-Year Plans, there was a distinct shift in government policy in favour of providing basic infrastructure and encouraging private initiative, so that bulk of the construction could be done by the people. There is also greater emphasis on the environmental improvement of slums instead of massive relocations. Unfortunately, however, monitoring of housing objectives in the five year-plans has been extremely unsatisfactory. The Sixth Plan envisaged an investment of Rs. 485 crore by the state governments to produce about 16 lakh EWS housing units, but so far there is little information as to how allocations were actually spent and whether, in fact, benefit went to the EWS. Great hope is placed on private capital formation in the housing sector and it is believed wishfully that much of this would go to the poorer sections.

#### **Urban Land Policy**

One major failure of housing policy of material relevance to the

housing for the poor is in urban land policy. The main planks of land policy in India have been large-scale land acquisition and development by public agencies for the last 25 years, and fixing ceiling on land ownership in major urban centres since 1976. The consequences of this policy for the poor have often been adverse. The record of public agencies in land acquisition, development and disposal has been very uneven. Some housing boards have acquired large areas of urbanisable lands in their jurisdiction, and in most cases acquisition has been quite slow and tortuous. Many of the housing boards are involved in prolonged litigation, and meanwhile lands have been encroached upon and the owners have sometimes been prevented for over 10-15 years from utilising land or payment of compensation. Recent amendment to the Land Acquisition Act may perhaps cut down the delay in acquisition of land and provide a larger compensation to the land owners, but the infirmities in the existing acquisition policy would still remain. More importantly, public agencies have been guilty of holding on to large tracts of land in major cities without bringing land to the market and have generally failed to achieve objectives of checking land prices and making sites available at reasonable prices to the public. The problem has been aggravated by lack of coordination between the housing agencies and the local authorities resulting in artificial controls on the use of land for housing. Operation of the private developers in the land market has been further curtailed after the imposition of the ceiling on the ownership of the urban land since 1976 and vast areas of vacant land remain frozen. The Urban Land Ceiling Act was designed to achieve a more equitable distribution of land to subserve common good and the surplus lands were expected to be used for housing the people. Unfortunately, the Act has been very tardily implemented and 'exceptions' and 'no objection certificates' have been rule rather than procurement of land for public agencies. Out of the 3.50 lakh hectares land declared surplus, hardly 5,000 hectares have been taken over. Thus, although the intention of large-scale land acquisition and development policy as well as Urban Land Ceiling was to control activities of the private land developers and curb undesirable speculation and further ensure land development, with special reference to the needs of the people, freezing large tracts of land and slow development and marking of land by the public agencies had the opposite effect on the poor.

Delhi is an interesting study of urban land policy in this context, since it reveals how actual implementation of a well-intentioned policy has run contrary to the interest of the poor. Delhi's Master Plan, 1971, earmarked 72,000 acres for acquisition. However, only about 46,000 acres were acquired till the end of February, 1983. As against this, Delhi Development Authority utilised only about



14,000 acres for residential schemes and 11,000 acres for industrial and institutional purposes. Over 7,000 acres have been used to resettle squatters in the late 1970s. Due to the slow pace of acquisition and development, much of the notified land was plotted and sold by developers and over 700 unauthorised colonies mushroomed in the Delhi Metropolitan Area. Though the DDA was specifically set up to ensure planned development of the city, it is worth noting that roughly one million people living in unauthorised colonies and the people living in jhuggi jhopari depended upon their initiative to construct dwelling units. This was also due to the land disposal policy pursued by the DDA. Having acquired monopoly position in the acquisition and ownership of land in Delhi, it did not utilise this position to control land prices. The average cost of land acquisition was utmost Rs. 10 per sq. ft., while the cost of land charged to housing allottees was Rs. 62 per sq. metre. The pre-determined rate for developed land ranges from Rs. 260 to Rs. 418 per sq. metre at present. Auction rate for commercial and higher income groups has been as high as Rs. 6,000 per sq. metre. Bulk of the plots disposed of by the DDA in the earlier years went to the higher income groups, and the auction prices, in fact, set the trend for land values in the city. The cheapest house which DDA produces is about Rs. 30,000, which cannot be afforded by the majority of the people who are poor. With development authorities being set up by different state governments in major cities to imitate the much publicised example of the DDA, a careful evaluation of the Delhi experience with particular reference to the needs of the urban poor will have to be made.

A view of housing and land policies of the government as well as activities of different housing agencies leaves one with the conclusion and concern that in spite of policy commitments to housing for the poor and specific schemes for certain target groups, the poor sections have not really benefited from the housing investments due to a variety of impediments and they continue to depend on their own initiative in the form of slums or unauthorised colonies or tend to overcrowd in small dwelling units. Government-sponsored agencies are patterned on the bureaucratic model and adopt a rigid brick and mortar approach to housing. While some amount of urban housing may have to be built up by specialised agencies in the public or private cooperative sectors, there is enough evidence to show that efforts to produce affordable houses for the poor by corporate bodies have failed. Bulk of the housing for the poor is produced through their own efforts, legally or illegally. If public intervention is to be effective, it has to take into account the great limitations of government organisations in catering to the needs of low income families in terms of cost, quality, functional suitability, location

and procedures. The Sixth Plan recognises that the public sector has only a marginal role to play in urban housing, restricted to the improvement of slums, direct provision of housing to the urban poor and encouragement of agencies, which can promote the mobilisation of private resources into housing constructively. A number of state governments have recognised the promotional and enabling role of the public agencies and the need for change in their orientation if they are to serve the needs of the low income people. As part of the policy brief for the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless, budgetary allocations are seen as going a much longer way if utilised almost fully for infrastructure and land development to deliver cheap serviced sites to the poor. Public agencies are also asked to cut down their house construction programme to the minimum. They are asked to treat housing as part of an integrated programme for urban development, including health, education, recreation, mother and child care and support for income earning activities. In effect, the various agencies responsible for financing and development in the housing sector are expected to play their legitimate role as planners/promoters of critical infrastructure and enablers of people's participation in providing shelter. Given this appreciation of the change in the role of the government and public agencies, we may look at specific impediments to housing for the poor and some successful examples of how these obstructions have been tackled and converted into opportunity.

#### IMPEDIMENTS TO HOUSING FOR THE POOR

Typically, the poorest of the urban dwellers—which comprise 30 to 50 per cent of population in most cities—live in dwellings which have been constructed by themselves or with the help of neighbours, friends and local artisans. This includes the squatters and slum dwellers. The construction materials for these dwelling range from mud huts to pucca structures. The key point is that, in this sector, there is little use of architects, contractors and engineers. There is little emphasis on formal design; much of the investment is physical more than financial, the materials are often recycled. Hence, the poor are able to construct dwellings at costs much less than any system of organised sector construction would permit. Still, their investments are substantial in the aggregate as well as a multiple of family income. In fact, different levels of construction ranging from a hut to a semi-pucca structure represent distinct levels of magnitude in tune with the poor man's income levels. Unfortunately, as the informal sector of housing is considered a liability, and as most of the dwellings are unable to meet the minimum standards laid down in



most local building codes, they become unauthorised by definition. A survey of Poona slums by Meera Bapat showed that the best shanty dwellings, comparable to any public sector EWS dwelling, cost just over Rs. 2,000 in contrast to Rs. 8,000 which is the minimum for a housing board to build with. National policy must recognise this cost advantage. Public outlays for shelter for the poor can then help a much larger number of people since unit costs would be lower.

The strategy for housing the poor has to start with a change in the perception of why these people come to the city, how they live, work and commute. The so-called informal sector, in fact, constitutes a vibrant, productive element of the city economy, far from being a parasite. As someone put it, 'if the poor really left the city, Bombay would starve'. Bombay's four million slum dwellers constitute one-half of the city's population and the core of its workforce: industrial and white-collar labour, construction workers, domestic servants, cottage industry entrepreneurs and rag-pickers.

Demolition of their homes or uprooting them from their present habitat takes away their livelihood and pre-empt the possibility of a better life for their children. The prospect of good shelter do not initially enter into the reckoning of a migrant. As a writer put it, it is over a time-span that the migrant moves from a temporary settler to a consolidator. We have described earlier their access to services and the quality of housing. Still, without any intervention from the formal institutions--in fact, against legal and procedural odds--the poor build shelter on their own. On their own, they go through all the processes that a formal housing agency goes through. They procure land, often illegally, collect materials, find resources, put together skills and build--not aesthetic perhaps, or even out-of harmony with the lines and colours of the planner's map, but definitely an asset.

The failure of the existing institutions to build cheaply and speedily, as shown earlier, on the one hand, and the positive evidence that people have the necessary skills and ability to build, on the other, is enough justification to seek people's involvement in housing process, and to identify and remove impediments. As the Task Force on Shelter set up by the Planning Commission affirmed, "People's involvement in housing programmes meant for them is much more than a philosophical stance, it is of critical material relevance". The obstacles comprise, legal access to serviced land, access to institutional finance, restrictive building regulations and standards, cumbersome land registration and leasing requirements, supply of materials, proximity to workplace and basic social services, etc. They also constitute opportunities for positive intervention by the government.

### The Sites and Services Programme

For bulk of a city's population, including the Middle Income Group, formal housing has to be given up as a concept of affordability. The 'sites and services programme' takes into account the three following major aspects of the housing problem as outlined above:

1. The inability of the large number of households to pay for regular housing,
2. Skill in improvisation at low cost shown by poor people.
3. Their ability to make incremental improvements in the rudimentary structures which they initially erect.

The programme envisages provision, especially for poorer families, of developed plots, equipped with properly laid out basic environmental services. The allottees will complete the house with their own or hired labour according to their own standards. Given security of tenure, these houses will incrementally improve into adequate shelters that the poor could never afford initially. Naturally, the locations of the schemes must be chosen with due regard to their accessibility to places of work.

The other two planks of the programme for the poor are slum upgrading and construction loans. The project elements have been delineated in the World Bank assisted projects in Madras, Kanpur and Bombay. In respect of slum pockets, which are not required to be shifted for any major public purpose, leasehold rights are conferred individually or to a cooperative of occupants at a nominal lease. These hutments would be provided minimum civic facilities at the average expenditure of Rs. 2,000 per family, and this cost would be recovered over a long period. Having improved the neighbourhood, the slum families would be given home improvement loans according to the income group. A typical slum upgrading project will be as shown below:

	(Rs.)	(Rs.)	(Rs.)
Income per household	325	525	825
Plot price	1,000	1,500	2,500
Home improvement loan	1,500	2,000	2,500
Loan repayment/p.m.	25	35	50
(inclusive of plot price)			
Maintenance charges, taxes etc., (to be borne by society)	20	25	30
Monthly repayment as per- centage of income	14	11.5	10

The thrust of a simultaneous sites and services and slum upgrading project is as follows:

1. To increase the opportunities for affordable income shelter in the form of serviced land, so as to stop further accumulation of housing deficit.
2. To convert a significant proportion of squatter settlements into environmentally acceptable and legal shelter by providing land tenure, basic amenities and construction loans.
3. To achieve full recovery of cost in the project design, but price the shelter in such a way that it is affordable to the beneficiaries. This also ensures replicability of the project through revolving funds built out of receipts.

In the sites and services projects taken up in Bombay and Madras, dwelling units of different sizes are provided with significant price subsidy built into the plots of smaller sizes to be allotted to the lower income groups. The basic concept consists in creating a base on which individual families may build such houses as they can afford over a convenient span of time. In the Bombay project, the smallest unit is of about 25 sq. mt. with a water closet (WC) core constructed to the plinth level and a small wash place with a tap. Medium size units are also roofless and consist of WC, bathroom and a room of about 95 sq. ft. area, whose side walls are built up to a height of 10 ft. The larger units of 40 sq. mt. consist of one of two fully built rooms with asbestos cement (AC) sheet roofs in addition to WC core. The subsidy given for these plots is made up through sale of the larger plots of 60 sq. mt. and above, as well as the society plots at prices higher than the actual cost of development. The size of the houses for the income groups earning less than Rs. 10,000 per annum, is modest, but they are affordable houses built on serviced sites and can be fully paid for through reasonable monthly instalments. The project allows people to build by accretion and they leave plenty of room for the use of non-formal materials in construction. In Madras, allottees have been given loans by the banks as well as by the HUDCO to undertake construction, subject to minimum conformity with the building regulations and all the concerned agencies resolved the formalities practically at the door-step of the beneficiaries. Similar procedure is proposed to be adopted in Bombay also. The overall layout provides access to commercial sheds or employment centres nearby alongwith reservation for various other public purposes.

Another dimension to shelter for the poor has been given in the Pune experiment with relocation of the slum dwellers. It illustrates

the concept that people's participation should really mean involvement of the beneficiaries at all stages of the formulation, planning and execution of the project. The project involved shifting and rehabilitation of about 10,000 slum families situated along the Mutha Right Bank Canal near the famous Parvati Hill. About two-thirds of the households earn less than Rs. 50 per capita and 30 per cent of the huts have area less than 60 sq. ft. The availability of water-supply, latrines, etc., is extremely inadequate. The Pune Municipal Corporation decided to relocate slums, both in view of their environmental condition and because they posed a major pollution hazard to the drinking water source of Pune. On the basis of detailed consultations with the affected slum dwellers and various public groups, it was decided to offer plots ranging from 276 sq. ft. to 400 sq. ft. on long-term lease to each censused family and to provide new individual latrines, and water tap connection in each plot, and further to construct a small dwelling unit of 135 sq. ft. for those who can afford the same. Lands required for relocation of slum was acquired in record time by the government and made available to the Municipal Corporation for development. Plans and estimates of the project as well as design of the houses were prepared after fully explaining details to the groups of slum dwellers. The beneficiaries were asked to choose between a prefabricated house and a conventional house and on that basis construction of about 5000 houses was started alongwith development of the land. The HUDCO agreed to provide loans to the Municipal Corporation for the entire project and subsidy was given in the form of grants given by the state government for the amenities. The response to this scheme was so overwhelming that about 5,400 beneficiaries deposited an amount of about Rs. 1 crore in the Bank of Maharashtra towards their contribution. The instalment of repayment ranges approximately from Rs. 96 to Rs. 118 per month for a period of 15 years. The beneficiaries were fully associated with the actual execution of the project and suggestions made by them regarding various minor details of construction were accepted wherever possible.

The Pune Slum Relocation Project has a number of unique features, which deserve to be considered for replication in other major towns in order to attempt a solution to the vexed problem of slums in the fast-growing cities. These features include:

1. Systematic involvement of the slum-dwellers at each stage of the project from location of sites to the type of development, type of construction, financial contribution and eventual shifting to the new sites.
2. Fullest involvement of the elected non-officials and public

representatives in what was initially an official effort and the subsequent support extended by all sections of the society, including the Press.

3. Coordination of different agencies concerned with city development in various aspects of the programme, such as land acquisition, provision of services, formation of cooperatives, financial assistance for SC/ST, etc. This, in turn, was strengthened by support extended at the highest level of state administration.
4. Involvement of the HUDCO by way of assistance for development of the plots as well as construction, as also involvement of a nationalised bank for the first time in agreeing not only to canalise loans to the beneficiaries, but in handling all stages of the operation. This opens up a new chapter in the history of nationalised banks in India.
5. Close involvement of the beneficiaries with the actual construction process resulting in structures which fully meet needs of the ultimate residents as compared to the present impersonal type of construction by the housing agencies. This will not only result in considerable cost reduction, but also ensure that allottees will, in fact, stay on in the dwellings.

A comprehensive focus has been given to the concept of community involvement in shelter and urban basic services in the Urban Community Development Project under execution in Hyderabad, Visakhapatnam and a few other cities in India. It looks at housing as an entry point for the total development of the neighbourhood through an integrated delivery of necessary improvements, as well as social amenities, including opportunities for remunerative employment, with particular emphasis on women and children belonging to the poorer sections. It seeks to link the voluntary organisations and the institutions in the formal sector, including banks, systematically with the slum communities and to activate the dormant resources of the community through catalytic organisational and financial inputs from the formal sector. In the habitat or self-help housing scheme initiated in Hyderabad, titles have been issued by the government to over 20,000 families. Layout of the area is finalised in consultation with the slum welfare organisation constituted by the Community Development Cell and the proposed building designs are also discussed with the residents. The housing scheme is then prepared for one or more slums for submission to the HUDCO. The Municipal Corporation undertakes the entire preparation of the documentation and completion of the formalities before loan is sanctioned. Government provides subsidy of Rs. 1,000 and grants are also obtained from UNICEF for

construction of new latrines. Before the work is started, beneficiaries form groups and authorise two or three persons in the group to draw cement, steel and other building materials for construction. The Municipal Corporation assists them in building design, building permission, technical help in construction, procurement of materials, water-supply arrangements, etc., free of cost. The HUDCO loan is also passed on to the individual beneficiaries after completion of each stage of construction. The beneficiary invests his own labour and applies materials salvaged from the previous construction and often procures other materials at cheaper rates from factories and shops where they work. They take the help of carpenters, masons, wiremen, etc., who are living in the slums or nearby. There is considerable interchange of skills between one slum and the other and this assures the workers' continuous employment for construction of the houses. Physical inputs such as roads, drainage and water-supply are provided free of cost, while individual latrines connected to the sewer lines ensure that there are no problems of maintenance of community latrines, as is found in many large cities. The housing programme is fully integrated with various other activities in the project, such as Balwadis, special nutrition programme, maternity and child welfare services, immunisation, vocational training, training in skills for women and youth, construction of community halls, assistance for starting production centres and cooperatives and various other felt-need activities, which form part of the entire social planning. The entire process of construction of the houses continues for nearly nine months with the involvement of the family, the social groups and interaction of the community organisers and officials of formal sector organisations. This offers the slum dweller a pride of having constructed his own house, as well as a feeling of social status, and a sense of involvement in the civic affairs. It is found, in such projects, that slum dwellers can be easily motivated to maintain services and also take on many of the activities which are conventionally performed by government agencies. There are instances of ex-convicts having been transformed into a functioning housing neighbourhood in Hyderabad. The lessons learnt from Hyderabad are being replicated in Madras, Kanpur, Ahmedabad and a host of small towns like Sambhalpur and Allepy. However, the urban community development is still looked upon in many big cities as a pilot effort rather than a city-wide approach to meet problems of the poor. Changes called for in this regard would include:

1. Emphasis on economic activities, such as small loans, production centres, and vocational training in order to enhance the income and earning base of the poor families and to integ-

- rate them in formal sector with the formal city economy.
2. Integrate the housing efforts of the poor with finances available from institutions like the HUDCO and nationalised banks through orientation of the state or city-level agencies responsible for housing and urban development, since it is precisely the undertaking of various formalities and documentation associated with getting loans from formal institutions, as well as procedures connected with commencement of the project, that deters the poor communities from approaching the formal sector.
  3. Simultaneously attend to other social needs of the poor neighbourhoods, such as schools, recreation, mother and child care, health care, Balwadis, since it has been found that efforts to earn higher incomes on the part of women are linked with availability of facilities for child care, easy access to water-supply and sanitation, better health facilities, etc. Again it is precisely these facilities that the poor are not able to provide for themselves.
  4. Link the community development efforts with larger city-wide programmes of physical improvement, such as environmental improvement and housing, integrated child development schemes of the Government of India, and various investments for physical and social infrastructure, in order to make both these investments more relevant to the felt needs of the ultimate beneficiaries and in order to ensure better maintenance of the assets so created through a sense of belonging.
  5. Link various voluntary groups working in the neighbourhood with the government and municipal organisations and capitalise on the credibility of these groups for motivating community for shelter and slum upgradation programmes.
  6. Enhance coordination and convergence of basic services to the urban poor on the part of different institutions working in the city and to ensure complementarity of different inputs.

Although the projects noted above provided for financing by the poor, the lower income groups have practically no access to institutional finance for housing. Indirect funding is available for the EWS and LIG categories through the HUDCO, when it finances housing schemes of the housing agencies. However, as noted earlier, this forms a miniscule proportion of the total need, and covers mainly Class I towns. The other sources of institutional finance are the nationalised banks. Barring the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, interest rates for other low income groups are high, and the loan is limited to Rs. 5,000. The project has to be sponsored by some



public agency. The offtake is low due to various procedural problems. The funds are limited for cooperatives of the poorer sections too as they have problems of organisation and most of the funds from LIC and Apex Cooperative Banks are canalised to MIG and HIG Cooperatives.

A recent survey made by the National Institute of Public Finance and Policy shows that households in the lower income groups and also relatively young in age and residents in small towns, face great hardships in mobilising resources for housing, with less than 8 per cent of the funds required coming from the formal market. They rely on self-generated resources, liquidation of asset, loans from employers, friends and relatives. Again, since they acquire the smallest houses they have little access to specialised housing finance institutions, and receive only marginal support from the banks. Many poor households have little information about the availability of financial intermediation. Even when aware, many of them are unable to fulfil the stringent eligibility norms of the conventional institutions, nor can they comply with the complex procedures for getting loans. Many of them insist on regular and verifiable source of income and acceptable collateral and do not cater to the casual labourers or self-employed. Antiquated definitions of income groups have contributed to the disqualification of a large segment of people from being eligible for houses which they can afford. For example, even the lowest category of salaried groups in the organised sector earns more than Rs. 600 p.m. and gets disqualified for an EWS or LIG house, but finds the MIG house not affordable. Thus the present policies and norms of HDFC, banks, etc., mean that the category of people who need public housing support most get disqualified in practice despite professions on paper.

It is also noted that the urban poor have great need for small amounts of money to repair, redevelop or expand their homes. There is no institutional arrangement for such loans. For innovative banking in this field, community-based systems have to be devised. Another felt need is the demand for loans to construct latrines in medium towns. It is further worth exploring as to whether building material banks, linked to daily or weekly chit funds, can be introduced on the pattern of the Freedom to Build Concern in the Philippines to make available new and used material for construction. Yet another need actively being promoted in Bombay is the institutional finance for repairs and reconstruction of dilapidated buildings by tenant cooperatives. All this points to the need for a specialised institutional framework to mobilise savings for housing and give home loans to meet the specialised needs of individuals and cooperatives.

One of the important reforms needed to bring down the costs to within the paying capacity of the poor and to encourage permanent



Investment by the poor is to modify the standards relating to land use, floor space, quality of finish and other specifications, utilities and often durability of materials. This would call for modifications in building bye-laws, land use control, density requirements, minimum plot requirements, open space and road requirements, and even construction standards and specifications stipulated by the local bodies and town planning departments. In the Bombay Shelter Project, the open space and utility requirements have been reduced and the residential component increased so as to achieve higher density and bring down the cost of saleable land to the poor. Typical building designs and cluster layouts have been developed to enable the beneficiary in the housing and slum upgrading project to build incrementally to the maximum built-up area with lesser setbacks and margins. In Madras and Hyderabad, the allottees of plots are assisted in getting building permissions, water supply connection, etc., virtually at the doorstep and thus, avoid the loss of time and energy in complying with cumbersome procedures and red-tape in the local bodies and utilities.

The legislative framework in the form of Slum Improvement Act, Town Planning Act, Rent Control Act, etc., also need to be liberalised. It is necessary to review the rent control legislation in order to encourage housing investment, especially for renting to those who cannot afford to buy a house. It is not at all clear that rent control actually protects tenants as a whole and perhaps it benefits the better-off more. It also leads to poorer maintenance of existing buildings and lesser civic revenues for service delivery. The Slum Improvement Act is rooted in the perception of slums as a temporary aberration and does not squarely take into account the illegality of the hutments. This has, in fact, perpetuated the sense of vulnerability of the slum dwellers and prevented sustained improvement of their dwellings. The town planning framework keeps the slums outside the Master Plan even if they account for 50 per cent of the population. Short of restructuring the basis of town planning which determines access to urban land and services, short-term measures like a cut-off date for slums is not likely to improve the situation of the poor.

An important point, often overlooked, is that the magnitude of investment in housing that a household can make, can be assessed by evaluating the chances of occupational mobility and access to employment. The low-income population comprises two non-competing groups. The first is employed in urban modern sector jobs, mainly due to a relatively higher level of education and access to formal sector jobs. The second group is barred from employment in the organised sector on account of its lower social status, lack of qualifications

and contacts, and is condemned to remain in low-skill, casual and low-paying occupations. If this situation is viewed against the possible type of construction, referred to earlier, the transition to a pucca house is possible only for some, but the vast majority has no capacity to improve the shelter beyond semi-pucca dwelling.

What is, therefore, needed is a range of technical measures for improving the rudimentary shelter that is initially put up by the urban poor on sites allotted to them or in upgradable slums. An important factor here is the simplicity and ease of construction within the reach of the resources and skills of the poor, innovations in design and the minimum requirement of costly materials like cement and steel in short supply. A lot of research has been undertaken in this field, such as water-proofing of mud walls, treatment to thatches, use of lime mortar, etc., which also has the advantage of using less energy for manufacture. A greater dissemination of information about scope for using such materials and supply centres for making these materials available to the urban poor and radical change in the attitudes of engineers towards the use of these materials is necessary in this context. Equally necessary to encourage such technical innovations is the recognition that self-help housing and sites and services programmes are the viable alternative to the question of shelter for the poor, as we argued earlier.

Apart from the need to take up such programmes on a significant scale to make an impact on the housing situation, it is important to devise estate management procedures, which would enable information regarding the schemes to reach the really needy sections. Unequal access to information about the housing schemes for the poor can also be disadvantageous as it leaves vulnerable poor groups open for exploitation by those who can use information to their own advantage at the cost of the poor. Laying down of such requirement in the scheme as may prevent their eligibility also could be a barrier to many poor persons, who do not have the capacity to obtain these documents. Again, the procedure for the collection of instalments needs to be flexible enough to make it possible for those with casual income or daily wages to make payment. It is also necessary to provide a series of options in terms of plot sizes, amenities and repayment charges to suit different levels of the urban poor. Some of these aspects have been incorporated in the World Bank assisted projects in Bombay and Madras in the form of a number of options for EWS and LIG sites. The Ghaziabad Development Authority has introduced a housing project for people with casual employment and that permits them to pay a rupee a day at collection centre in a central place to get possession of a simple serviced plot. Such innovations need to be replicated on a large-scale in different cities.

To sum up, the government and public agencies should take a comprehensive view of housing for the poor as component of integrated programme of services which include, health, education, recreation, mother and child care, support of income earning activities and access to the places of employment. Housing agencies again should treat housing as part of an integrated programme for urban development and assume their legitimate functions as planners and promoters of critical infrastructure and enablers of housing by the poor. They should concentrate on helping people with activities that they themselves are not able to perform, viz.:

1. public services, such as water-supply, sanitation and social amenities;
2. land acquisition and development;
3. availability of housing finance at reasonable rates for new construction as well as repairs;
4. providing access to materials in typical use as well as technical help regarding design and construction;
5. providing security of tenure on developed sites as well as upgradable slums; and
6. removal of legal and administrative impediments to housing.

The traditional approach to housing in terms of its broad objectives is concerned with architectural standards and is largely irrelevant given the basic facts of poverty and urban growth in India. The approach from now on needs to concentrate on ways to involve people, rather than existing organisations and institutions, on more effective methods of cost reduction, and make programmes and projects need-based and relevant. They involve a major shift in attitude towards the people, a new interpretation of people-initiated housing, a new definition of housing, a redefinition of housing task, a new role for the public agencies, a new relationship between housing agencies and their clients, a new definition of skills, and above all, a new vision of housing for the poor.

# Computerised Financial Information System in Government of Gujarat - A Case Study

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THE BASIC exercise of budgeting in a governmental system deals with: (1) fixing rates of taxes and duties in the best interest of the objectives of the state, (2) estimating the amount of tax and non-tax receipts during the year, (3) allocating funds for various activities and projects of the government, (4) matching the total disbursements of the government with the total receipts. During the budget period, continuous monitoring is needed to ensure that desired objectives are attained and, if necessary, supplementary modifications and corrections are effected in this regard from time to time. The role of relevant, accurate and timely information in this whole exercise needs hardly any emphasis. The quality of budget and its impact is directly related to the quality of information used to plan and monitor it.

## MANUAL SYSTEM

The budget of a state government in India varies from a few hundred crore to a few thousand crore of rupees depending on the size of the state. The state government is obliged to lay before the house of the legislature a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the state for that year, called the "annual financial statement", as per Article 202 of the Constitution of India. The demands for grants in the annual financial statement are submitted in the form of Appropriation Bill for the approval of the Assembly. The government is also obliged to lay before the Assembly the demand for supplementary, additional or excess grants under Article 205 of the Constitution, if the amount authorised by law to be expended for a particular service for a current financial year is found to be insufficient for the purpose of that year or when a need has arisen during that (current) financial year for supplementary or additional expenditure upon some new service in the annual financial statement or if any money has been spent in excess of the amount granted for that

service.

All revenue received by the government of a state in the form of its share in taxes and duties, all loans raised by the government by the issue of treasury bills, loans or ways and means advances and all money received by that government in repayment of loans shall constitute a fund called "the Consolidated Fund of the State" under Article 266 of the Constitution of India. All other public money received by or on behalf of the government of a state is credited to the public account of the state.

Article 150 of the Constitution of India empowers the President of India to prescribe the form of account of the Union and of the states in consultation with the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG). The CAG reports the accounts of the Union and the states to the President and the governors respectively which are then laid before Parliament and state legislatures.

The CAG, with the approval of the President, issued the third edition of the Account Code in 1973. The Account Code explains the basic principles, the procedures to be followed and records to be generated by the Union and the state governments for accounting transactions made by them. Appendix 2 to Volume I of the Account Code gives the list of major and minor heads of account to be followed in the classification of receipts and expenditure. Till 1976, the compilation of accounts of the Union and the state governments was done by the CAG. However, in 1976, by order of the President of India, the CAG was relieved of the responsibility of compiling the accounts of the Central Government in a phased manner between April 1976 and October 1976. This was done under a scheme of departmentalisation of accounts in the Central Government and each department was given the responsibility of maintaining its own accounts while the CAG was left with only the audit function for these departments. The accounts of the state governments are, however, still compiled by the CAG.

Ever since the British rule, the revenue district has been the unit of administration. At each district headquarters, the government treasury (known as district treasury) is charged with the responsibility of collecting government revenue, and making disbursements on government account. After expansion of banking industry, the treasuries are now discharging these responsibilities in association with branches of the State Bank which is functioning as the agent of the Reserve Bank of India, who are government bankers. Thus, the financial transactions in essence originate at the district treasuries, and its subordinate sub-treasuries. The financial transactions relating to receipts and payments are recorded in the documents called 'challan' and 'voucher' respectively.

District treasury, while incorporating the sub-treasury transactions, sends to the Accountant General (AG) of the state, periodical schedules of payments twice in a month--first on 23rd, and second on 7th of the following month--classifying them under individual major heads. The schedules of receipts are, however, sent once at a later date. The office of the AG looks after the compilation of accounts. A few departments, viz., the public works departments and forest departments, conduct their own financial transactions without intervention of the district treasuries and submit monthly accounts of their own financial transactions to the AG. Monthly, major head-wise expenditure and receipt figures are then compiled and communicated to the Finance Department of the state some time by the second week of the second subsequent month.

Each voucher or challan records information about the treasury or PWD or Forest division, the disbursing officer in case of a payment, the department, serial number, the source of revenue, e.g., state plan, state non-plan, central plan, centrally sponsored scheme, etc., and the head of account to which the transaction has to be debited. The classification in accounts, is prescribed by the CAG in the 'List of Major and Minor Heads of Account'. About 400 major heads of account have been prescribed and a three-digit code number is also assigned to each head. Major heads code numbers '020' to '045' have been assigned to the sector 'tax revenue', e.g., Income-tax, Sales tax, Excise duty, etc. Major heads codes '046' to '162' have been assigned to sector 'other receipts'. Further, major head codes '211' to '364' have been assigned to various expenditure heads on revenue account, under various sectors/sub-sectors. Codes '430' to '769' have been assigned to the various expenditure heads under capital account, loan accounts, etc., code number '800' is reserved for the Contingency Fund and '801' to '899' are reserved for heads under the Public Account.

Each Major head is further divided, wherever convenient, into one or more sub-major heads, e.g., major head '077' is for Education. Under this major head, there are seven sub-major heads, viz.:

1. Primary Education;
2. Secondary Education;
3. Special Education;
4. Pre-University Education;
5. University and Higher Education;
6. Technical Education; and
7. General.

Each sub-major head and--where no sub-major head is given--each

major head is further divided into one or more minor heads, e.g., secondary education, has three minor heads under it, viz.:

1. Tuition and Other Fees;
2. Text Book Receipts; and
3. Other Receipts.

In addition to the minor heads prescribed by the CAG, more minor heads may be opened by the state government with the consent of the CAG. Sub-heads and detailed heads under the minor heads may, however, be opened by the state government according to their specific requirements and local conditions.

Thus, the system of accounting classification in government account is a 5-tier one. The tiers are: (i) Sector/Sub-sector, (ii) Major head/Sub-Major head of account, (iii) Minor head of account, (iv) Sub-head of account, and (v) Detailed head of account (also known as Object head).

#### OBJECTIVES OF COMPUTERISED SYSTEM

The compiled accounts are submitted by the Accountant General (AG) to the state government on a monthly basis. Accounts for each accounting month are made available after a lapse of about two months. Apart from this substantial time lag, qualitatively also, it reveals nothing but the money value under each major head of account. This information is, obviously, totally inadequate for the purpose of budgeting and budgetary control by the state government. So, the state government has to evolve its own method for generating financial information. The state government would like to know the break-up of expenditure, not only by major head of account, but down to the detailed head of account. It would also like to know analysis of actual expenditure as follows: disbursing officer-wise, district-wise and plan scheme-wise, and its comparison with corresponding amounts in the budget. Similarly, it would like to have the comparative picture of actual and budgeted receipts from time to time.

In order to meet the financial information needs of the state government, some states have evolved computerised systems in the past. But these systems have not been approved by the CAG or the Union Ministry of Finance and differ widely from state to state. Since there are also certain shortfalls, these systems are not working satisfactorily. Evolution of computerised system in states has also led to duplication of accounting function by the AG as well as the state government. However, the accuracy of the existing systems is fairly low and these are in no position to take over the account-

ing function from the AG.

As in the case of Central Government, it may be ideal to transfer the function of compilation of accounts from the AG to the state government. This would avoid duplication as compilation of accounts is only a by-product of analysis of financial information and the AG could also thereby be enabled to concentrate on his primary function of audit.

Thus, the objectives of the computerised financial information system are to provide all relevant information to the state government from time to time for scientific budgeting and budgetary control within an appropriate time-frame and it should be able to take over compilation of accounts as and when desired. The system should act as a model for other states to follow. The Government of Gujarat took the final decision accordingly in the beginning of 1980, appointed the IIPA as its consultants, and also created the EDP Cell under the state directorate of accounts and treasuries for working out the new system of computerised treasury accounts.

#### EVOLUTION OF THE SYSTEM FOR GUJARAT GOVERNMENT

The work of systems analysis and design was started by the EDP Cell in the month of February 1980. One of the important aspects to be kept in view was that the system was designed as a financial information system, which was not supposed to replace the existing accounting system operated by the state's AG. The AG was to continue as the keeper of the accounts, in terms of provisions of Section 10 of the Comptroller and Auditor General's (Duties, Powers and Conditions of Service) Act 1971. This situation, therefore, imposed certain limitations and constraints on the work of designing the new system. These constraints were identified as discussed below.

As stated earlier, the AG was to continue his statutory function of accounts keeping, and for that reason the conventional data flow, as outlined earlier, was to continue. The new system was, therefore, supposed to have its roots, and subsequent linkages with the traditional data flow to ensure firm consistency and agreement in the processed information at the end of both the systems. This compulsion was certainly to have some adverse impact on the innovative ideas in the realm of accounts keeping, while designing the system.

The government environment was another factor which could not be overlooked. Under the present treasury system of working, for example, the paid vouchers, are not retained at the treasury; they are bundled off to the AG's office and then they are not easily accessible for verification or referencing. This situation and other similar constraints under which the new system was to work, was to have



special impact on the system to be designed. As the input documents would not be available subsequently, it was thought appropriate that, to the extent possible, there should be a decentralised data processing pattern. This would ensure smooth operation of error-free data entry work.

Lastly, but not of lesser importance was the consideration of minimising harassment to the tax-payers, pensioners, etc., in filling up various forms, which were ultimately to be used as input documents for the new system. This philosophy warranted that the existing procedures of receiving money at the treasury, of disbursing money to various claimants, should, as far as possible, be allowed to continue, without any detriment to the totality of data-capturing operations.

#### OUTPUT AND INPUT DESIGN

The work of determining the structure of outputs was naturally undertaken first of all. Initially, some 21 output reports were designed to cater to the needs of different types of information. But subsequently, it was thought beneficial to squeeze them into eight reports without impairing their total utility. The formats of these output reports were referred to various departments in the Secretariat to ascertain whether those would suffice or whether any modification was needed. Important suggestions were received from couple of departments, which were considered at the time of finalisation under orders of the state government.

The structure of the output reports is pyramidal with grand summary report at the vertex point, supported by semi-quick summaries, and the detailed analysis at the base level. Another important feature detailed with the output structure was that grand summary was also to serve as the final check-point in the validation procedure.

The output reports at the grand summary level would reveal district-wise receipts and disbursements for the month, with opening and closing cash balances at each district treasury and the extent of accretion to and depletion of bank balance of the state government (known as Reserve Bank Deposit amount in the treasury parlance). At the middle level of semi-quick summaries, the district-wise position of receipts and expenditure, with progressive status, and the percentage comparison with the state budget would be forthcoming. At the bottom level of the detailed analysis, the report would contain further details of expenditure and receipts, by individual drawing and disbursing officer, by individual plan schemes in case of the plan expenditure and various other items useful for better control over the expenditure. Similarly, for receipts, the detailed analysis

would contain the break-up of receipts which is useful for purposeful monitoring of this aspect.

After having decided about the output reports and its structure, the next step in the system designing was to work out a suitable record design for the input structure. Lot of work was required to be done in this area, firstly, to ensure that the constraints referred to earlier were honoured, and secondly, to see that the input structure does not get loaded with redundant data items and thereby become over-comprehensive. The over-comprehensiveness would have meant avoidable recurring cost in the data capture operation to the state exchequer.

While deciding the input structure, all the essential characteristics of government accounting system--viz., nature of expenditure, legislative authorisation reference, the category of the budget, like 'non-plan', and 'plan', were required to be taken care of so that the system could be approved by the Indian Audit Department. Accordingly, the record design of 54 characters containing the following data items was decided:

1. District,
2. Month and Year,
3. Voucher Number,
4. Class of Expenditure,
5. Fund,
6. Drawing Officer,
7. Demand Number,
8. Type of Budget,
9. Plan Scheme Number,
10. Accounting Classification,
11. Disbursement/Receipt Code, and
12. Amount.

All the above mentioned data items of the record-design are not relevant for different types of financial transactions. For example, for receipt transactions, class of expenditure, demand number (denoting legislative authorisation reference) are not relevant. There could have, therefore, been a different input record design for different types of financial transactions. But such different record-designs would have caused considerable strain on the data entry work, and thereby reduced throughput. Again, the computer application for the financial data was to be introduced in each of the districts where the computer culture was relatively new. For all such considerations, it was thought that the data-capture procedure should remain as simple as possible, and hence the decision to have a

single record design for every type of financial transaction. Wherever particular data item was irrelevant, zero was placed as redundancy code.

As stated earlier, there would be eight different outputs containing multi-angled analysis of the financial transactions taking place at various district treasuries in the state every month. Apparently these should be adequately useful in certain administrative decision-making at various levels in the state government. In the following paragraphs, some reflections in this regard are presented.

Output No.1 is grand summary report containing the monthly district-wise financial position and the position of the Reserve Bank Deposit. This report can help the state government to monitor its resource position by initiating timely remedial action in consultation with the Reserve Bank and the Central Government. Besides, it could help in understanding the district-wise trend of government spending and its socio-political impact.

Output No. 2, a district-wise summary of receipts, is a type of semi-quick summary which provides information about governmental receipts under various heads which can help in monitoring government revenue by each district. In case the state government desires in future to prescribe district-wise targets for realisation of the tax-revenue and to evaluate performance of its district officers, the information in this report would greatly help.

Output No. 3 would contain the total revenue receipts by individual head with status position by showing the comparison with the state budget. This would help periodical review of receipts and timely remedial action wherever bottlenecks exist in realisation of government dues.

Similarly, on the expenditure side, the corresponding output reports No. 4 and 5 could likewise be meaningful to the administration. Again, these reports could be used as the tool for exercising better control over spending by individual drawing and disbursing officers of the various departments.

The detailed analysis contained in reports No. 6 (receipts), 7 and 8 (expenditure) would be more useful at the middle level in the administration for minute watch and control, which is also very essential for the state exchequer.

The system has potential and capabilities of generating various on-demand reports in addition to the pre-determined routine reports. For example, if information about the government spending on purchase of stores in connection with execution of Narmada Project is required or, to cite another example, if the information about spending in the tribal areas under the aegis of different departments is needed, the system can do so. With such on-demand information generating from

the system, it may be hoped that the state government would be better equipped for scientific decision-making and giving better administration to the tax-payers.

#### DESIGN OF CODING STRUCTURE

The work of determination of code structure for each of the above mentioned data items was then undertaken. Fixation of numeric serial codes for all data items, except for the drawing and disbursing officer, plan-scheme number, and the accounting classification, was relatively easier to decide and that was quickly done.

While fixing the codes for the drawing and disbursing officers in the state, care was required to be taken to see that the coding structure enables control over expenditure through the proposed system. Secondly, the concept of 'Drawing and Disbursing Officer' was to be so defined that, unlike the provisions of Government Treasury Rules, it should accommodate all types of claimants at the Government Treasury, irrespective of the fact whether or not such claimants were in the government employment. Thirdly, for obvious reasons, special care was required to be taken for claimants, like members of the legislative assembly, and government pensioners. An extensive analysis of the existing system and procedures was made, and the coding structure was worked out on the following broad lines:

1. It shall be a 3-digit numeric code: unique within the district;
2. Range coding should first be decided for each category of claimants;
3. For claimants not in the government employment, a 3-digit code of the government officers, with whom the financial transaction is associated, should be fixed; and
4. For members of the legislative assembly and pensioners, the 3-digit code respectively of the legislature secretary and the district treasury officer should be fixed.

With the above mentioned framework, it was possible to arrange for expeditious census of all the drawing and disbursing officers in the state, and rope them in the proposed system by assigning appropriate 3-digit numeric code. District-wise directories of these were compiled and furnished to the respective district treasury officers, simultaneously informing the individual officer of his code number under the proposed system.

The plan expenditure in government is sanctioned, and incurred for the individual schemes, under each plan-sector. The structure of plan sectors is prescribed by the Planning Commission, and each

scheme sanctioned by the planning machinery in the state administration is identifiable with reference to its present 3-digit alpha code for the sector/sub-sector followed by the number of the individual scheme. This all-India structure of Plan scheme has been broadly retained while evolving the coding pattern for the proposed system in the state. Slight improvements have been designed to suit the local requirement of the state planning machinery and a 7-digit numeric code pattern, incorporating sector and sub-sector identity, has been finally accepted. The directory thereof has been compiled.

The present 5-tier system of accounting classification in government accounts is sacrosanct for all purposes. Keeping this firmly in view, the coding structure for accounting classification was evolved by providing 3 digits (existing) for major head; 2 digits for sub-major head; 3 digits for minor head; 2 digits for sub-head, and 3 digits for detailed head. It was also thought desirable to sandwich check digit between sub-head level code, and detailed head level code, thus making the entire accounting classification code of 14 digits.

In this 14-digit code, the identity of sector and sub-sector might appear to be missing, and to that extent, it could be alleged that there has been deviation from the traditional 5-tier classification. The sector and sub-sector is merely group arrangement for the specified major heads and, therefore, instead of providing a separate code, and thereby increasing the complexity of the system, it was thought desirable to generate the said arrangements in the output by suitably providing for that in the programme.

The directories of accounting classification codes up to the level of sub-head, and the check digit, based on modulus-10 method, have been compiled in four different volumes for distribution to various offices where the input preparation and input scrutiny work is to be done.

#### FORMS DESIGN

After having decided about the record-design and about the input codes, the next issue to be worked on was the designing of input forms for the proposed system since the traditional forms of the bills of various categories would not facilitate the display of the computer data for the purpose of data entry. Various alternatives were examined. One of the alternatives was tear-off slips being attached with the traditional vouchers and these slips, after being detached, should serve as the input for the system. The distinct advantage in this approach was that there was no need to have special forms printed--a massive job for the government system--and distri-

buted for being used, so that the administration could switch over to the computer with ease. Such a system was already in vogue in Maharashtra and it was, therefore, decided to undertake the study of the Maharashtra experiment about this tear-off slip before finally working on any set idea.

The study revealed that the tear-off slip method of collecting the data was fraught with risk of inaccurate data being collected on massive scale for two reasons: firstly, there was lack of sanctity in preparation of data on the tear-off slip and their scrutiny in the treasury. The term 'tear-off' somehow was stigmatic to suggest something worthless to be torn off. Secondly, under this method, the data was being collected from a document other than the source documents, therefore, chances of variations in the data could not be ruled out.

Collecting error-free data would hardly need any reiteration. It was, therefore, imperative for us to devise such a system of data collection whereunder it should be possible to collect the data, as far as possible, from the source document so that chances of errors creeping in could be lowest and, secondly, the cost of data collection could be minimum to the exchequer. To fulfil these requirements, the data collection system was devised as given in the following paras.

It was decided that in respect of certain specified categories of the financial transactions, the computer data should be displayed on the bills themselves by various departmental officers presenting these bills to government treasury, and for this purpose forms of relevant types of bills should be revised so as to ensure display of various computer input data on them. While revising the forms, emphasis should be on making such display an integral part of the bill, so that every care is bestowed at every level in the preparation and scrutiny thereof. This would also facilitate capturing of the data into the system from source documents only.

In certain other categories of financial transactions, like government receipts and pension payments, the treasuries do compute the accounts figure daily under the traditional method. With certain adjustments in the manual processing, these sets of figures could be used as input for the system. As much, there would be no need to tinker with the existing formats and procedure of bill preparation except that simple forms for daily inputs for specified transactions in the internal working of the treasury would need to be designed in such a way that various codes in regard to various parameters are pre-printed so that input preparation in government treasury involves less of manual operations.

The third set of financial transactions comprised those taking

place in the Public Works Department and the Forest Department, which are authorised to draw cheques independent of the government treasury. These departments compile their monthly accounts and send them to the AG. The forms of these monthly accounts have been slightly revised to accommodate display of various codes, so that the data thereon could be conveniently captured in the system.

While designing the various input forms, as stated above, and prescribing the procedure for the data capture, suitable sub-system for validation of data at the time of preparing the input and at the time of entering data has also been developed so that the constraints referred to earlier were duly honoured.

#### SYSTEM DESIGN

The input to the system is the voucher in case of expenditure and daily input sheet in case of receipts for the transactions executed at the treasuries. For transactions of Public Works Department and Forest Department, the input consists of monthly compiled accounts. The outputs from the system are the eight periodical reports as described earlier, apart from any on-demand reports which may be generated. The design of the system for the transformation of the inputs into the outputs consists of the following steps:

1. Punching and verification of vouchers and daily input sheets at the data centres located in district treasuries in case of transactions at the treasuries and monthly compiled accounts of PWD and Forest Department at the EDP Cell, Gandhinagar.
2. Validation of punched data through applying the following validation checks at the time of transcription of data:
  - (a) Checking the net total of payments and deductions in a voucher.
  - (b) Checking of totals of net amounts for a batch of voucher.
  - (c) Checking of daily cash balance. The total of net payments and receipts during a day at a treasury must tally with reference to the physical cash balance at the treasury.
  - (d) Checking of serial order of voucher numbers and the number of vouchers in each batch.
  - (e) Checking of check digit in case of account code.
  - (f) Checking of range and type of code in case of fund, class of expenditure, etc.
  - (g) Checking for valid combination of codes for payments and receipt, transactions according to the decision table.

3. Transfer of validated transactions on floppy disks to the EDP Cell, Gandhinagar, on a weekly basis.
4. Conversion of data from floppy disk to tape media to generate transaction file for the state, using floppy-to-tape convertor at the EDP Cell.
5. Punching and verification of budget expenditure and budget receipt files (annually).
6. Validation of transaction file using state government computer. In addition to the validation checks made at the data capture stage, the following additional checks are incorporated in this validation run:
  - (a) Validity of the detailed head codes with reference to the nature of transaction (whether it is receipt transaction or a payment transaction), and
  - (b) Range checking with regard to the district code, and the month and year code of the date.
7. Transcription of transaction relating to deductions from payment captured from payment vouchers into appropriate receipt records with appropriate account code and printing of Reserve Bank Deposit Statement (Report No. 1).
8. Separation of payment and receipt records into expenditure and receipt transaction files respectively.
9. Sort Expenditure transaction file into Budget/Fund/Class/Demand/DO/District/Account head sequence.
10. Update Progressive/Budget Expenditure file with Expenditure transaction file.
11. Print Detailed Expenditure Statement (Report No. 7 and 8) and generate summary expenditure file.
12. Sort Summary Expenditure file into Fund/Class/District/Major Head sequence.
13. Print District-wise Summary Expenditure Statement (Report No. 4).
14. Sort Summary Expenditure file into Fund/Class/Demand/Major Head sequence.
15. Print Summary Expenditure Statement (Report No. 5).
16. Sort Receipt Expenditure file into Account Head/District sequence.
17. Update progressive/budget receipt file with receipt transaction file and print detailed receipt statement (Report No. 6).
18. Sort Progressive Receipt file into Major Head/District sequence.
19. Print Summary Receipt Statement (Report No. 3) and generate



summary receipt file.

20. Sort Summary Receipt file into District/Major Head sequence.
21. Print District-wise Summary Receipt Statement (Report No. 2).

#### INSTALLATION OF HARDWARE

The Government of Gujarat already had the ICL 1901-A computer installed at the State Computer Centre. This centre is in the process of being upgraded with the installation of bigger and more modern computer. The financial information system would use the state computer centre for final processing and printing of reports. But no facilities of data capture or processing existed in the districts. It was, therefore, necessary to set up data centres in all district treasuries and Pay and Accounts offices for the purpose of punching, verification and validation. According to the workload at each district, the number of data-entry machines required at each district was worked out. It came to a total of 67 machines for all the centres. In addition, convertors were required to be installed at the EDP Cell in Gandhinagar for transcription of data from floppy disk to tape media before its processing at the state computer centre.

The validation checks required to be carried out at data capture stage required the facility of net totalling of positive and negative amounts, checking of check digits, decision table checks, etc. This required a certain amount of intelligence in the data-entry machines. It was found on inviting tenders that many of the data-entry machines offered in the market did not provide such facility. So, the choice for equipment was limited by the validation needs of the system. According to this main criterion and other factors, one manufacturer was identified for the supply of machines during the pilot run and the same manufacturer along with another one was identified for the purchase during the first and second phase of implementation.

Setting up of data centres at district treasuries and the EDP Cell required the construction/acquisition of suitable rooms, preparation of rooms, and appointment and training of punch operators, apart from purchase and installation of machinery.

#### TRAINING

A large number of staff and officers are involved in the operation of the system. This includes the staff at the treasuries and sub-treasuries honouring the vouchers and those at the offices of disbursing officers, preparing the vouchers. The success of the system

depends on proper understanding of the system by these people and feeding the correct data in the correct form to the system. It also depends on how the users of the system use the output reports generated by the system. For this purpose, a large number of training programmes were organised. The training was imparted at the following three levels:

1. Courses on 'Computer Input Preparation' were organised for the staff of the district treasuries and those of the disbursing officers. Training was imparted to about 7,800 staff members in several batches spread over a period of two years.
2. Courses on 'Users Orientation to Computer' were organised for treasury officers, accounts officers and pay and accounts officers. This training was imparted to 60 officers in two batches.
3. Seminar on 'Computer Based Information System' was organised for the officers of executive departments, using the output reports of the system.

#### SYSTEM IMPLEMENTATION

The state government had decided to launch the new system in a phased manner, preceded by the pilot run in two districts of the state. Accordingly, the districts of Gandhinagar, being the capital district of the state, and of Surendranagar were selected for pilot run. The latter district was selected for the specific reason that it was comparatively a backward district, and that the adaptability of the computer culture could be put to a test in a better way. The pilot run commenced from February 1, 1983.

The pilot run implementation had, of course, to pass through some teething troubles, but one of the encouraging aspects that emerged through this was that the extent of errors in data-entry operations in these two districts was very insignificant. It was two per cent in the first month, and came down to less than 0.1 per cent in subsequent months. This was a good proof of the effectiveness of accurate data collection, and data validation procedures followed both at the district treasuries and the EDP Cell.

The pilot run phase was followed by the first phase of implementation covering eight more districts with effect from April 1, 1984. The second and the final phase of implementation commenced in all the remaining districts of the state from January 1, 1985. The test run was successfully conducted in the entire state during January to March 1985. The system has been duly launched with effect from 1985-86, the first year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan period.

The timeliness of computer system result was one of the most important requirements, and therefore, if the proposed system was to betray indifference towards the time-schedule exercise for the data-flow, it would be a sheer waste. As outlined earlier, some information--may be superficial--was available under the traditional reporting 45 days after the close of the month, and this was looked upon as inadequate. The time schedule for the data flow for the system has now been aimed at as given in the following paras.

The district treasury would continue to process the data manually, as has been done hitherto and, in addition, would also perform the data-entry operations concurrently, and create data floppies.

The data floppies would be sent four times in a month to the EDP Cell at the state headquarters in such a way that the last set of the monthly data would be available in the Cell by 7th of the subsequent month.

The other data from the PWD and Forest departments, as referred to earlier, would be available by 12th of the subsequent month, and the EDP Cell would put these data on the floppies, and further on to the tapes, by 16th or 17th of the said subsequent month.

In the meanwhile, the treasury data would have been converted on to the tapes at the EDP Cell in such a way that all the data tapes are ready for final processing on the main computer by 17th or 18th of the said subsequent month.

The time earmarked for the main frame operations would be between 18th and 24th of the said subsequent month, so that the pre-defined outputs could be available by 25th of that month.

Thus, the time-schedule, as envisaged now, would make it possible for the system to generate outputs latest by 25th of the subsequent month, and this is going to be the distinct benefit flowing from the system.

# Using Computers for Malaria Eradication

ARUN DEEKSHIT

TODAY, MALARIA has been eradicated from many areas of the world where it was previously endemic. Yet there are 350 million people living in areas of the world where malaria is still endemic. In the middle of this century, there were three million deaths annually caused by malaria; India accounting for nearly one million of them. Since then intensive and systematic malaria eradication and control programmes have been installed in countries all over the world, and in India since 1953. Yet malaria is prevalent in many parts of India. Resurgence of malaria in recent years, after a moderate success in containing it, has posed a formidable challenge to public health administration.

Malaria is one of the diseases known to man from ancient times. But medical studies on malaria, until the middle of 19th century, were concerned with generalisations on the circumstances in which the disease occurred, which made it possible mainly to avoid the disease. It was towards the end of 19th century that scientists like Ronald Ross<sup>1</sup> proved that malaria was transmitted by the female mosquito. With the advent of DDT in the early 1940s, spectacular reduction in the incidence of malaria all over the world was achieved.

## NATIONAL MALARIA ERADICATION PROGRAMME

In 1953, the Government of India launched a programme of malaria control in the country. The results in the beginning were so encouraging that in 1958 the programme was converted into National Malaria Eradication Programme (NMEP), which aimed hopefully at wiping out the disease in 10 years. The strategy consisted of two-pronged attack on mosquito vector which transmits the disease and on parasites which thrive in human body. The instruments of attack were spraying of insecticides to reduce the mosquito population and administration of drugs to kill the parasites in human body.

The entire country was divided into zones. A basic health worker went door to door twice a month and collected blood smears from all fever cases. These were examined by a trained laboratory technician for positive evidence of malaria parasites. The basic health worker or the surveillance inspector went back to all positive cases to administer anti-malaria drugs.

In the 'attack' phase, all households and the surroundings were sprayed twice a year until the incidence was reduced to less than 100 positive cases in a population of one million. Then the zone passed into a 'consolidation' phase when spraying of insecticides was done only in the areas where positive incidence occurred. When the incidence was reduced to nil, the zone passed into 'maintenance' phase where the respective state government took over the responsibility of vigilance.

In the long period of a quarter of a century, the NMEP has gone through great ups and downs, hopes and despair, achievements and setbacks. Within 11 years since the launching of the programme, the malaria incidence was brought down remarkably from 75 million cases to 80,000 cases in the country. But subsequently it rose to 1.5 lakh in 1966, 2.5 lakh in 1969, and 2.5 million in 1974. In many instances, malaria reappeared where it had been completely eradicated.

Disturbing new dimensions were added to the problem, when in many areas malaria vectors developed resistance to conventional insecticides and strains of parasites emerged which were resistant to conventional drugs. There were also the problems of shortage of drugs, high prices of the insecticides after the price hike in petroleum, change in the habits and attitudes of people, and so on.

To overcome these difficulties in a pragmatic manner, NMEP has revised its strategies, improved its administration and sought more effective scientific and technological tools. Research bodies, such as the Indian Council of Medical Research, have been keenly alive to this problem. Considerable work is being done in clinical, biological, ecological, epidemiological and entomological aspects of malaria to develop appropriate tools.

#### ROLE OF COMPUTERS

Because of the growing need for sophistication in the administration, computers are now beginning to play a role in NMEP. Majority of the administrative and operational decisions of NMEP are based on information which is primarily quantitative in nature. Processing of the information for any practical use involves huge amount of computations. Computers can store large amount of data in a systematic manner and perform computations with accuracy and speed to help the administrators in making timely decisions in policies, resource

allocations and operations.

Typically, routine operational measures are of three kinds. Prevention is concerned with spraying operations, such as, schedules, coverage of households, types, amounts of insecticides, etc. Detection involves intensity and frequency of surveillance and promptness in examination of blood smears. Control comprises prompt treatment of cases found positive. Efficiency of these routine measures depends upon regular monitoring of these activities and timely mobilisation of resources and manpower.

Preparatory measures for prevention of malaria epidemics and control of incidence depend upon the ability to forecast epidemics and endemicities of malaria in different areas in advance. This has now assumed a degree of urgency since the complexities of control over the years have increased. Refined forecasts depend upon accurate and up to-date information of the various variables which affect the spread of the disease. Computerisation will enable capture and storage of data on these critical variables. This will then form a data bank which can be used for various analytical studies useful in administration.

Computerised management information system (MIS) for NMEP will have two-fold purpose. Firstly, it will generate periodical reports required at district, state and Central level for policy decisions. For example, a report on mosquito's resistance to insecticides in different regions, based upon field investigations data, can be used in deciding the type and amount of insecticides to be used in those regions.

Secondly, the incidence data along with climatological parameters, such as temperature, rainfall, humidity, etc.; entomological parameters, such as mosquito survival rates, incubation periods, mixture of mosquito species, etc.; and epidemiological parameters, such as movement of population, immunity level of the population, etc., captured by the information system will provide indicators of the expected severity and spread of the disease. These will help the administrator in advance planning of surveillance and spraying.

Model building to forecast malaria flare-ups and malaria incidences and to measure the effectiveness of various actions is of prime importance in effective control of malaria because major operational decisions are centred around the expected severity of the disease. A mathematical model conceptualises the underlying processes and the mutual relationships of the various factors to describe the behaviour of the process in terms of a few parameters. Investigations on the epidemiological aspects will eventually lead to robust spread models which take into account the critical factors, such as immunity level of the population, climate, ecology, customs and

habits of the people, resistance of the vectors to insecticides, effectiveness of different drugs and so on.<sup>2</sup>

Scientists in various fields are engaged in studying these factors in relation to malaria. Their efforts will indicate the variables which need to be systematically captured. Computerised data bank will store the epidemiological parameters of the various regions. Simultaneously, models could be developed to translate the results of epidemiological and entomological investigations into applicable and workable methodology capable of forecasting trends of incidences in different regions.<sup>3</sup> Periodical reports on the anticipated trends can be used for appropriate interventions at various levels of operations.

#### COMPUTER USE IN MALARIA ERADICATION IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Deriving full benefits of capabilities of computer, in terms of its speed and volume, requires certain degree of familiarity and appreciation on the part of decision-makers. The Administrative Staff College of India, in cooperation with the Directorate of Medical and Health Services, had undertaken a study to assess the use of analytical tools in administration based upon a computerised data bank. Support was provided by the Technological Development Council of the Electronics Commission. Details of incidences, blood smear collections, spraying and surveillance operations, climate, etc., were captured in Araku Valley, an endemic area with population of 50,000 in Andhra Pradesh, for a span of 10 years.

Based upon the results of the study, the state government implemented a refined spraying schedule programme on an experimental basis. The programme drew spraying schedules for the following year, making use of projected trends provided by a computer model which takes into account the seasonality indicated by climatological variables.

#### IN SUMMARY

As the user's approach to the computer becomes mature, more sophisticated and efficient techniques can be introduced in the administration. For instance, a simulation approach would seem appropriate to dynamically allocate available resources to combat malaria. Timing of spraying operations, amounts of insecticides, number of surveillance workers and laboratory technicians, stocks of drugs, etc., are some of the variables whose effect upon the endemic nature of the disease can be foreseen by simulating the environments on the computer. It will help in estimating the requirements of different

regions and also in time of need, in deciding the transfer of resources of one place to another so that the overall effectiveness is maximised.

With the increasing awareness of the needs and benefits of its use, computers will play increasing role in the malaria eradication programme. A large scale computer based experiment to study and establish relationships of the climatological variables with the incidences will be most appropriate at this juncture. A well devised computerised MIS will be a valuable tool for achieving efficiency and effectiveness of the programme.

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4. A. Deekshit, *Analysis of Malaria Data*, Report to the Andhra Pradesh Directorate of Medical and Health Services, 1980.



## BOOK REVIEWS

### **Governmental Structure and Local Public Finance**

DAVID L. CHICOINE AND NORMAN WALZER, Oelgeschlager, Boston, Massachusetts, Gunn & Hain Publishers, Inc., 1985.

In the United States, there have been debates over the rationale for having numerous local government units for the supply of a variety of local services. The local governmental situation has often been described as a crazy-quilt pattern, a maze of governmental units which the common citizenry and the tax payers can not comprehend properly. For instance, in 1982, there were 82,637 units of local government in USA. The counties and townships were established more than a century ago. Population shifts led to creation of municipalities and a wide range of single-purpose service districts concerned with such functions as parks and recreation, libraries, water supply, sanitation, so on and so forth.

There has been a variety of reactions to this phenomenon of local government fragmentation. Comments have been made on duplication of services, overlapping responsibilities, political unresponsiveness and uncoordinated replication. Citizens have been offered the opportunity to eliminate governmental units. But practically the use of the referendum has not been very successful. So the governmental multiplicity at the local level persists. There have been advocates of the view-point that governmental multiplicity means over-taxation and inefficiency. Even the Advisory Commission on Inter-Governmental Relations argued in favour of reduction of a number of local government units in the interest of better management of the local services and facilities.

Academic research on the phenomenon of governmental multiplicity at the local level has come out with mixed findings. The 'public choice school' argues that residents in local areas are allowed maximum choice in a situation of multiplicity of governments. In their view, the revenue instruments used to finance the local services will select most efficient government units and as a result the inefficient government units will collapse. The contrasting view is more pragmatic, arguing that many governments mean conflicts, lack of coordination, wastage and inefficiency.

Against this background, the present research study examines the factors that influence the structure of government used to provide services, the impact of numbers and structure of governments on the revenue composition used to finance services, the importance of fragmentation in determining the cost of local services and finally the perception of residents about quality of local services rendered by the wide variety of units of governments. The research locale is Illinois state which had 6,462 units of local government, or one governmental unit for every 1,767 residents in 1982. Thematically, the study deserves commendation. This is a contribution not only to research on the phenomenon of multiplicity of governments at the local level but also to the theory of local government in a situation of fragmentation and multiplication.

The findings of the study are not always as convincing as the researchers have made out to be. The reason for this can be traced to the methodology itself of the study. For instance, the study sought to measure local government activities with the help of three indices, viz., revenue, expenditure and employment. To try to measure governmental activities with the help of expenditure may not always be very helpful for the reason that expenditure speaks little of the quality and quantity of services and their distributive aspects. Again, the overall social, economic and governmental framework, within which local government units function, impose constraints on actual local government functioning. Hence, there exists a degree of elusiveness about local government's performance in any rigorous scientific analysis.

Despite these constraints, some interesting findings are worth our quotation. For instance, a strong positive relationship was found between the number of governments and per capita expenditure. The governmental fragmentation seems to have led to high spending for such services as libraries, roads, streets and education. Also expenditure on administrative overhead seems to have mounted considerably because of the multiplicity of governments. There are indications in the study that the commonly held view of complementarity among local public services and their duplication is not to be lightly brushed aside. The research finding seems to be pointing out that a greater cooperation in the provision of services could have reduced expenditures and this, in turn, could have reduced the tax burden on the lay citizen.

Regarding public perceptions of public services, the findings are mixed. It has been reported that governmental fragmentation was associated with lower perceptions of services and this is not supportive of the notion that smaller governments are more receptive to citizens' desire. Another important finding is that per capita expen-

ditures of local services are not significantly related to citizens' perceptions. It was expected that additional inputs would raise the visibility of the services and would, therefore, lead to more favourable citizens' reactions. The findings, however, disprove this fairly conclusively. It has, of course, been conceded by the researchers that citizens' perceptions depend on many factors, including governmental structure through which the services are provided. Even then the limited evidence seems to point out the limitation and weaknesses of governmental fragmentation at the local level.

The study has been conducted on the conventional pluralist view of the American society. No where have the researchers raised the question of gross income inequality and the problem of racism in American society. The assumption throughout has been that the governmental structure is neutral and the services are delivered universally without discrimination for race, colour or income. It is interesting to find out to what extent the fragmented structure of local government in USA is a political expression of the kind of class society that America has. Is fragmentation a deliberate method of excluding certain sections of the public from enjoying the local public service? This line of inquiry has been scrupulously avoided in the present study. Public perceptions of public services beg the nature of the public identified as respondents. Depending on what class of respondents is included in a questionnaire survey, research findings are bound to reveal typical reactions. The present study seems to betray this sort of methodological manoeuvre.

--MOHIT BHATTACHARYA

#### **Essays in Public Administration**

P.R. DUBHASHI, New Delhi, NBO Publishers Distributors, 1985, p. 376, Rs. 195.00.

The book is a collection of 40 papers on different aspects of public administration and provides an integrated perspective on the problems of public administration. The essays bear an indelible imprint of the author's wide experience and deep scholarship gained through his participation in the theory and practice of public administration in India.

The book contains eight sections. Section one has seven essays on 'General Administration' in which themes of general nature have been discussed. The next section again has seven essays which deal with 'Administrative Reforms'. The author is of the opinion that the approach to reform in public administration has to be holistic rather

than partial or fragmented. This section also provides information on administrative reforms abroad, especially in Great Britain, Japan and Federal Republic of Germany. Section three having eight essays, deals with another important area of 'Development Administration'. It comprehensively deals with the role played by Indian administration in the process of nation building, the organisational changes and personnel management for development administration. The author has also focussed on inherent conflict between departmentalism and the concept of area development. Organisation--the keyelement in administration has been discussed in two essays in which two case studies relating to building of new administrative organisations and organisational behaviour in public administration have been discussed at length. The fourth section, containing three essays, deals with 'Efficiency and Productivity' in public administration. The concept, criteria and measurement of efficiency and the practical steps that can be taken to introduce efficiency in civil service have been discussed while in another essay focus has been laid on productivity in Public Administration yet another essay of this section analyses the causes of delay and suggests steps that need to be taken to expedite decision-making.

The fifth section, entitled "Administrative Functions", has two essays--one on 'Policy Formulation in Government' and the other on 'Report Writing'. The former distinguishes policies from plans and analyses the process of policy-making, implementation and monitoring, while the latter, dealing with various kinds of reports that need to be prepared, draws attention to the merits of a good report. The sixth section containing seven essays is on 'Bureaucracy' wherein this important aspect of public administration has been discussed from various angles--ranging from defining the concept of bureaucracy, its characteristics and role in development as well as in bringing about socialism. It further explains the changing role of bureaucracy in India and the extent to which bureaucracy has been able to perform the assigned tasks. The essay on "Role and Relevance of Civil Service" analyses the manner in which bureaucracy should function in a system of parliamentary democracy. The last essay in this section deals with the need for developing a proper relationship between civil servants and political executive. The seventh section containing three essays deals with three important functionaries in the government, namely--the secretary to government, the establishment officer in Government of India, and the divisional commissioner. These essays discuss in detail the genesis, functions, powers and position of these functionaries. The last section, entitled 'Training in Public Administration', also has three essays. The concept of training has been dealt with at length ranging from various types of

training required for persons engaged in development administration followed by a glimpse of new dimensions of training in public administration. The third essay draws attention to strengthening the training facilities through building up training institutions, improving the design and content of training courses, staff development and building up an infrastructure for this vital aspect of personnel administration.

On the whole, these essays cover a wide spectrum of public administration and provide insights on the theory and practice of public administration. The book is really a valuable contribution to the literature on the subject for which Dr. Dubhashi deserves congratulations. It is hoped that this collection would be found useful and interesting both by the students and practitioners of public administration. The printing and get-up of the book is quite satisfactory but the price is towards the higher side making it difficult to reach the common reader.

--HARBANS PATHAK

**Morale in the Civil Service: A Study of Section Officers in the Rajasthan Secretariat**

P.S. BHATNAGAR, Jaipur, Indian Society for Public Affairs, 1984, p. 94, Rs. 65.00.

It has been well recognised that the efficiency of a civil service depends on its morale which, in turn, is influenced by a number of factors like the quality of personnel, administrative structure, conditions of service and work and so on. Needless to dilate upon the importance of morale in the present context of the civil service being assigned greater responsibilities under the development plans. But unfortunately, as stated by the author, there are practically no studies on the subject of morale in the Indian Civil Service. On the other hand, administrationists, administrators, political leaders, and citizens have been making statements lamenting on the declining morale of the civil servants. Such statements are based largely on their impressions. It is in this context that one should be happy to read Bhatnagar's book to gain some insights into the concept of morale, its various aspects and dimensions, and its determinants as revealed by a detailed investigation. Studies like the present one will help develop appropriate measures to improve morale.

The book under review attempts to focus on the subject of morale in the civil service at the middle management level, namely, the section officers in the Rajasthan Secretariat. In this short exploratory study, Bhatnagar makes a fairly good attempt to investigate

the determinants of morale in a governmental setting and examines whether they are in agreement with the findings of writers on morale in industrial settings.

The study is based on empirical data pertaining to section officers in the Rajasthan Secretariat. As is well known, they play an important part by processing cases and by assisting the higher level officers in many functions that are assigned to the secretariat, which is the seat of the government. Data was collected by using a largely structured questionnaire. Questions pertaining to the officers' background, promotions, salary, job-attitudes, job satisfaction, job relationships, were asked to elicit responses. The data was used originally by the author to write his monograph in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Advanced Professional Programme in Public Administration conducted by the IIPA, New Delhi.

The main findings of the author are as follows: (1) The job requirements match the qualifications, experience, and skills of the section officers. (2) Their knowledge and perceptions of factors that affect job content carry a lot of weight and conviction. (3) A majority of the section officers believe that their jobs require abilities which they possess and that they, therefore, have greater job satisfaction. (4) In general, they find their job to be interesting and that the nature of work is sometimes difficult and sometimes easy. (5) A majority of the section officers are not eager to change the job. (6) The section officers are not only aware of the goals of their departments but also feel that they are of importance to the community. (7) The superiors of the section officers are encouraging the latter to display some initiative in the job, but the extent of authority available to them to function effectively is not sufficient. (8) The section officers are, by and large, satisfied with their salary and other related benefits except in regard to promotion. (9) The relationship of the section officers with their superiors is cordial and harmonious, that the latter repose sufficient confidence in the former's experience and knowledge, and that they do not unnecessarily influence or interfere in the former's working. Towards the end of the study, the author gives an overall assessment to the effect that the section officers are a satisfied lot of employees. Finally, the important finding is that the author's investigation partially confirms Herzberg's dual-factor theory.

Two findings are contrary to the generally held view. One, it refutes the belief that higher level officers interfere too much in the working of the subordinates. Two, it refutes the belief that administrators in India, especially at lower levels, are subject to pressures from superiors. The question here is: Will respondents be

honest in making such denials when responses are sought in writing through a questionnaire? There appears to be no reason to doubt their honesty if the data given in Tables 5.3. and 5.4 are any indication. Even so, it may be said that in such matters, it would have been better had the author cross-checked the responses by interviewing them.

The findings could have been strengthened by getting responses to some more questions like: what are their duties, what do they do after their office hours, how long do they stay in office after the office hours, do they think that they received promotions when due and whether they entertain any grievances in this regard, are they contented with the retirement benefits now available, in what forms do they get recognition for good work, how often do the section officers meet each other to discuss matters of common interest, and seek ideas, help and assistance, what impediments are hindering better performance, and such other questions.

The reader will find it difficult to agree with the findings/conclusions because of the following reasons. One, because of the sample drawn. Instead of seeking data from all the 86 section officers, which itself is a small number, the author has resorted to a sample of 50 (out of which 44 responded). It would not have posed any difficulty as the author himself says that all of them were located in the same building and that he experienced little difficulty in getting their cooperation. Had he contacted the entire group of section officers, the extent to which the conclusions can be generalised, would have increased. Second, the author says that the response 'rate' "came to be very high as forty four (51.1 per cent) officers responded to the questionnaire" (p. 22). The use of the word 'rate' causes some confusion here. More than this, one will wonder as to how 44 constitutes 51.1 per cent especially when the author says that the response rate was very high. The reader may think that there is a printing mistake. But on close examination, it appears that the author has calculated the percentage of respondents, not with reference to the number of respondents canvassed (i.e., 50) as it ought to be, but with reference to the entire universe (i.e. N=86 section officers in this case). This is wrong because those who were excluded from serving as respondents have been included. The most important weakness of the study lies in the inappropriateness of the method of analysis of data. Itemwise percentages are very inadequate on a subject like this, as they do not give a composite picture of the state of morale. Had the author given numerical values or weights to the responses that would have enabled him to quantify the state of morale. In other words, he should have used the scaling technique. Consequently, the study as it stands is



no more than the simple study that was conceived and executed long back in 1979 without any sign of improvement. The author should have taken care to avoid the use of such words as 'we', 'indicant' for indicator on p. 83, and 'impose' (while meaning superiors' repose' confidence) on p. 45 and again on p. 82.

The interposing of tables at many places, with the headings printed in bold letters, makes it difficult for the reader to keep track of the text. Had the tables been printed in the same type face as that of the text, with adequate space left to distinguish the text and the tables, a better visual effect could have also been created. Likewise, for the convenience of the reader, the footnotes and references should have been printed at the bottom of the page concerned.

Despite the inadequacies in some respects, this book deserves to be welcomed. For, most of the first generation researchers in India face many difficulties which are too well-known. This modest exercise can serve as a basis to start with for further studies on the subject, of course, with refinements. Towards this end, this well documented study providing a bibliography also, would be useful.

--N. UMAPATHY

### **Industrial Development in the Punjab and Haryana**

M.L. PANDIT, Delhi, B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1985, p. 192, Rs. 120.00.

This is an interesting book dealing with industrial development of the Punjab and Haryana since Independence. It makes an attempt to enquire into factors which influence location of footloose industries and development of a particular region in terms of such industries. For this, the author conducts an indepth study of data and statistics collected from the field as well as those available from a number of secondary sources. The main conclusion drawn by him is that industrial breakthrough in backward areas depends to a large extent on proper selection of industrial activities in relation to the available potential, skills and enterprise in a particular region.

The book consists of seven chapters and several supporting tables. Besides, there is a select bibliography. Chapter 1 is introductory. Chapter 2 provides a discussion of data sources. Chapter 3 gives an overview of industrial development in the Punjab and Haryana since Independence. Chapter 4 examines the structure of industries in the study area. The facts presented show the dominance of footloose industries. Chapter 5 deals with aspects related to identification of factors leading to or influencing the development of footloose



industries. This identification is attempted on the basis of a comparative analysis of the cost of production and the first-hand information gathered directly from industrial pioneers during field investigation. Chapter 6 provides an extensive discussion on role of entrepreneurs. Chapter 7 deals with different aspects of skilled labour. These seven chapters flow from each other in a logical sequence resulting in a neat and compact study. Facts presented are within the necessary theoretical framework and this makes the analysis very interesting. Wherever relevant, historical analogies from other countries have also been taken into account.

Industries which have developed in recent years in the Punjab and Haryana region, like bicycle and bicycle parts, sewing and knitting machines, water pipe fittings, hand tools, agricultural implements, machine tools, brass utensils, woollen hosiery, textiles, sports goods, rubber footwear, etc., are mostly dependent on outside sources both for supply of materials and the disposal of bulk output. For example, about two-fifths of industrial workers in the region are employed in industries where ferrous and non-ferrous metals constitute the main material inputs which have to be arranged from outside and usually from far-off places. Similar is the case with woollen textiles, hosiery, sports and rubber goods industries which employ over one-fifth of the industrial workers. Growth of these industries can be attributed to several factors. The author, however, concentrates on one factor, namely, availability of skilled manpower for the selected footloose industries. He shows how most of the skilled craft men from Pakistan came to Punjab after the partition and how they provided the base for industrial development in areas where they settled. He draws particular attention to migration of entrepreneurs belonging to Ramgarhia community, who constitute the backbone of engineering industries. This point has been very ably developed and adequately supported by collecting facts from different sources. The author also shows the link between development of irrigation and of industries. The former led to agricultural prosperity and demand for various kinds of agricultural hand tools and implements. "The development of these industries paved the way for the growth of machine tools and other related industries".

At the same time, there have been several other factors which have also played their part in the process of industrial development of the region. I may mention the role of appropriate policies specially at the national level. For example, a major factor favouring the dispersal of metal-based industries has been the freight equalisation policy of the Government of India according to which transport costs are mostly borne by the government and not by the industrialists. The study mentions this but does not indicate its importance to the

extent that it deserves. Coal pricing policy has been another factor which led to availability of coal at cheap rates in distant places, like Punjab and Haryana. Another factor is the lower rates on the long haulage followed by the railways which enabled distant places to obtain the materials including coal and coke at cheaper rates. This point is not mentioned at all. The easy availability of electricity at rates lower than elsewhere on account of the Bhakra Dam is another factor, the importance of which is not brought out quite clearly. There are many industries which meet their energy needs from fuel oils. These industries benefited from the low prices at which oils were imported by the Government of India till 1973.

The book notes that a large number of industrial products are exported from Punjab. These include woollen hosiery, bicycles and bicycle parts, sports goods, electric wires and cables, pipe fittings, hand tools, auto-parts, machine tools and so on. A major share of the country's exports of some of the above mentioned products is contributed by the Punjab alone. In 1971-72, over half the output of woollen hosiery in this state was exported to other countries. What has been the role of export subsidies and other export promotion policies in this? The book is silent on this issue. Most of the industrial development of the area has been under modern, small scale sector which has been provided several types of subsidies for their growth.

On the whole, this is a very good book and deserves to be on the shelves of every good library.

--KAMTA PRASAD

#### **Changing Agrarian Relations in U.P. - A Study of the North-Eastern Areas**

SUDHA PAI, New Delhi, Inter-India Publications, 1985, p. 207, Rs. 145.

This book deals with the agrarian relations in north-eastern Uttar Pradesh (UP). It is based on empirical research in the four selected districts of Gorakhpur, Deoria, Basti and Azamgarh covering a part of the heartland of India. These districts form a remote and relatively neglected area of the region, both in terms of development and social science research.

For indepth study and analysis, four villages were selected by the author on the basis of the following criteria: (i) Two villages which traditionally had a zamindari system. One village in which a single zamindari interest had been maintained for several generations within one family; and another village in which absentee-zamindari had traditionally enjoyed certain socio-economic privileges together with

interests and rights associated with the collection of rent from his tenants. (ii) Two villages which traditionally had 'bhaiyachara' system. These villages were selected in pairs, that is, one zamindari and Bhaiyachara village lie north of the Ghaghra, and another similar pair lie south of the Ghaghra.

For the collection of primary data from the field, two questionnaires were used. The household schedule was administered to a cross-section of the households in such selected villages. The village schedule was used to interview individual villagers, such as the lekhpai, pradhan, caste leaders, big landlords, etc., in order to get general information about the villages. The number of sample households interviewed was 150 in all four villages. The field work was carried out during 1978-79.

The book consists of six chapters: (1) The Focus and Perspective of the Study; (2) The Situational Context of Agrarian Relations; (3) Backdrop of Land Relations in the Eastern Districts: A Resume; (4) Micro-study of Selected Villages; (5) Agrarian Relations and Agrarian Conflict; and (6) Reflections on Class, Caste and Agrarian Relations.

The basic objective of the study was to identify main agrarian classes in the north-eastern UP and to determine their relationship with a view to understanding the agrarian system as a whole. The main contention of the study is, "the nature of agrarian relations provide an index to the structure and nature of the agrarian system". Giving the backdrop of land relations before Independence, the author has examined in depth the existing land relations, especially after implementation of land reforms legislation which broke up the old system. The book contains a lot of valuable data and information and has been very successful in achieving its objective. Besides the identification of main classes and their nature and inter-relationships, the study also deals with: (1) changing relationship between caste and class, and (2) the question of mode of production and the extent of development of capitalist relations on land in this area.

The study has identified four main agrarian classes: (1) big landowners owning 10 or more acres of land, (2) medium land owners having 5 to 10 acres, (3) petty land owners owning less than 5 acres, and (4) landless peasants. Each class has been further sub-divided into two bringing out the complexity of such identification as various classes do not represent clear-cut divisions as is the case in the industrial field. The study brings out that "the emergence of 'caste free' occupations has led to the separation of traditional unity of caste and class..Thus, caste and class no longer coincide today. Both have been undergoing slow change, caste, due to education and secularisation, class, because of the establishment of a money economy, and the entrance of land in the market. In traditional

society, there was much more consistency between the two". As regards mode of production, the study reveals that while capitalist relations have begun to emerge, features and forms associated with the feudal mode of production also exist side by side.

The study has discussed in some detail the 'areas of conflict' among classes. These include: (1) sale of tubewell water, (2) share-cropping, (3) agricultural labourers - there is no fixed wage rate either in cash or kind for these labourers, and (4) land grants to landless Harijans but not to non-Harijans. Even the Harijans who got land were dissatisfied because of poor quality of land, etc. In respect of these areas of tension, the study concludes, "On the surface, it would seem that there is no tension on any matter concerning agricultural life, although differences of opinion on certain matters can, and often do lead to conflicts. These issues seem to be part of the wider feeling which divides the 'haves' and 'have-nots' in the villages. Caste tension usually arises only when question of land rises. Urban contacts have made the villagers 'class' conscious rather than 'caste' conscious, and economic disparity has become a more important source of tension." There was also exploitation of landless agricultural labourers by big landlords through lower wage rates as the agricultural labourers were not organised as a class.

The data, information and analysis contained in this study is valuable for understanding the structure and nature of the agrarian system in the north-eastern region of UP and as such as is a useful addition to the literature on this subject. Though it was outside the scope of the study to examine the policy implications for future action arising out of its findings, yet it would have been better if this aspect had been even briefly examined by the author. This would have further added to the usefulness of the book.

--M.L. SUDAN

### **Food Policy Analysis**

C. PETER TIMMER, WALTER P. NELSON AND SCOTT R. PEARSON, London (World Bank Publication), John Hopkins University Press, 1983, pp. 301.

### **A Study in Indian Food Policy - Institution and Incentive in India's Food Security Structure**

B.M. Bhatia, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, Asian and Pacific Development Centre, 1983, pp. 129.

Both the books deal with the problem of food security. Food Policy Analysis deals with the conceptual framework while Bhatia's book deals with the problem in the Indian setting. The former pertains to

show that the food problems are immersed in the broader problems of economic development and that solving food problem is a complex task including a long run vision of how food system evolved under alternate policy environment. It deploys the theoretical tools of macro and micro economic theory for analysing the demand and production system and market structure providing a link between producer and the consumer. Its theme is that market signals influence production and consumption decisions. It analyses food problems in an international setting. Availability of food on global basis is more than adequate but still there is starvation which is due to its uneven distribution among the nation states.

Food resembles other commodities but differs in some respects from them. "Food is simultaneously an economic commodity and a biological necessity...in economic terms food can be produced, purchased, stored and speculated on just like steel, cement, tin or gold. Unlike all these other economic commodities, however, food must be provided on a regular basis in adequate amount to all individuals if they are to survive, grow and thrive", (pp. 263-64). It distinguishes between food self-sufficiency and food security. The latter should be the objective as it would imply providing food to all in poor countries which would require providing of purchasing power to secure it. It lays down the following basic objectives of a national food policy: (1) Efficient growth in food and agricultural sector; (2) Improved Distribution, primarily through efficient employment creation; (3) Satisfactory nutritional status for the entire population through provision of a minimum subsistence floor; and (4) Adequate food security to ensure against bad harvest, natural disasters or uncertain world food supply and prices.

It recognises the limitations of laying down food policy because the situations in different countries vary. It emphasises the necessity for analysing consumption patterns so that the system of food supplies for the targetted group can be worked out. A general subsidy is costly and fails to achieve the objective. Problems of supplies can be solved only by creation of productive jobs for relatively unskilled urban and rural workers. Thus, the problem of food supply is linked with the problem of economic growth. The objective should be to put food production system on ever increasing productivity path. Policy of depressed food prices may be good temporarily but in the long run it is self-defeating as production increases will not be generated in the agricultural sector thereby restricting demand growth. An incentive policy is better. There is contradiction between the interests of producers who require high prices and the consumers who offer low prices. It should be the objective of the food policy to reconcile these conflicting claims. The authors

state that in importing, food, 10 per cent premium on domestic food prices could be the deciding factor because increase of domestic price generates income with their multiplier effect within the country.

The authors of the first book are of the view that the investment in agriculture suffers from shortage of public investment as very few governments devote even half of their agriculture share in GNP to investment in this sector. While no economic law dictates that the shares be equal, public investment should be directed in those sectors with the largest social pay off. Following this rule would probably double agricultural investment with the purchase if the projects could be prepared and administered. The bottleneck is in preparation of sound agricultural projects. Because of the location specific nature of agriculture, the state has a very specific role in diffusion of new technology by way of extension and provision of minimum goods and services. The government has to pay particular attention to research and development in the agricultural sphere.

The first book has devoted a full chapter to the marketing problems in agriculture in undeveloped economies as due to marketing imperfections the marketing margins are high. Here also the government may have to step in and provide marketing infrastructure by way of building storage capacity, roads, etc.

The problem of generating productive employment is a macro problem. The objective of increased investment in agricultural should not get defeated by operation of terms of trade against agriculture. The problem of rural poverty and urban congestion are linked. If the farmer is not tackled, there will be migration to urban areas which generates tension.

In the preface Timmer et al., have stated that the book has grown out of the following four separate streams of development policy analysis as approaches to the problems of poverty and hunger: agricultural production and rural development, food consumption and nutrition, macro policy and planning, and comparative advantages in international trade. The book has fulfilled these commitments.

B.M. Bhatia's book presents India's food scenerio as it presents itself after more than three decades of planned economic development. Foodgrain production, particularly of cereals and that of wheat and rice has increased but consumption per capita has declined, if consumption of pulses is taken into account. This is rather unfortunate in a predominantly vegetarian country where 50 per cent of the population is below the poverty line. The planning commission regards 2400 calories per person in rural areas and 2100 calories per person in urban areas as the minimum requirement for sustenance. India has attained food self-sufficiency in the marketing and not food security

as defined by Timmer et al., in the Food Policy Analysis. The superficial nature of self-sufficiency has thus been summed up by Vasant Sathe in his book **Towards Social Revolution**, "When we say we are self sufficient in foodgrain we are talking of only a mathematical balance in terms of market oriented demand and not in terms of real requirement of a minimum nutritional need."

The author traces the stagnation in agricultural production, including food production due to a decline in the fertilizer consumption since 1978-79. In this context, he commends supply of minikits to small and marginal farmers subsidising of fertilizers to small and marginal farmers has been particularly recommended. Payment of incentive prices to farmers also has been suggested. The Agricultural Prices Commission is too much engrossed in keeping the prices of cereals under check to counteract the increase in prices for consumers. Bhatia suggests making public distribution system to restrict its supplies to the poor people only. The present generalised system of issue of foodgrains works in favour of the middle class and is costly. In order to control foodgrain prices, he suggests maintenance of buffer stocks but its size should be delinked with the requirements of the generalised public distribution system. In order to keep the prices of foodgrains under control, he suggests open market operations in foodgrains similar to open market operation in government securities. Whether a stock of 20-25 million tonnes of different types of cereals can keep prices in remote parts of the country in check is an important question for the planners to ponder over.

It is true that the present agricultural strategy has made us independent of imports in meeting our foodgrains requirements. But the increase in foodgrain production has just kept pace with the growth of population in the seventies. Foodgrain production has increased at the rate of 2.32 per cent per annum while population has increased at the rate of 2.24 per cent per annum. In fact, in some of the states, the growth rate of foodgrains has lagged behind the growth rate of population. The overall picture is not so disquieting because of tremendous increase in production in Punjab, Haryana and Andhra Pradesh. The regional disparities in foodgrain production have to be corrected in subsequent plan periods. Suitable cultivation packages have to be evolved for rain-fed areas which account for 75 per cent of the total cropped area while their contribution amounts to only 42 per cent of the total foodgrain production. Location specific research is the need of the hour. The author suggests that foodgrain production should be increased at the rate of 4 per cent per annum on a sustained basis in the next two decades. In achieving this, mere reliance on irrigation and fertiliser will not



suffice. He speaks of the necessity for implementing land reforms (now relegated to obscurity), and highlights that the success in Punjab and Haryana is explained not only by consolidation of holdings but also by the peasant proprietorship. But I may state that irrigated area should not doubt keep on increasing to reduce our dependence on weather gods, but irrigation potential utilisation, 84.6 per cent at present be enhanced further, as in some of the states it is as low as 58 per cent, 63 per cent and so on (p. 196 of Eighth Finance Commission Report).

The issue price of cereals under the public distribution system has been increasing no doubt on account of increase in the procurement prices but mostly on account of increase in freight. If the retail issue prices, which are material to the consumers have to be kept in check, food self sufficiency (quantitatively) on a regional basis should be the objective. The author on (p. 53) wrongly states that the issue price at the fair price shops is fixed by the Central Government. Over and above the central issue of price variations, distribution charges are added by the State Governments which are different in different states.

The author is in favour of adopting an agriculture led strategy of growth, advocated some years ago by John Mellor for solving the problem of rural poverty and food production. This resembles the plea made in Food Policy Analysis for a production system directed towards increase in productivity in rural areas on a long term basis.

It seems that the problem of mass poverty and food supply are inextricably linked with each other and that these cannot be solved in isolation.

In conclusion, it may be stated that Bhatia's book is a useful addition in updating the data on India's food situation. Bhatia's book is useful to layman also while the book by Timmer et al., requires theoretical knowledge of micro and macro economics for understanding food problems in their proper wider perspective.

--R.S. KHANNA

#### **Rehabilitation of Displaced Villagers : A Plan**

B.C. MUTHAYYA, R.N. TRIPATHY, M.L. SANTHANAM, and O.N. SRIVASTAVA, Hyderabad, NIRD, 1984, pp. 252, Rs. 70.00.

Prepared by the select team of experts of NIRD, Hyderabad at the instance of NALCO, New Delhi, the monograph embodies an action plan of rehabilitation of villagers displaced in the wake of acquisition



by Orissa Government of 3,444 hectare extensive tract near Sunabeda of Koraput district in Orissa for establishment of alumina extracting plant at Damanjodi by the gigantic NALCO.

With the on-going process of establishing various major industrial, irrigational and infrastructural projects in the larger and longer interest of our developing country, several vast areas of land, having huge mineral and other resources, have been acquired for exploitation of these resources. But the process has been immediately spelling untold hardships to the people hitherto inhabiting these areas, throwing them out of their ancestral dwellings, snatching from them their traditional means of living and uprooting them from their centuries-old mores and moorings. Tens, hundreds and sometimes even thousands of families have been rendered homeless and jobless. Rehabilitation of these displaced persons has, therefore, assumed challenging proportions in view of the tremendous socio-economic political and above-all, the human problems that it involves. It is queer coincidence that in a far larger majority of cases, the inhabitants of these acquired areas have been tribals which constitute the weakest, the most innocent and the most resourceless sections of our population. This adds further intensity to the urgency of rehabilitation-problem, since more than anything else, it assumes grave human dimensions.

Yet the problem has not received the implementational attention it deserves. In fact, rehabilitation of displaced humanity should have preceded the raising up of projects for which its lands were acquired. In this sense, the study under review suggests some improvements, since NALCO along with the government of Orissa are trying for rehabilitation at least simultaneously with the process of establishment of the Company. Again, in most similar cases, the authorities concerned have remained content with provision of some monetary compensation to the displaced persons for their acquired lands, and also in some cases with supply of undeveloped lands. Both these have proved miserably inadequate to serve as visible succour to the resourceless and uprooted. In this perspective, this NALCO-sponsored Action Plan, as produced by NIRD experts, is a praiseworthy endeavour, for it delineates details of all the ingredients of an effective rehabilitation programme.

Enriched on the one hand by the lessons learnt through the experiences of rehabilitation-programmes of various agencies as HEC, Hatia (Bihar); Tungbhadra River Valley Project, Bellary (Karnataka) and some others; and based on the on-the-spot thorough-going investigations of demographic, economic, social, cultural and behavioural conditions of the displaced persons, the action-plan produced here achieves two goals in the same single shot. One, it presents a plan

aimed at providing to the affected persons tolerable housing facilities, employment-opportunities, skill-formation machinery and other wherewithals to enable them to stand on their own on a continuing basis. Its utilitarian import is immediate. Two, it throws up long-term suggestions to serve as guidelines for policy formulation and field implementation on the part of the government and other agencies undertaking such rehabilitation programmes.

The study, in this context, advocates for an integrated approach: integrated in the sense that it caters not only to the crying current needs of the displaced, but also responds to their future aspirations in order to strike a balance between the various aspects of their individual and community life: economic, social, cultural and, above-all, ethnic, and that it creates an abiding process of establishing a self-feeding mutuality of relationship of cooperative give-and-take between those working at the newly erected campuses on the one hand and those who are forced to part with their cherished lands, abodes, and avocations to raise these campuses on the other.

No doubt, this study responds to the requirements of NALCO and Orissa Government in the immediate, but its long term relevance lies in giving useful practical direction and content to our endeavours at solving the problem of rehabilitation of the displaced--a problem which is going to be a continuing problem with our progressive march on the developmental voyage. It is, therefore, of national importance. It is hoped that all our rehabilitation efforts will be preceded by preparation of action-plan like the one in hand, of course, with adjustments for local variations; the methodology used in the current study will prove of immense utility.

The reviewer, therefore, recommends this study to government and all those concerned with the problem of rehabilitation of the displaced, to enthusiastic academicians and inquisitive researchers. It is a well written monograph characterised by a lucid style and convincing presentation. The print is neat, and the get-up is inviting. For a price of Rs.70 only, the consumer's surplus would be immense.

--K.P. SINGH

**Public Administration: An Alternative Perspective**

SUSHEELA KAUSHIK, Delhi, Ajanta Publications (India), 1984, p. 200, Rs. 60.00.

The book has been edited by Susheela Kaushik on behalf of **Teaching Politics**. It is a collection of theoretical essays on approaching the problems of administration and organisation faced by developing countries and more specially India. The alternative theories of

administration and perspective on public policies take into account the specific historical, colonial and social context of the developing countries. They also consider their problems pertaining to industrialisation, modernisation, democratic demands, factors relating to their social structure and socialist aspiration, and their political and economic background. The main emphasis of the academic curricula in public administration has been on the colonial notion of administrative organisation and the organisational details of administration, all clothed in traditional concepts. The concepts like democracy, justice and participation were missing. Presently, the public administration is becoming a human social science and tries to relate itself to the needs and aspiration of the people in a democratic society, based on popular participation and on a socialistic pattern. In this book, the authors look at problems like administrative concepts - the question of values, theories of organisation and development, analysis of public policy, administration in developing societies, rural bureaucracy, Indian administration, politics and society, and public accountability and anti-corruption strategies in India.

G. Haragopal and V. Sivalinga Prasad make a case for the study of values of individual, groups, cultures and societies. These can provide a clue for the understanding of the socio-political and economic transformation. They have examined the existing courses taught in Indian Universities in Public Administration and comparative administration. They plead for the study of the works of Marx, Lenin and Mao. These provide material for social change. Further the works of Paulo Friere from Latin America and Frantz Fanon from America help explaining the profound changes that the developing societies are passing through. The administrative sub-system should be related to larger socio-economic system. The afro-Asian nations in the forties and fifties gave rise to new trends of thinking in the field of organisation theory. Their economies have been backward in content and feudal in structure. They have adopted capitalistic strategies for development purposes and swear by socialistic goals. So it is this three dimensional phenomenon with its inherent contradictions that cause the complexity. Thus, understanding the value system of the state and society, helps in evolving an effective system of administration.

B. Venkateswarlu studies the western theories of organisation and administration from a sociological perspective. He has examined the theories of six thinkers like F.W. Taylor, Max Weber, Elton Mayo, Chester Barnard, Harbert Simon and F.W. Riggs. In essence, the author shows that all these theories aim at protecting the small minority of capitalists of their immense wealth, and exploitation and oppression

by a small minority over a big majority. The author observes that these theories may provide something of a conceptual frame-work for the analysis of the distribution of power but they can not serve as a substitute. These theories leave many questions unanswered about social relating. The assence of the administrative theories can be that certain problems arise in administering the people and these can be solved through certain techniques or using certain skills. It is a healthy sign that students of administration and organisation have begun to question the ideological premises of the western theory.

John Forester presents an assessment of Jurgen Habermas' critical theory. It suggests a powerful structural and phenomenological framework of policy research, analysis and practical criticism. One contribution of the critical policy analysis is to clarify the historical, scientific and political importance of domination free, not distortion free, discourses. The author cites the case of the reduction of the budget of Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) for illustrating the applicability of the theory. The author suggests the direction for more empirically detailed critical policy studies. Though useful, this essay is somewhat out of place of the main theme of the book.

Satya Deva emphasises that administration has to be seen in the total perspective because the exercise of control is related to possession of power, wealth, social status and cultural considerations. On the basis of the analysis of the political theories of Marx and Engles, a hypothesis of the autonomisation of the state is proposed. It means that if the bourgeoisie is relatively developed and confident, it rules through parliamentary regime. However, if the landlords or the proletariat or the small-holding peasants, either alone or jointly, are difficult to curb, a dictatorial or autonomised state tends to arise. If the bourgeoisie (middle class) is divided into equally powerful sections, none of these sections can be supreme and an autonomised state can result. The order is in the interest of the exploiting class or classes, but the executive justifies its authoritarianism as being necessary to protect the interest of the exploiting class. Satya Deva alleges that the state machine maintains exploitations and impedes basic structural change. The author examines this hypothesis in the administration of agriculture, industry, public sector undertakings, centre-state relations and administrative reforms in the Indian context. Satya Deva wants to see the applicability of this hypothesis in developing countries.

G. Ram Reddy and G. Haragopal study the rural bureaucracy in the context of anti-poverty programme for rural development in Andhra Pradesh. The establishment of agencies like SFDA, ITDA, SC-BC corporation, Women Finance corporation, put the bureaucracy in a pivotal

position. The authors observe that the characteristic working style of the bureaucratic organisation in the rural sector does not fit into any existing conceptual paradigms. Ambitious goals are set, but the structure suffers deficiencies like centralisation of decision making, multiplicity of agencies and non-formal linkages among the agencies and functionaries, absence of proper reward and punishment system, too much paper work and spending much time in meetings, and low level of technical and managerial personnel. Such organisations cannot cope with dynamic social system. There is a lack of concern for the poor. The authors assert that it is both the inner processes and the larger socio-economic system and its political processes that determine the nature and character of any administrative system. There is a need to broaden the very base of the theory.

A.S. Narang traces the historical development of civil service. At the time of freedom, India inherited a generalist higher civil service, which was trained in the tradition of maintaining law and order based on fear and without any adequate system of accountability. In free India, the emphasis has been on social welfare and individual progress and administration has to play a key role in bringing about social transformation. Narang laments that there has not been any appreciable change in the attitude of civil service. It is dominated by urban educated wealthy class. A large number of them do not believe in the objectives enshrined in the Constitution. The village level workers (VLW) who have to work with poor villagers are urban based. Even the persons from better off scheduled castes and backward classes got absorbed into the new culture. The characteristics of administration are aloofness and alienation from ordinary people. T.N. Chaturvedi (1969) stressed the need for a radical change in the civil service if it has to serve as an effective instrument of change and progress in a developing society. At present, there are implementation gaps between the planned goals and their achievements. In order to improve the situation, a commitment to a new social and economic order has to be built and nurtured through out the career of civil servants.

Lastly, O.P. Sharma critically examines the efficacy of various anticorruption measures initiated by the government to contain corruption at administrative and political levels. In the former case, he examines the working of Central Bureau of Investigations (CBI) and Central Vigilance Commission (CVC). In the latter case, the working of the Election Commission and code of conduct are examined. Sharma has found some overlap between the functioning of CBI and CVC. Moreover, the procedures are lengthy and cumbersome, Sharma opines that the basic problem in fighting corruption has been lack of desired will to enforce the available remedial measures. A social climate

has to be created in which corruption is recognised as a social evil and integrity is rewarded. Secondly, it is both for the state and the society to change their attitudes towards corruption and corrupt. Sharma asserts that unless political leaders at the top can bring about a basic change in their attitudes, it may not be possible to eradicate or even significantly reduce the volume of corruption, however strict the anticorruption laws or howsoever the conduct rules or howsoever efficient the CBI or the CVC or the police establishment may be. In passing, it may be mentioned that Lok Sabha has already passed the Anti Defection Bill and Government has introduced Lok Pal Bill in Parliament.

In sum, this is a nice collection and provides food for thought in formulating hypotheses and theories relating to administration, organisation and management pertaining to India and other developing countries. For the ease of the reader, besides chapter bibliography, a select bibliography spanning over 25 pages is provided. It is hoped that it will generate some research and fresh thinking among teachers and students of social sciences. On page 83, in second para, the date of seizure of power by Napoleon Bonaparte is shown as second December, 1951. It is hoped that this will be rectified in the next edition. The editor and contributors deserve compliments for their endeavour. The commissioning of an index will enhance the value of the book. The book is sure to receive a wide audience.

--P.C. BANSAL

#### **Drug Use Among the College Youth**

M.Z. KHAN, Bombay, Somaiya Publications Pvt. Limited, 1985, pp. 216, Rs. 65.00.

It hardly needs any emphasis that various social problems including their manifestations in various types of social deviance are being generated and nurtured by the crime-prone milieu and have become an inseparable part of any social structure. The issue of drug-dependence may not be an exception to it, as it has been closely intertwined with human society for ages. Nevertheless, its manifestations, consequences and aftermath would not have been so perplexing to a society as they are being experienced in the contemporary period, because drug-proneness appears to be a special issue which has affected our youth population. Adolescents, particularly the college students, seem to be more susceptible and vulnerable to taking substances like 'brown sugar', 'smack', 'irani guard', LSD,

etc. Its amplification is permeating globally and presently it is world's one of the important social concerns as it is seriously undermining and impairing the youth population. The problem of drug-use has received considerable attention of the social scientists, politicians, social workers and journalists. Notwithstanding these attempts, the exact configuration of the problem, its motivations and manifestations still need further investigation in India.

Towards fulfilling this objective, Prof. M.Z. Khan's book is a worthy endeavour. It is a contextual study of 4415 college students from Jabalpur (Madhya Pradesh). The first chapter of the book surveys the existing literature, elucidates the methodology and highlights the approaches of the study. As the problem of drug-use appears to be multiplex and involves an amalgamation of sundry socio-psychological factors, therefore, a multidisciplinary approach has been applied in the study. The study had three main objectives: (a) to determine the nature and extent of drug use among college students; (b) to identify socio-cultural correlates of drug use; and (c) to enquire into the psychological characteristics of drug users. The subsequent chapters of the book deal with other important aspects of this phenomenon. Drug use involves socio-cultural setting of the town, accessibility and associated facilitating factors for its continuation. In addition, other important attributes relating to drug use, such as duration of stay at home, place of residence, pocket-money, drug awareness and the response patterns, have also been statistically scrutinised with respect to the problem of drug-habit. Significant cultural aspects, viz., language and region, rural-urban background, religion and caste, family characteristics and regulatory functions of the family have been focalised in the third chapter. Family background and family composition, education and occupation, economic condition, socio-economic status and family tensions have been discussed in the forth chapter.

The scholastic features refer to the curricular, co-curricular and extracurricular activities of drug users. In addition, the process of imitation in drug-dependence may be of crucial importance. Therefore, various imitation models in family and college and views about drug use have been given in the sixth chapter. The author highlights the extent to which various imitation aspects furnish a causal impetus in the gravity of the problem. Obviously, to an extent, the drug-proneness seems to be having a sound psychological orientation. Particularly, when the drug is considered as a mood-altering substance or which expands 'consciousness' and helps in relieving pain, etc. It can be stressed here that the psychological determinants of the phenomenon of drug dependence could be of vital importance to the drug dependent. In addition, demographic factors, situation in



family, personality factors and attitude of drug users have been described in the seventh chapter. Summary and suggestions regarding control of drug problem and implications of the study have been presented in the subsequent chapter. In discussing the causal process, the focus of the study has been shifted from the traditional factors viz.; innate depravity, inherent irrationality and the lack of right reasoning to relatively up-coming and up-to-date dimensions of the problem. 'Patient-models', susceptibility, vulnerability and drug-proneness in relation to the factors like functional, emotional, psychosomatic or personality disorders have also been given in the book. Indeed it has been a painstaking effort of the author wherein he tried to provide information on this issue. Perhaps the essence and flavour of Prof. Khan's book lies in the portion where he states, "The study does not regard drug users as atypical or abnormal, much less unethical. In sharp contrast, it regards drug habit as part of social behaviour".

The book will serve as a useful reference material in promoting further researches on the problem of drug dependence. The publishers deserve appreciation for the get-up and printing.

--K.S. SHUKLA

#### **The Law of Government Liability in Tort with Reference to India**

K.C. JOSHI, Kurukshetra, Vishal Publications, University Campus, 1985, pp. 270, Rs. 125.00.

Law is no more confined to the command of the sovereign but is a technique of social adjustment or social engineering. The concept of sovereignty has also changed and the sovereign immunity which developed as a status-oriented doctrine, no more suits the democratic norms and values. The autocratic rulers of the past and the historical and fanciful privileges and immunities of the governments run counter to the notion of modern, responsible and service state. To what extent the administration would be liable for torts committed by its servants is a complex problem, especially in developing countries with ever growing multifarious and multi-dimensional state activities. The liability of the government in tort is governed by the principles of public law inherited from the British common law and the provisions of the Indian Constitution.

The study under review is based, with suitable modifications, on a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Law) in the Kurukshetra University. The book has eight chapters. Chapter 1 gives an introduction of the privileges and immunities and reasons for change in the concept of sovereign immunity in torts.



1: Chapters II and III, deal with legal position of the Tortious  
 s Liability of state in England and United States respectively. Chap-  
 i ter II is divided in two parts. Part I deals with the law which was  
 t prevalent prior to the enactment of the Crown Proceeding Act, 1947.  
 m The provisions of the Act have been presented in part II by the  
 t author in their right perspective. Similarly, the position of the  
 2 tortious liability of the state in the United States has been pre-  
 o sented before and after the enactment of Federal Tort Claims Act,  
 a 1946. Various provisions of the Act have been discussed by the  
 I author with the help of judicial opinions expressed by the courts in  
 i the United States. It has rightly been observed by the author that  
 ( the Federal Tort Claims Act in America does not abolish Sovereign  
 t immunity but only fetters it.

Chapter IV is a combination of three parts. The author has dis-  
 cussed in details the law during the Hindu and the Muslim periods by  
 citing different instances with a view to giving a vivid idea to his  
 readers about the role and the responsibility of the kings. In  
 ancient Indian polity, the maxim 'King can do no wrong', was unknown  
 and there was no legal immunity for the King. The Muslim polity was  
 based on the conception of the legal sovereignty of the Islamic law.  
 In Muslim law, the Monarch and the subjects were equal. On the basis  
 of this equality before law, the King as well as the poor fellow of  
 the Kingdom both were answerable before the court of law.

The state of the law has been unnecessarily complicated due to its  
 being founded on principles suiting the position of the British Crown  
 under the British common law and the supposed representation of the  
 sovereignty of the Crown by the East India Company, both of which  
 have become archaic owing to changes in history and the law. The  
 Government of India Act, 1858, therefore, accepted, vide section 65,  
 the same liability in suits against the Secretary of State for India  
 as had been that of the East India company. The first case decided  
 under this section was the **P & O Steam Navigation Co. Vs. Secretary  
 of State for India**, which has worked as foundation of the law of  
 governmental liability in tort in India since 1861. The obiter  
 discussion of Chief Justice Peacock on Sovereign and non-sovereign  
 functions in determining the liability of the East India company,  
 which was succeeded by the Secretary of State for India, as a repre-  
 sentative of the British Crown, had been accepted as a judicial  
 precedent. The successive constitutional enactments from 1915 to  
 1935 during British rule incorporated in them the provision of Sec-  
 tion 65 of the Government of India Act, 1858.

The tortious liability of state under the Constitution of India  
 has been discussed in Chapter V. Surprisingly, the framers of the  
 Constitution wanted the legal impasse on government liability in tort

prevailing during the British rule to continue in free India without assigning any reason whatsoever. The result was the inclusion of Article 300. This flash back approach, therefore, logically had been followed by the courts, although this appendage of feudalism has become inconsistent with the basic philosophy of the new Constitution which the courts are required to interpret. In *Vidhyawati* (1962) and *Kasturilal* (1965) the Supreme Court recognised the changed socio-legal conditions in relation to the vicarious liability of the state for the tortious acts of its employees. In *Vidhyawati*, the immunity based on old doctrine was decried and more weight was given to changed values of a welfare state by the Supreme Court. However, in *Kasturilal*, the Court leaned heavily towards the precedential value and expressed its helplessness in changing the law, although it had taken note of the changed winds that were blowing in Anglo-American jurisprudence.

It is established that the distinction between sovereign and non-sovereign or commercial and governmental and proprietary functions is neither logical nor practical in modern time. Such a distinction has been termed by W.Friedmann as fallacious and absurd and based on extra legal considerations. The law of governmental liability in tort is not completely within the scope of judicial reform and as such parliamentary legislation has become necessary. Not only the Law Commission of India, but the Supreme Court of India too had pleaded for legislative changes in the law of governmental liability in tort.

The over-due change in the law relating to government liability in tort was seen in the introduction of a Bill in 1965 on the Government (Liability in Tort). The Bill lapsed and was re-introduced in 1967 which again lapsed owing to dissolution of the Lok Sabha in 1970. The various provisions of the Bill, as reported by the Joint Committee of the Parliament, have been discussed by the author in chapter VI. The author has successfully attempted a comparative study of relevant provisions of the law in the United Kingdom and the United States. The immunity conferred on the police has been examined from the legal as well as sociological points of view.

The genuine difficulties of the tort litigants from the procedural point of view, which is not a matter of secondary importance, have been discussed in Chapter VII. The effort put in by the author to analyse the procedural difficulties with the help of a sample survey conducted in accident compensation claims, made against the Haryana Government Roadways from 1966 to 1972, is really noteworthy. His suggestion, on the basis of survey, to create tribunals for dispensing justice to avoid the basic problems of cost and delay is fruitful.

Thus, the feudalistic and archaic doctrine of governmental immunity in exercise of sovereign functions is having no justification in principle or in public interest in the changed socio-economic context. A specific law restricting governmental immunity, except for, 'acts of state' is the urgent need of the changed welfare society in the interest of justice, certainty and security of the citizens.

The language of the book is lucid, subject well presented and analysed, and arguments are logical and convincing. On the whole, the book is well documented with proper citations of judicial and juristic opinions. It is, indeed, a useful piece of work in the field of public law.

The foreword and the preface of the book were written in 1981 and subsequent developments in the law of governmental liability in tort since 1980 find no place in the book. Despite these obvious facts, the title page of the book, pasted on the book shows 1985 as the year of publication of the book. This casts serious reflection on the honesty of the author as well as the publisher.

--S.S. SINGH

#### **Protection of Minorities and Scheduled Castes**

S.K. GHOSH, New Delhi, Ashish, 1984, p. 181, Rs. 50.00.

The author of the volume Shri S.K. Ghosh is a very senior and retired officer of the Indian Police and has written a number of books relating to law and order administration as well as many other social themes. The constitutional position in the area is well known but in operational terms there has been widespread discontent. Sometimes, there is a feeling amongst minorities and scheduled castes that they are not having the kind of protection they deserve; while there are others who, though may support the concept of social justice, tend to believe that the present position only perpetuates vested interests as well as mediocrity in public life and stands in the way of the development of national cohesiveness. In the light of the constitutional and legal provisions and also drawing on his wide experience, the author has analysed the different aspects of the problem. The chapters like struggles for equality, politics on the threshold, path of law make it interesting reading. The four appendices consist of the necessary constitutional provisions and the concerned statutes by way of ready reference. The chapter dealing with the redressal of grievances which the author has titled as 'Social Equity' Justice and the 'Equitable Administration' is of particular relevance to government functionaries and administrators. The basic premise of an egalitarian and democratic social order is

that there will be no discrimination or bias against any section of society. Though one would not necessarily agree in full either with the totality of the analysis and the conclusions arrived at by the author, the book should be of some help in stimulating serious thinking among the people both in politics and in administration as the matter dealt with is not only of academic interest but is also fraught with far reaching social consequences.

--B.C.MATHUR

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Quarterly Journal of the

Department of Political Science, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur-302004

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Single Issue	... Rs. 8.00
Students	... Rs. 15.00 (In India only)

### Foreign:

Annual	... \$ 12.00 or £ 5.00
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### Business Correspondence:

P.C. MATHUR  
Circulation Manager,  
Political Science Review,  
Department of Political Science,  
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# THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

VOL. XXXII

APRIL-JUNE 1986

NO. 2

Subscription { Inland—Annual : Rs. 60.00, Single Copy : Rs. 20.00  
Special No. (for Non-Subscribers) : Rs. 50.00  
Abroad—Annual: £10.00 or \$25.00. Single Copy: £3.00 or \$7.00

## CONTENTS



17 OCT 1986

### Editorial

Page

v

### Articles

- Public Administration in India: A Discipline in Bondage  
MOHIT BHATTACHARYA ✓ 219
- Aspects of Administrative Federalism: The Indian Model S  
SHRIRAM MAHESHWARI 230
- Popular Participation in Economic Planning  
AWADHESH P. SINHA 241
- Changing Role of the District Officer ✓  
ABHIMANYU SINGH (251) 268
- Role of Administrative Elites: A Reassessment S  
AHMED SHAFIQUH HUQUE 268
- Redesigning Performance Appraisal System: Experience of  
a State Government  
V.S. SISODIA 277
- Redressal of Public Grievances ✓  
R. NARAYANASWAMI 295
- Zero Base Budgeting S  
C.V. SRINIVASAN 303
- Political Economy of Irrigation in India  
N.R. HOTA 313
- Coordination in Agricultural Development  
C. SATAPATHY, B. DAS AND (MRS.) B. MITRA 327
- Human Resource Development for Rural Banking  
ANIL K. KHANDELWAL 334

## Notes

✓ District Administration in India ✓	
H. BHUBAN SINGH	348 ✓
Managerial Leadership Style in Scientific Organisations	
KULWANT SINGH AND OM SINGH VERMA	354 ✓
Provincial Administration of Ottomans, with	
Reference to Iraq	
ABIDA SAMIUDDIN	361 ✓

## Comments

Hindu Concept of Ecology and the Environmental Crisis	
(MRS.) MALATI J. SHENDGE	376 ✓

## Book Reviews

• District Planning in India (N.R. Inamdar and V.K. Kshire)	
P.R. DUBHASHI	382
District Development Planning--A Case Study of Two	
Districts (Tarsem Lal)	
M.L. SUDAN	384
Poverty and Hunger, Issues and Options for Food Security	
in Developing Countries: A World Bank Policy Study, 1986	
(The World Bank)	
R.S. KHANNA	386
Administration to Anti-Poverty Programmes: A Study of SFDA	
S.K. PACHAURI	388
Economic Systems (Girish Misra)	
Innocence and Design: The Influence of Economic Ideas on	
Policy (David Henderson)	
KAMAL NAYAN KABRA	390
Life in Public Administration: Who Administers/How,	
Where and with What Does One Administer/How Does	
One Learn to Administer (Ed. Leo Klinkers)	
KOFI ANKOMAH	393
• Civil Service Administration in India (R.K. Sapru)	
B.S. KHANNA	398
• State Executive (Lallan Behari Pandey)	
P.C. BANSAL	401
Wielding of Authority in Emerging Countries	
(Lt. Gen. P.S. Bhagat)	
SHYAM LAL DAS	404

## Book Notes

• Parliamentary Control of Public Administration in India	
(Udai Narain)	407 ✓
Gandhian Thought--An Analytical Study (J.K. Mehta)	408 ✓
• Public Enterprises in India (Jagdish Prakash)	409 ✓
Agrarian Movement in Rajasthan (Pema Ram)	409 ✓
Socialist Thought in India (Prakash C. Shastri)	410 ✓

## Documents

Role of Political Parties in India	412 ✓
Role of Vigilance in India	424 ✓

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### Articles

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## EDITORIAL

WOODROW WILSON's essay on public administration published in 1886 marks the formal beginning of a distinct and independent area of intellectual study and research. In a way, it is the centenary year for the discipline of public administration. In his article, Mohit Bhattacharya traces the evolution of public administration, both as a field of inquiry as well as of practice in a limited way, and mentions the various changing phases and movements. He feels that "in the meandering process of growth" of the discipline of public administration, the American thought processes held their sway and the impact of Marxian thinking was neither understood nor appreciated. According to Bhattacharya, "American public administration has basically grown up as a support system for the American Capitalist State". He makes a fervent plea that "the contribution of Marxist social theory to public administration may be considered as an alternative paradigm". In his analysis, he is very critical of what is commonly known as "development administration" and then he relates the theme and the argument to the agenda and evolution of public administration in India. It is in the context of its lineage that he provocatively characterises it as "a discipline in bondage" and later on even castigates it as "a comprador discipline". But he, one feels, ignores the fact that it is, by and large, the analysis by social scientists, including administratists, which has laid bare the socio-economic context of public administration, about which he so strongly expresses his indignation. Bhattacharya, however, makes a useful and stimulating survey of the development of public administration and it should lead to wide debate about the issues he has raised and the viewpoint he has expressed. But one is prone to agree with him that "we embark upon a rigorous social scientific analysis of our own reality and in the process develop our own identity". We look upon this contribution as a tribute as well as a challenge to 'hundred years of public administration' as in any case we must concede that Woodrow Wilson tried to delineate its nature and boundaries,

however imperfectly, and indicate its possibilities for the coming generations of academicians and experts to work upon and provide new dimensions to the intellectual discipline of public administration in a fast changing world.

An important feature of the Indian Constitution is that it envisaged the role for the All India Services--to serve the Union as well as the states. This is unique of Indian federalism and has a number of conceptual and operational implications. In fact, in course of time, according to some, it has also led to some complications as well. Nevertheless, if this dual role of cadre control is managed smoothly, a large part of the credit goes to the Establishment Officer of the Government of India. He has to know the specific requirements of the constituent states and, indeed, also the requirements at the headquarters. The latter responsibility covers periodical cadre review and placement in Union ministries. In short, he is expected to have and does have a total view of the administrative requirements of personnel for the whole country. As can be visualised, the EO's office did not develop all at once. It had its origin in the colonial days. Shriram Maheshwari, in his article, starts by tracing this evolution and then goes on to describe and analyse the EO's responsibilities and the rationale of his office. Maheshwari, no doubt, shows that it is an institution of crucial importance but, strangely, it is neither known widely nor has it been analysed adequately. One may not agree with his observations in full, but he does throw light on an important chapter of India's administrative history and working. As Maheshwari says: "the EO system seeks to link the states with the Centre, and the field with the headquarters by a process of appointment of personnel possessing first-hand experience of the other side of the ring, and their rhythmic rotation. This constitutes India's model of institutional response to certain important facets of administrative federalism".

Popular participation in planning and development is taken as a democratic imperative. In fact, popular participation is an essential pre-requisite for the wider acceptability and even legitimacy of planning process and development. Thus, both the locus and focus, as also the strategy of popular participation, merit attention. Considerable literature exists on the subject. Comparative and sector studies in different countries have also been made. In India, since

the inception of the planning system and, indeed, after the initiation of the community development programme, the demand for popular participation reached a crescendo. Awadhesh P. Sinha first explores the theoretical perspective of popular participation in economic planning and while doing so he points out something of an in-built tension between the two. While planning implies centralised decision-making with increased bureaucratisation, popular participation connotes greater association and involvement of the people as well as administrative openness and decentralised operational decisions. Sinha then goes on to discuss the issues in terms of planned schemes and planned programmes in the country. He identifies qualitative "authenticity and coordination" as the values necessary "for the optimal popular participation in economic planning". This is certainly a subject of continuing importance and Sinha gives some interesting ideas about it, on the basis of his field experience.

It is in this context of demand for popular participation and association of people with administration and development that the contribution by Abhimanyu Singh on 'District Officer's Role' makes interesting reading. This institution has had its bicentenary some time ago. Our Journal also brought out a special number on the theme of the changing role of the District Officer in 1965. Besides, several contributions by experts on one or the other facet of this topic have appeared in different issues of this Journal from time to time. An administrative officer himself, Singh outlines the origin of the district officer's establishment and several attempts that have been made to bring it under popular control. He also highlights the contradiction between what is expected of the district officer today and the hopeless position in which he finds himself on account of a variety of reasons. Singh makes a plea for 'elected district heads' and that for the District Officer as their chief executive. Such a demand has often been made in the past but even the political masters have always had their reservations and misgivings about it as rise of a parallel political authority at local levels is generally not palatable. Though the author, at times, seems to over simplify issues, yet he does throw light on the present state of district administration with all its problems, headaches and frustrations. While Singh writes with his experience in Bihar, the situation described by him may not be unrepresentative of other parts of the country. This

may be depressing but, as the author's contribution itself exemplifies, all idealism is not yet dead in administration. It is high time we go into the realities of the situation if we want the grassroots administration to be responsive and efficient, deserving confidence of the people.

In a similar vein, we have Ahmed Shafiqul Huque, who gives a reassessment of the role of administrative elites in a comparative context, but with a particular slant on developing countries. He examines the concept, the meaning of the term and actual administrative functioning. From his analysis, he concludes: "However, administrative elites are not desirable as they tend to close themselves off from the rest of the society and contribute toward the creation of an artificial barrier between the ruler and the ruled. But due to the absence of alternative means, they can be considered to be coordinators for the unstable systems. Judging from the trends in the field of public administration, it can be assumed that gradual reform attempts will continue to be made and dated elements such as administrative elites will ultimately be eliminated from the public services." But we need to explore this area with greater realism if we want to rise above an element of psychological ambiguity as well as administrative mediocrity. The real problem is : how can we achieve wider diffusion of excellence in administration and public life, while eschewing alienation, exclusiveness, aloofness and holier-than-thou attitudes and postures?

Performance appraisal is an important part of personnel administration as it helps to promote both efficiency and morale in public services. With the changing requirements of the government, the profile of the functionaries needs review and reinterpretation. In this background, the terms and format of character rolls, and records require to be periodically reviewed and suitably modified or amplified. In the recent past, the Union Government has laid stress on working out adequate indicators of efficiency and performance. So have many state governments from time to time in the pursuit of administrative reform. This is a matter of considerable interest to the public-minded sections of our people and opinion makers. That is how "the experience of state government" in "redesigning performance appraisal system", as attempted by V.S. Sisodia, becomes relevant. He not only analyses the various developments in one particular state, but also raises several general issues of wider concern.

R. Narayanaswami presents three case studies relating to resolution of public grievances in government offices. In his first case study, he deals with the system as has been worked out by the Ministry of Labour in respect of one of its responsibilities, viz. emigration of labour. In the second, he discusses the arrangement that exists in this regard in Delhi Development Authority. In the third, he focuses on such an arrangement at the district level. For obvious reasons, it is a sensitive subject, both for the individual and the nation. In his presentation, Narayanaswami describes the system as it has evolved over a period of time to cope with the emerging problems and draws some general conclusions from experiences with which, he hopes, "with slight variations, every department having grassroots contact, could be made to enhance the purposeful accessibility of its decision-making functionaries". His article does bring out the important point that a bit of sectoral or departmental self-analysis may help to evolve or design more realistic and effective ways and methods to redress public grievances and thus build better community-administration relationship.

Budgetary reforms are an important plank for the total improvement of administration. But budgeting exercise is at times both pedestrian and abstruse. At the same time, linkage between scientific budgeting and planning for development is a matter of utmost significance to polity, society and economy. The multiplicity of needs and objectives placed against limited resources becomes a planner's nightmare and even a government's despair. The concept of zero based budgeting is one of the latest techniques in the area of financial management. C.V. Srinivasan gives the background of its development, explains its contents and approach, deals with the advantages of the technique and, lastly, analyses the problems in implementation. He points out that its applicability to Indian situation need not generate any misgivings, if certain precautions he has tried to identify, are taken note of. In order to ensure greater purposiveness in expenditure and performance and to bring about positive accountability in administration, the zero base budgeting can be useful. But it is necessary to ensure that experimentation is not allowed to become ritualistic but made realistic and genuine.

As the title of the article 'Political Economy of Irriga-

tion in India' by N.R. Hota indicates, the utilisation of water for irrigation is not just a technical problem. It has wider socio-political implications which ought to be taken into account if this crucial area of development is to achieve its intended results. Hota identifies four aspects of the political economy of irrigation in India, viz., political economy of irrigation agriculture, identification and selection of projects, utilisation of potential, and water rate policies. The concept of water as a national resource, both for the country and for a region has to be appreciated in a constructive manner if irrigation projects are to fulfil the expected standards and norms of technical, managerial and economic performance. Though Hota naturally draws on his experience in Orissa, it is an article deserving attention of planners, irrigation experts and political decision-makers in general.

Coordination continues to be the weakest point in our administrative and planning systems. We have plenty of literature on the theory of coordination. The presentation by C. Satapathy, B. Das and (Mrs.) B. Mitra is in the nature of a case study of 'Coordination in Agricultural Development'. It would have been useful if some broad perspectives of coordination were first discussed to make a more telling presentation, it is all the more so as we have now adopted the approach of integrated rural development. What are its operational implications? What is the relationship between the concepts of 'coordination' and 'integration' so far as the agricultural development is concerned. Coordination, both 'horizontal' and 'vertical', while intrinsic to the plans and programmes, seems to elude us. We do hope that the article, though preliminary in nature, will stimulate more detailed studies which may go to help improved performance in practical terms. The next article by Anil K. Khandelwal is of allied nature. He points out that, so far, banks seem to have occupied themselves with 'rural disbursement' rather than 'rural development'. Khandelwal believes that development of the rural community can best be achieved by paying greater attention to the development of human resources in the public sector banks. This underlines the need for training--its role, nature and strategy among other aids to HRD. It is well recognised that all is not well with the banking sector. The functional, promotional as well as the service roles of banks need review and reinforcement if banks have to measure



up to the expectations of the people, planners and decision-makers.

The management of scientific institutions and establishments is a complex problem. It is a pity that much attention has not been given to it by experts and scholars. We have a number of reports of committees who, after going into the complaints of alleged maladministration, make their suggestions and recommendations. One is not sure how much the concerned organisations have consequently benefited. It is not known whether the general lessons for the benefit of similar institutions have been worked out in the light of experience. Sometimes unfortunate cases of victimisation or even of suicide by researchers or staff members are reported in the papers which cause general concern. But the concern dies soon after. Only recently, the Prime Minister made some very pertinent observations about management of scientific institutions, research establishments and institutions of higher learning which ought to be followed up by scientific establishments. The problems do not relate to administrators vs. scientists, or the finance man vs. the expert. It assumes the complexion of a scientist or of an established scientist vs. a budding researcher. That is why the brief study on 'Managerial Leadership Style in Scientific Organisation', based on field research in two scientific organisations, one representing agricultural university and the other affiliated to ICAR by two young researchers, Kulwant Singh and Om Singh Verma, is timely. Accountability and performance, if rightly understood, cannot be divorced from autonomy. Institution-building and leadership go together.

We have two contributions in this issue which are largely descriptive in nature. One by Abida Samiuddin is a portrait of provincial administration, with reference to Iraq<sup>6</sup>. It is informative and useful for a study of comparative evolution of administrative systems. The other, by H. Bhuban Singh, deals with the problems, as he sees, of district administration. It forms a useful supplement to Abhimanyu Singh's 'Changing Role of the District Officer'.

This number also carries a detailed and rather provocative comments by Malati J. Shendge on the article we published (in IJPA, Vol. 30, No. 1) on 'Hindu Concept of Ecology and Environmental Crisis' by O.P. Dwivedi, B.N. Tiwari and R.N.



Tripathi. We may expect some response in future by the learned authors. We do believe in stimulating critical and constructive dialogue. We also believe that we have enough material in the current issue to elicit reaction and response from our perceptive readers.

Besides the usual features of book reviews and book notes, this issue also carries B.K. Nehru's John F. Kennedy Memorial Lecture on role of political parties in India and another speech of U.C. Agarwal on role of vigilance in India in the Document section.

--EDITOR

supported for better provision of public goods and services. The underlying theme in chorus with the NPA movement, was debureaucratization. Writers like Downs, Tullock and Niskanen have come out with some sort of a theory of administrative egoism suggesting bureaucracy's inherent tendency to work for self-interest, as distinguished from public interest. As Peter Self has put it:

...some of the criticism is essentially a reflection of current social values, which are hostile to the Weberian norms of strong hierarchy, impersonality, and anonymity which are traditional in public administration.<sup>2</sup>

In this line of thought, the impact of 'critical theory' on public administration deserves special mention. Habermas, one of the most eminent philosophers of this school, has drawn attention to the preponderance of technical efficiency under a bureaucratic regime. Critical theory calls for a review of both intra-organisational and supra-organisational consequences of bureaucratic control and regulation. Within the organisation, alienation from work and fellow workers needs to be rectified by planned attempts to improve the quality of organisational life. Externally, harmonious organisation-client relationship would necessitate more organisational flexibility and client accessibility.

#### ~ MARXISM AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

In this meandering process of growth, much of what has been going on as public administration discipline is home spun in the USA. American public administration is naturally rooted in American political culture which is widely acknowledged as advanced capitalism blended with pluralism. The nature of the state, in American public administration, is never questioned. Within the fixed politico-administrative boundary, the essential thrust of American public administration has been toward enhancing the capacity of public organisations without disturbing the basic character of the capitalist state. This explains the dominance of value-free organisation theories in public administration analysis.

To accept American public administration as a universal 'science' of public administration is fraught with general epistemological difficulty. Besides being ethnocentric, much of American administrative and organisational theories can be said to be ahistorical. Origin and evolution of organisations are generally overlooked in organisational analysis. Secondly, the concept of organisation, as a micro unit, has little usefulness for public administration that

exists as a vast network of organisations functioning within the normative structure of a constitution. Thirdly, conventional organisational analysis is divorced from the larger concerns of political economy, class structure and social conflict, as if what goes on inside an organisation can be explained away with the help of internal organisational structures and processes. Fourthly, notwithstanding the advocacy of participative management, a general tendency in organisational studies has been to apotheosise the top management and to 'manipulate' other parts of the organisation to serve the interest of top management. Last but not the least, organisational analysis, as applied to public administration, takes no notice of the nature of the state that regulates the entire social system, including organisations.

In consequence, American public administration has basically grown up as a support system for the American capitalist state. The spirit of the discipline is naturally instrumentalist and management-oriented.

Against this background, the contribution of Marxist social theory to public administration may be considered as an alternative paradigm. Marxist concern for macro social structures and the historical transformation of the whole political economics needs to be related to organisational analysis and the study of public administration. As has been correctly observed, a theory of public administration has to be inferred from the large body of Marxist and neo-Marxist literature on the nature of the state.<sup>3</sup> In the earlier writings of Marx, bureaucracy was characterised as a state mystifying institution, incompetent, hierarchically ridden, secretive and pseudo-knowing. The two versions of the state in mature Marxist political theory--fundamentalist and relative autonomy--have two kinds of implications for any theory of public administration. The fundamentalist notion of the class state yields a reductionist theory of bureaucracy as an appendage of the dominant class embedded in capitalist political economy. By contrast, Nicos Poulantzas, Claus Offe and others have sought to reconstruct Marxist political theory by pointing out the relative autonomy of the state in real life from the power bloc and the hegemonic faction. Such a reconstruction of Marxist theory of the state has opened up new possibilities of a Marxist theory of public administration. How is the bureaucracy related to the processes of general legitimation of state authority and particularist accumulation by the bourgeoisie? The role of the bureaucracy, as the supreme manager of social conflicts and the organiser of class hegemony, assumes significance within the 'relative autonomy' framework of analysis.

The Marxist approach opens up new possibilities of studying public

organisations from both macro and micro properties. Since organisation of class hegemony is the principal objective, structural properties, such as hierarchy, span of control, etc., might be having their roots in politics rather than in nature and technique of work.

Alienation from work and motivation and morale can be usefully analysed from the Marxist perspective of class hegemony and class conflict.

Policy studies in public administration can benefit from the Marxist orientation if questions like 'who sponsors the policies for whose benefit', could be raised and examined in specific policy situations.

Conventional, empirically oriented organisation theory is now being challenged by what is called 'radical organisation theory'. As Burrell and Morgan put it, conventional organisation theory has been found wanting for, among other reasons, neglecting the work of Marx, ignoring class analysis, omitting to consider the role of the state, and being unaware of the importance of macro-social factors.<sup>4</sup>

A radical public administration grounded in the Marxist perspective is yet to take a definite shape. But the broad outline of this new discipline is steadily emerging with obvious attraction for the 'Third World' scholars who are grouping for a new paradigm to explain the socio-political reality of the Third World.

#### DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

In the wake of decolonisation after the World War II, there was universal search for state-led planned socio-economic development. Development administration emerged almost as a full-fledged discipline with its own assumptions, concepts, hypotheses, and theories of development. Since the early 1960s, the story of public administration is virtually the story of the steady growth of development administration as new epistemology. The literature on development administration is, by now, very vast.<sup>5</sup> Basically, the new intellectual enterprise was pioneered by American scholars (CAG) in a semi-anthropological and normative-prescriptive vein. The study of administrative practices outside the United States and recommendation for a new public administrative set-up, as an aid to speedy socio-economic development, were the prime concerns of American experts.

Initially, there were attempts at grand theory-building by Riggs and others. The lure of prismatic theory did not last long, as the urgent concern was for tangible administrative improvement. Western (especially American) administrative practices, tools and institutional models were freely exported to the Third World countries in the belief that these surely held promise for administrative

virility. This 'enclave approach' was supplemented by 'sectoral management approach' where project management in specific sectors, like agriculture, industry, etc., assumed considerable significance.

Development administration was soon engrossed in local problem-solving with the help of folk-wisdom and people's participation. It was a more open-ended effort as outside experts came to attach importance to folk management skills. Local participation in project designing and implementation came to be acknowledged as important. The open-ended search for success led to the recognition of politics and power as important variables. Development administration was thus, found raising questions both about method and substance. The problem of equity and justice was no longer avoidable. Administration has not merely to lead to more productivity; it has also to ensure power equalisation and equitable distribution of the fruits of development.

Despite such apparently radical postures, development administration at no time raised any question about the nature of the state. There was a naive belief that the nature of the state has nothing to do with project failures, large-scale cornering of benefits by a small class, and perpetuation of poverty and exploitation.

It is well-known that the development administration movement is an aspect of the 'modernisation' approach to Third World development, popularised by writers like Edward Shils, Samuel Huntington and others. Stable and orderly change, as distinguished from violent and revolutionary change, could be brought about by management revolution under the aegis of the state bureaucracy. The macro-social concerns, such as mode of production, elite structure and international politics were of no significance to the developmentalists. All that was being advocated was a technically and professionally oriented bureaucracy which would be ideologically neutral. Thus conceived, development administration was the surest guarantee against insurgency and violent revolutions in the Third World countries.<sup>6</sup> It was conceived as a counter-revolutionary strategy to reform and strengthen capitalism in the Third World countries.

As the political scenario in the Third World countries follows a regular cycle of elitist-bureaucratic domination, repression and authoritarianism, breakdown of civilian rule and the rise of the armed forces, the earlier assumptions and conceptualisations of development seem to be increasingly dated and irrelevant. The current debate over the new international economic order and north-south dialogue reveals the 'dependence of the developing countries on the 'developed'. The 'dependency theory' developed by writers like Gunder Frank, Samir Amin and Cardoso opens up new ways of analysing dependent development.<sup>7</sup> So long as 'underdevelopment' continues to be the

creation of the developed countries, development administration can at best have two meanings: comprador administration and underdevelopment management. It is the perpetuation of conditions of underdevelopment and socio-economic inequity that is the real objective of development administration.

#### AGENDA OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The rise of the socialist world and their new administrative practices do not receive any attention, nor are these included in public administration academic curriculum. Public administration has thus meant almost exclusively the administrative practices of the Western developed capitalist countries. What goes on as public administration discipline is basically an ethnocentric description grounded in American or European socio-political reality. It has been paraded as a universal science and the Third World scholars have thoughtlessly accepted it as such. This explains our fascination for management science with all its high priests (Taylor, Fayol, Simon, Likert, etc.) and high technology (MIS, MBO, Network, etc). Increasing immiserisation of the masses, rural unrest and state repression have not aroused any interest among public administration scholars. If management is the panacea, how does one explain widespread inequity and injustice even after four decades of 'managed development'? If the American scholars could give a call for a new public administration in times of their social crisis, why can't scholars in India raise a similar debate. Development is a transformational and directive process. An old, archaic society has slowly to be changed into a more just and humane society. Is it an administrative question or a political one? Administration as means is an untenable concept under conditions of speedy socio-economic reconstruction. It is primarily because of the colonial legacy that public administration came to be regarded as an independent variable in most Third World countries. The class structure of these countries also blended well with bureaucratic dominance. Public administration, as a discipline, has to go beyond the forms and processes of administration and look for explanations in social structure, class hegemony and the dominant forces shaping the character of the state. A radical public administration needs new tools, concepts and theories, and the reality outside cries out for such rebuilding of the discipline.

The century-old growth of public administration as a discipline bears unmistakable marks of American scholarship that has decisive influence on the character of the discipline. An area of interest--a field--has been sought to be promoted forcibly to the status of a discipline. As the early euphoria subsided, the proponents of an

autonomous discipline soon discovered the futility of undisciplined approach to the complex problems of public administration. In the post World War II period, the boundary walls of all social science disciplines had to be either pulled down or made more permeable. This was necessary to organise and interpret complex social reality that could not be packaged neatly into the boundary of a single discipline. Being basically concerned with governmental behaviour, in an age of turmoil and turbulence the fragile boundaries of the new discipline soon gave way permitting salutary entry of explanatory concepts from a variety of sister disciplines. The result is what has been called the 'polyparadigmatic' or 'crossdisciplinary' status of present-day public administration.<sup>8</sup>

#### NEED FOR REORIENTATION

What has been the achievement of public administration in India? Originally, the subject used to form an integral part of political science. This is still the system in many universities. The first fullfledged Department of Public Administration and Local Self-Government was set up in 1949 in Nagpur University. Currently, public administration is being offered as a subject of study at different levels by about 30 university departments.

Public administration study and research received encouragement with the establishment of the Indian Institute of Public Administration in 1954 under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru. The Ford Foundation and the American scholars arrived on the scene to initiate and promote the growth of administrative studies so necessary for a new nation.

The first survey of research in public administration, under the auspices of the ICSSR, covered the period up to 1969. In the introduction to the survey, Pai Panandiker wrote:

...the discipline as a whole does not show a sense of buoyancy or achievements, either in the academic or practical worlds and of being of continuous relevance to the needs of the country...a lurking doubt exists...whether public administration could develop as a useful and relevant discipline as well as practical and applied science.<sup>9</sup>

✓ In the second survey of research in public administration (1970-79), Kuldeep Mathur has some interesting comments to make on the growth of the discipline in India. As Mathur points out, the discipline goes on using theoretical frameworks embedded in the Western administrative systems without any attempt to list out their validity

in the Indian situation. The most familiar paradigm guiding research continued to be Weberian. Enhancement of administrative competence and administrative reform dominated research attention. This instrumental view of public administration necessarily stimulated the professional aspect of the discipline with inordinate emphasis on techniques and skills and scientific management.

Kuldeep Mathur has alerted us about the danger of submerging public administration into the generic process of administrative science. There is a timely call in his review for a look beyond the boundaries of an organisation into the wider social forces enveloping the organisation. The adequacy of accepting bureaucracy as a unit of analysis has been questioned and its power role in the larger social context emphasised. Administrative action, as Mathur cautions us, takes place "within the larger network of power capabilities of groups and individuals interacting within the political system in order to determine the direction of flow of public goods". Since many political battles are fought over administrative action, the reality outside is an ensemble of politics and administration. In fine, public administration is very much a part of the rough and tumble of politics. Mathur's concluding observation on the state of the discipline is worth our quotation:

...public administration continues to be weak as an academic and social science discipline. This weakness primarily emerges from its inability to develop theoretical and conceptual approaches that can offer a better understanding of the contemporary scene in India. It continues to be heavily influenced by the Western social science paradigms which have in a way provided it 'professional' but not academic strength. The ambiguity in defining the scope of research and teaching in the area also stems from this influence and also from the way the discipline took birth in universities through separation, often bitter, from disciplines like political science, economics or history. To many members of the faculty, this act of physical separation symbolised intellectual insulation too. The result was that in order to demonstrate its independent identity, it began to lean towards management science. One of the important requirements for revitalising the discipline is to restore its intellectual linkages with other social science disciplines. This step is important if alternative paradigms of understanding the administrative phenomenon have to be developed.<sup>10</sup>

This assessment of the growth of the discipline raises a host of questions regarding both the substantive and methodological aspects



of public administration in India. Sharing the boundary maintenance problem of all social sciences, public administration has obviously to shed disciplinary orthodoxy in the interest of advancement of scientific knowledge about governmental operations. Substantively, administrative problems of the Third World countries need to be differentiated from those of the developed capitalist countries. The concepts and theories of a stable state in a milieu of institutionalised system do not lend themselves to easy application to the conditions of a developing state system passing through a tortuous and occasionally uncertain process of institutionalisation. Public administration, as a discipline in India, has to grapple with the socio-political reality of contemporary India. A new public administration, with its own unmistakable identity, can grow in India only by a creative encounter with our own reality. Ours is a post-colonial society with a legacy of strong and all-pervasive bureaucratic rule. In a tradition-bound society, the primordial loyalties are woven around caste, religion, tribe, language and ethnic ties. Economic relationships are overlaid on primordial existential situations. During British rule, feudal land relations were deliberately maintained to lend support to imperialism. In the course of freedom struggle, nationalism was struggling to be born, and the process of submergence of narrow, parochial attachment in the mainstream of nationalism has been far from complete. The democratic institutions, comprising the electoral system, the party system, the legislature and the press have been passing through a critical period of institutionalisation. The degree to which our democratic infrastructure is fragile was borne out by the dark days of the Emergency.

The development path chosen for socio-economic reconstruction has basically been capitalistic. Stimulation of agricultural productivity through the induction of new technology at select locations has led, in many instances, to the deterioration of agrarian relations. Despite the much-advertised food surplus, rural poverty shows little sign of abatement and the large masses in our countryside continue to live under semi-feudal conditions. Any attempt to offer resistance to the forces of feudalism is dubbed as 'naxalite' movement and ruthlessly suppressed.

This is the socio-economic context of public administration in India. So far, the context has failed to influence the content of administration. Public administration in India as a discipline has so far remained imitative and descriptive, much like a comprador discipline. It is high time that we embark upon a rigorous social scientific analysis of our own reality and in the process develop our own identity.

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# Aspects of Administrative Federalism: The Indian Model

SHRIRAM MAHESHWARI

INDIA IS an example of a state having a federal constitution but its public administration at various levels of governance is organically integrated, thus deliberately giving a short shrift to the doctrine of administrative dualism. The instrumentalities and mechanism of such administrative integration are several, including some visualised even in the Constitution itself. While many of them have attracted varying degrees of attention of the academic community, yet some functionaries have remained out of its purview so far. One such notable one being the Establishment Officer to the Government of India, who has been given a set of functions which are intended to promote, besides efficiency, harmony between the two levels of government in the federal system. The Establishment Officer to the Government of India--or the EO as he is commonly called--is a functionary unique to the Indian sub-continent and is one of the administrative creations of the British Colonial rule in India. The EO is, indeed, a vital institutional link in the field of selection of managerial level personnel in Indian Government.

## THE SETTING

The special significance of this office lies in a set of ideological formulations underpinning the central personnel system. India was a unitary state from the time of the Regulating Act of 1772 till the enactment of the Government of India Act, 1935, and it was only under the latter statute<sup>1</sup> that a federal system was first outlined for the colony. Though the constitutional change visualised was of a qualitative nature, yet it was not allowed to affect the core values concerning administration, one of which is that the Government of India does not--and must not--possess a civil service of its own.<sup>2</sup> To be sure, there are all-India services, and the central services, but these belong, respectively, to the state governments and the functional departments. The technical position is, and has always

been, that the Government of India has not a civil service of its own. Secondly, the staffing of the headquarters organisation, namely, the secretariat, should draw on as many services, both all-India and central ones, as possible,<sup>3</sup> the objective being to attract the most competent personnel. Thirdly, appointments in the secretariat are made for fixed terms, or tenures, thus making the search for personnel a regular, not once-for-all, exercise.

Until the passage of the Government of India Act, 1935, the practice in regard to staffing in the Government of India was that each department corresponded directly with the provincial governments as and when necessary. This, apparently, did not pose any serious problem, primarily in view of the prevalent unitary system of governance in the country. It is true that the government then was small, thus making staffing in the secretariat quite manageable and even when the government began to expand and posts in the headquarters increased, the practice of departments individually approaching provincial governments independently engendered confusion no less than competition but no change was contemplated. It was the Government of India Act, 1935 with the stipulation of federation for the country which introduced a new measure of permanent uncertainty in regard to supply of officers from the 'autonomous' provinces and thus highlighted the need for a central coordinating point. This made the setting up of centralised personnel procurement agency look imperative, and the initiative in this direction was first taken by the Finance Department. This needs an explanation.

On the analogy of the Treasury in Great Britain, the questions relating to civil service were, in the beginning, dealt with by the Finance Department in Indian Government. The Treasury in Britain, one must note, is much more than a Finance Department, it really being in the nature of a residuary legatee in the government, and as such to search for its counterpart in India's Finance Department was not very correct. In India, civil service was, thus, never made an exclusive concern of this department, the other department having a definite share of responsibility being the Home. Yet, the fact is that the Finance Department in the past was enjoying a much bigger role in regard to civil service than since Independence. Even the genesis of the office of the EO to the Government of India lies in this Department's Despatch of October 15, 1936.<sup>4</sup> for it was for the first time in this document that the proposal for the setting up of an EO was made. The cue was picked up by the Committee on Organisation and Procedure (1937) presided over by Reginald Maitland Maxwell; indeed a thumb-nail sketch of this office was presented by the Maxwell Committee on Organisation and Procedure.<sup>5</sup>

## THE MAXWELL COMMITTEE'S FORMULATIONS

According to the Maxwell Committee, the EO recommended for the Finance Department would not remain fully occupied, and yet the function contemplated for him was of obvious meaning to all the departments in the government. The Committee, therefore, recommended setting up of an EO to the Government of India--that is, with government-wide responsibility. "It should be his duty", the Committee emphasised, "to keep himself fully informed of possible recruits, both Indian Civil Service and others to the grade of Under Secretary."<sup>6</sup> For this purpose, the EO should have a right to obtain any information he may require about any officer in the provinces or other departments with a view to considering whether he is fit for such an appointment. He should, moreover, take an active interest in broadening the channels of his communication with the provinces as well as the cadre authorities of various central services, even visiting their headquarters and 'interviewing' possible candidates to assess their suitability for induction in the secretariat. Besides, he was to be the exclusive pipeline for flow of correspondence in regard to staffing and reversion of personnel. The Committee observed, "It would probably be a convenience to the provinces if all correspondence regarding the selection and reversion of Indian Civil Service officers in connection with secretariat or other appointments were conducted by the EO".<sup>7</sup> Being in touch with all departments in the Central Government, he would naturally be in a position to keep his eye on probable future requirements and to ensure that provincial governments and other cadre authorities received as long notice as possible of impending vacancies. Besides, it was among the important responsibilities of the proposed functionary to maintain 'full' records of the performance of under-secretaries "both for the periods spent in the secretariat and for the periods spent outside".<sup>8</sup> For the secretariat-based officers, he should get the annual confidential reports from the respective secretaries and for those located outside it but 'earmarked' for deputation he should secure them from the provinces and cadre authorities. "The Establishment Officer would thus be able on each occasion that a selection had to be made, to put forward the names of all who were qualified for the appointment and to submit detailed records of their previous career."<sup>9</sup> When all is said and done, the Maxwell Committee did not want the EO to emerge to a position with command to recommend individual names for appointment. This responsibility was entrusted to a collegiate body so as to reduce possible subjectivity in judgement. It clearly observed, "The material (annual reports about officers) so secured should be dealt with by a Selection Board whose duty it would be to recommend

individual officers for appointment. The Selection Board should consist of three secretaries to Government to be appointed by His Excellency (Governor-General) in his discretion, together with the secretary in the department concerned, if he is not already a member of the Board."<sup>10</sup>

#### THE EO: DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROFILE

The office of the EO to the Government of India was set up in 1938, its first incumbent being Noel James Roughton,<sup>11</sup> a member of the Indian Civil Service (ICS). Roughton did not stay for long. Indeed, most EOs had a tenure of less than 18 months, and the term was particularly short during the British rule. Perhaps, the job was discovered to be not very exciting. H.M. Patel, a member of the ICS and a 'Commerce-Industry Pool' Officer, was the first Indian to be appointed as EO in 1946. But it was S.B. Bapat of ICS, who had the longest stay of nearly nine years and who also emerged as a very strong EO.

The EO was originally located in the Finance Department following the practice in Britain, and its justification lay in the interface between its work and the pay and conditions of work of the civil service in India. Even more importantly, the functionary's location in the Finance Department also equipped him with 'teeth' in the sense that the provinces and other public agencies, always dependent on large financial devolutions from New Delhi, did not dare turn indifferent to his solicitations, much less become noncooperative. On March 1, 1946, however, the EO was placed under what was officially known as the secretariat of the Executive Council, named in 1947 as Cabinet Secretariat.<sup>12</sup> This arrangement lasted till the advent of Independence, and since then this office operates under the administrative control of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Also, it was not uncommon in the past to entrust some other responsibilities to the EO in view of a feeling that the office did not have enough work. For instance, he remained as principal of the IAS Training School at Metcalfe House, Delhi for quite sometime though this arrangement was temporary. The Economy Committee (1948-49), set up by the Government of India under the chairmanship of Kasturbhai Lalbhai, recommended continuance of the arrangement of the EO working also as the principal of civil service training school, asserting "in our opinion, the EO has not got a full day's work".<sup>13</sup> This functionary was responsible for filling up of middle and senior level management vacancies in the Central Secretariat which then was a sleek organisation.

At the time of Independence, the EO to the Government of India was of the rank of a Joint Secretary and came from the ICS. He was

assisted by an office consisting of one superintendent, one assistant superintendent, 6 assistants of whom 3 were designated "Clerk, Grade A", 7 clerks and one stenographer. Many of the personnel were temporary, having been recruited during the World War II.<sup>14</sup> There was even a proposal early in 1947 that the office personnel under the EO should get an exemption from the general government orders governing recruitment of ministerial staff in the Central Secretariat, the argument adduced being that the EO's work was becoming increasingly complex and continuity of personnel was 'most important'.<sup>15</sup> The request, however, was quickly turned down by the Home Department on the ground that the provisions of the Ministerial Establishment (Recruitment, Promotion and Seniority) Rules applied all over the secretariat without any exception, and as such the office of the EO could not be exempted from them. This continues to be the arrangement even now.

#### THE EO IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

Drawn from the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) and holding, generally, a rank of joint secretary, the EO to the Government of India is an important functionary in the field of higher level staffing in the headquarters organisation of the Government of India. Located in the Ministry of Personnel and Training, he works directly under the Cabinet Secretary and the Secretary in the Ministry of Personnel, his performance being appraised by the latter and 'reviewed' by the Cabinet Secretary. He is secretary to the Appointments Committee of the Cabinet (ACC) and as such receives all communications intended for the latter. He is secretary of the Senior Selection Board (SSB), member-secretary of the Central Establishment Board (CEB) and communicates their decisions to the ministries concerned.

The Maxwell Committee's outline still broadly governs staffing so far as the fundamentals of institutional arrangements are concerned but the modifications introduced are also many. The Committee, one may recall, wanted an Establishment Board to recommend individual names for appointments; and this practice continues but in a modified form, and the new arrangement is discussed in what follows: The Establishment Board was renamed as the CEB after Independence, and the EO was made its secretary. In 1970, a new Board called the SSB was created and made responsible for appointments to the post of Joint Secretary and equivalent and above. The SSB is headed by the Cabinet Secretary and includes the Secretary of the Department of Personnel and some other secretaries nominated by the Prime Minister for one year term, the EO being its Secretary. The other Board, the CSB, consists of the Personnel Secretary, who is

the ex-officio chairman and two other secretaries nominated by the Prime Minister, and the EO, who is its member-secretary. Every year, the Board prepares panels for under secretaries, deputy secretaries and directors.<sup>16</sup> It is from this approved panel that individual appointments are made. The indenting department notifies its vacancies to the EO giving a job-profile, and the EO sends a list of three or four or even more names from the panel out of which the department picks up one. The EO is associated with both the Boards and does all the preliminary work necessary for the purpose. He processes appointments to posts of under secretaries, deputy secretaries and directors, and plays a sort of active role so far as selections to these posts are concerned. The posts in the Central Government being for fixed tenures, the departments keep on indicating the vacancies under them and job description of each post; and it is among the primary tasks of the EO to find out eligible bachelors for purposes of matching the man with the job.

Appointments in the secretariat are governed by what is called the Central Staffing Scheme under which all higher vacancies are filled up by fixed-term deputation of all services, both all-India and Central. For appointment to each level, certain eligibility criteria have been prescribed by the government, and those who fulfil them are put on the panel, which is regularly revised. The exercise of empanelment as well as of recommending individual names is done by the appropriate Board, but all the necessary processing is done by the EO. Empanelment ordinarily does not create problems, as the rules of eligibility are clearly laid down but the respective Board will have to decide some difficult cases. A particular civil servant is about to complete his tenure in the secretariat, but may seek extension of his term. Or, a civil servant, who reverted to his parent cadre only recently, wants a fresh deputation even though he has not completed his 'cooling off' period.<sup>17</sup> Or, an officer, when moved out of the Central secretariat, joins some Delhi-based organisation in the expectation of his early return. Such difficult cases apart, the jobs in the secretariat are limited and pressure on them, particularly on economic ministries, is heavy, which adds considerably to the difficulties of both the recommending and appointing authorities including, of course, the EO. The Central services have also been making claims on posts in the secretariat. So does the Indian Police Service. The cumulative result is a very heavy load of pressure on the headquarters postings and transfers. Even high level political and bureaucratic pressures may also be brought to bear on them in a bid to influence placements, especially for higher, prestigious jobs.

Technically speaking, both the SSB and the CEB as well as the EO enjoy but a recommendatory status. For each vacancy, a panel of



three or four or even more names is generally sent to the department concerned, and the secretary of the indenting department may pick up any one from the list, or may even ask for a fresh panel which, it is true, is not very common. Informal exchange of views between the Personnel Secretary, EO and the departmental secretaries, however, nearly may wield a bit much more influence in matters of middle management appointments, especially at its lower rungs in the Government. "It is like a chessboard", one high-ranking civil servant confided with this author, "and not many can beat the EO in the game. This is because his channels of communication are too many". But the more specialised the qualifications for a job the narrower is the discretion left with the EO. Also, his role is limited and of nominal significance when he works for the senior SSB. The proposals for appointments to the posts of the level of Joint Secretary and equivalent and above are initiated by the Cabinet Secretary, and the EO has little initiative or influence.

The apex-level body to approve all appointments of the level of deputy secretary and equivalent and above under the Central Government, both within the secretariat and outside it, is a political one. It is the ACC, consisting of the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the minister under whom the vacancy occurs; the EO is its secretary. While servicing the ACC, the EO functions directly under the supervision and guidance of the Cabinet Secretary.

Regardless of his real skill in influencing appointments, the EO is formally associated with all the agencies involved in the task. The following table may provide a broad idea of the workload generated in this connection:

#### Workload of Agencies of which the EO is Secretary<sup>18</sup>

Sl. No.	Name of Agency	No. of Cases During 1981-82	No. of Cases During 1982-83 (April-December)
1.	Central Establishment Board	564	490
2.	Senior Selection Board	138	106
3.	Appointments Committee of the Cabinet	1360	1028

The EO maintains the confidential service files of all the four thousand and odd members of the IAS, it is the only exception is his own confidential file which, as a rule, remains with the Cabinet Sec-

retary. A recent innovation is the preparation of 'executive record sheets' or index cards containing qualifications, experience, age of each member of the IAS so that he is able to furnish at short notice names of all eligible officers fulfilling the prescribed qualifications for a particular job. Besides, he has unhindered access to the character rolls of all higher civil servants belonging to other services and may send for them as and when called for. The EO remains in regular contact with the secretaries, including cadre authorities, in various departments and chief secretaries in the states in his supreme effort to match the demand and supply of officers. From the cadre authorities of various services, he regularly obtains names of officers qualified and available for postings in the secretariat and the attached offices. Similarly, he is continually fed with information on the likely vacancies, the filling of which is his responsibility. A large number of telephone calls come in his office, and besides, civil servants of various ranks and services call on him at all times of the working hours, their daily number being somewhere around fifty. It is not necessary that they bring only their individual problems, although many of them do. The chief secretary of a state may, for instance, be discussing with him the deputation or reversion matters of officers of his state. A telephone call may perhaps ask him to expedite a particular case in view of the manpower shortage in the department. It is also not untrue that personal favours too are sought and conferred. Indeed, the higher the job especially in the economic ministries, the more intense is the lobbying for it, and thus caught, the EO too, has his own share of the high level pressure, although the brunt is usually borne by the secretary of the department having a vacancy and the Personnel Secretary/Cabinet Secretary, depending upon the level of the post and the clout which the aspiring candidate may have.

The EO has been designed as an institutional link to ensure flow of officers from the supplier to the indentor, and back. Over the years, the pressure on the headquarters posts has been mounting as an increasing number of officers from the all-India services as well as Central services have begun to demand secretariat postings, and what is more, those already posted are generally reluctant to move back to their parent cadre at the end of their tenure.<sup>19</sup> The cases of overstay of officers are fairly large. And, a very large number of officers otherwise eligible for secretariat postings have not been tapped at all. Speaking only about the IAS and the Indian Police Service (IPS), the Estimates Committee of Parliament reported in 1984 that as many as 1591 IAS officers and 768 Indian Police Service officers (other than those belonging to the cadre of state of UP) with more than five years service to their credit have never been on

deputation to the Government of India.<sup>20</sup> The Committee concluded: "This shows that the opportunities for deputation to the Centre have not been distributed equitably".<sup>21</sup> The present tale is one of sub-optimisation and points out the need for extended search for manpower in the secretariat.

The EO's responsibilities, one may note, transcend the world of secretariat appointments. As the ACC is the final approving authority for all appointments of the level of deputy secretary and above under the Government of India he, naturally, comes to deal with selection of senior personnel in the headquarters as well as in public undertakings, nationalised banks, government-owned companies, statutory authorities, etc. Besides, matters like deputation to international agencies and foreign government, selection of officers for overseas fellowships, etc., also claim his time and attention. With growing attraction for international assignments and foreign fellowships, the competition within the civil service itself becomes keen, which, too, makes the role of the EO look important and powerful. In addition, the EO is a member of, or associated with, many committees which, too, keep him occupied.

For proper performance of all these tasks, the EO is assisted by a large-sized office of subordinate officers. The Government of India, today, conducts a large number of training programmes in subjects, including personnel management, but the personnel who look after staffing matters need possess no professional qualifications. Like the EO, they pick up the knowledge of the job while actually doing it.

#### SUMMING UP

The EO system seeks to link the states with the Centre, and the field with the headquarters by a process of appointment of personnel possessing first-hand experience of the other side of the ring, and their rhythmic rotation. This constitutes India's model of institutional response to certain important facets of administrative federalism. But the system necessarily functions within the context of both democracy and development, and thus finds it hard not to remain unaffected by pressures and forces released by both. Though both feed on each other, the craze for postings in economic ministries or foreign deputations, for instance, is a consequence of development, and lobbying for placements, of democracy. The same urges dictate that manipulation be permitted by not restricting the discretionary judgement on the part of the members of the system. At present, empanelment of a civil servant does not necessarily imply his eventual appointment, for the simple reason that some departments must also

show readiness to accept him. As the empanelment is done every year and as it has not been prescribed that the present panel must first be exhausted before the new one is opened, some unescorted civil servants may really get bypassed. The present arrangement of letting the departments pick up civil servants from the panel and non-insistence on complete utilisation of the year's panel before fresh booking starts, strengthens the manipulative capacity of the system.

Standardisation of merit ratings of officers opting for headquarters postings is no less a serious problem. Different officers have different standards of appraising the performance of the subordinates. This apart, there being as many as 22 cadre authorities in the case of IAS and IPS, their members, though belonging to the same service and all competing for an increasingly limited number of senior jobs, are appraised differently, creating problems of standardisation and comparison.

This notwithstanding, the EO and the Boards, of which he is secretary, appear to be a functional necessity in an administrative system under a federal polity under which the central level of government does not possess a civil service of its own for its headquarters. Such a denial, to be sure, is neither constitutionally imposed nor enjoined under any statute, but flows from its own determination to ensure free flow of experience from the constituent states and other field agencies to its headquarters where overall policies affecting the society are made. The reverse flow is again motivated by the same resolve to create vacancies so as to enable induction of personnel possessing fresh experience. In the process, the states and field agencies are also enabled to get officers directly acquainted with the objectives of the policies which they are now implementing. It is the responsibility of the EO and the Boards to see that this recycling process keeps going, thus continually integrating the field experience with policy-making, and the states with the government at the Centre.

## REFERENCES

1. Only the provincial part of the Act came into force in 1937.
2. The only exception is the Central Secretariat Service whose members man the lower and middle management positions in the secretariat.
3. The Ministry of External Affairs and the Ministry of Railways are exempted from this rule.
4. Government of India, Finance Department (Reforms Branch), File No.30(52)-Ref-(D-1951), 1936.
5. It was a common practice on the part of the British Government in India to set up committees on administrative matters soon after the announcement of constitutional reforms. It set up the Secretariat Procedure Committee (Chairman, H.Llewellyn-Smith) following the enactment of the Government of India Act, 1919 and the Government of India Secretariat Committee (Chairman: Sir Henry Wheeler) and the Committee on Organisation and Procedure (Chairman: R.M. Maxwell) after the passage of Government of India Act, 1935.
6. Report of the Committee on Organization and Procedure 1937, p. 28.
7. Ibid, p. 28.
8. Report of the Committee on Organisation and Procedure, 1937, p. 28.
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13. Report of the Economy Committee on the Ministry of Home Affairs, Delhi, Manager, Government of India Press, 1949, p. 5.
14. Government of India, Home Department-Ests(Sp.) Section File No.20/41/47-Ests(s), 1947.
15. See A.H. Lloyd, the Establishment Officer's letter to G.F. Williams, Joint Secretary in the Home Department, No.45(1)-E.O./47 dated March 29, 1947. See Home Ests (Sp) Section File No.20/41/47-Ests(s), 1947.
16. One may recall that the indenting departments were making their selections before the setting up of the office of Establishment Officer in 1939, and this convention is still honoured.
17. Subtle are the forms in which such cases are brought before the Board. For instance, the department itself is persuaded to initiate the move for extension of an officer's term on 'public interest'. Or a department may send a request specifically for a particular officer though he reverted to the state only a few months back and has not yet 'cooled off' to qualify for another deputation.
18. Compiled from the Annual Report for 1982-83 of the Department of Personnel and Administrative Reform, Government of India.
19. See Ninety-Third Report of the Estimates Committee 1965-66 (Third Lok Sabha), pp. 72-73, Seventy Seventh Report of the Estimates Committee 1983-84 (Seventh Lok Sabha), p. 57.
20. Seventy Seventh Report of Estimates Committee, 1983-84, op. cit., p. 58.
21. Ibid., p. 58.

# Popular Participation in Economic Planning

AWADHESH P. SINHA

THERE IS an obvious tension between economic planning and popular participation. They are both concerned with decision-making. In economic planning, it is the state that makes decisions, inevitably centralising and bureaucratising economic life. Popular participation, on the contrary, implies decisions by the people and, therefore, decentralisation and debureaucratisation. It is on this struggle for the same ground that the contradiction between the two is founded. But each has such a compelling rationale that a choice between them is ruled out. Practical considerations require that their contrary demands be balanced in an optimal system. It is one thing, however, to recognise the need to reconcile economic planning and popular participation and quite another to devise an optimal system for the purpose, or indeed, even to determine what the criterion for optimality can be. The problem has particular relevance to socialist and Third World countries. As Myrdal<sup>1</sup> has pointed out, in western countries, the coordination and redirection of forces interfering in the market, which is the essence of their economic planning, is ordinarily carried out not unilaterally through legislation and administration but by the interplay of the state and a rich assortment of collective bodies at lower levels, each of which responds primarily to the interests of its own constituency. This system of popular participation in economic planning has not been created by the state. It has evolved gradually in the context of established traditions of political democracy and considerable economic and social progress. Most socialist and Third World countries have neither these advantages nor the option to wait patiently for gradual evolution to do the needful. They urgently need effective systems of popular participation in economic planning as a *sine qua non* for rapid development and must, therefore, devise them.

The reconciliation of economic planning and popular participation hinges on the question of location of decision-making powers. As Weberian ideal-types, they stand literally poles apart in the matter.

Economic planning favours location of decision-making powers vertically at the summit and horizontally with the bureaucracy. Popular participation, on the other hand, requires these powers to be located at the respective opposite poles—vertically at the base and horizontally with the people. The basic function of any system of popular participation in economic planning is to balance the conflicting demands of economic planning and popular participation as regards the vertical and horizontal distribution of decision-making powers. This necessarily implies a compromise between the two. For the compromise to be optimal, however, it is imperative that the essential values inherent in the concepts of economic planning and popular participation are not lost. These values are coordination in the case of economic planning, and what may be called quantitative totality and qualitative authenticity in the case of popular participation.

#### PLANNING AND DECISION-MAKING

Economic planning and centralised decision-making coincide to such an extent that they are usually regarded as inseparable. Their relationship, however, is not structural but functional. Centralised decision-making is the means by which economic planning achieves coordination of policies within the framework of a single strategy for the realisation of common objectives. To the extent it becomes possible to achieve such coordination by other means, centralised decision-making can be dispensed with. But coordination itself is essential to economic planning. No system of popular participation in economic planning can, therefore, be considered optimal unless it ensures coordination.

The relative number of people making decisions defines the quantitative dimension of participation in economic planning. There can be many variations in this regard. At one extreme, a single person may make decisions (zero popular participation) and, at the other, all persons may make decisions (total popular participation). By definition, the former is incompatible with the objective of popular participation in economic planning. The latter, on the contrary, carries that objective the farthest. In doing so, however, it presents seemingly insurmountable difficulties. In terms of sheer organisation, the demands that a system based on total popular participation makes are mind-boggling. Even if the advance of technology were to make it possible to meet these demands at an affordable cost, it is quite doubtful that everyone could be interested in everything to an extent sufficient to achieve total popular participation. From this emerges the concept of some persons making decisions (partial popular participation) as an alternative to the concepts of a single

# Changing Role of the District Officer

ABHIMANYU SINGH

THE DISTRICT officer is the highest and the key functionary of the state government at the district level. In pre-Independence days, the district officer (DO) enjoyed supreme authority within the district. The DO is popularly known as the district magistrate and collector. In some states he is addressed as deputy commissioner. The reason for the latter designation is purely historical. DOs who were posted in the districts created by the regulations under the East India Company were designated as district magistrates. In the districts, which came into existence after the regulations, they were designated as deputy commissioners. Collectors were first appointed by the East India Company in 1772 to supervise the work of Mohamadan district officers. The reason for creating this office was that "people accustomed to despotic authority should look to one master". It was in 1831 that the regulations gave rise to the modern office of 'magistrate and collector'. The DO was designated to be the central authority, the 'Hakim', par excellence of his district.

Thus, our country has inherited the institution of DOs from the days of the British. As Lord Wavell stated, "The English would be remembered not by this institution or that but by the ideals they left behind of what a district officer should be". No where else in the world there is any institution resembling the DOs of India. Since Independence there has been persistent criticism of this office. It is alleged to be undemocratic. It is questioned why a single individual should enjoy such large and regulated powers. There is attack from the other services also, who complain that a generalist DO, who is called upon perform jobs for which he has no special knowledge or training, is ill-equipped to perform the jobs assigned to him. Dependence on the collector only implies that there would be delay without improvement in performance. Lastly, it is stated that there has been considerable diversification in the functions of the DO. He is already too over-burdened with law and order duties and other numerous miscellaneous responsibilities to attend to



the more pressing tasks of rural development.

Though there has been much talk of reducing and dispersing the powers of the collector, yet in practice the state government has found it convenient to depend more and more on the DO for execution of its important programmes. Government, whenever in difficulty, has looked to the DO for execution of its programmes. Such is the faith of the people in the efficacy of the office that they even go to the extent of asserting that involvement of the DO and the seal of his office is enough to ensure the successful execution of any programme. Officers of other departments, whether they are under the DO or not, feel that the orders of the DO are not to be flouted and must be carried out. All departments, during the time of distress, solicit the DO's favour and the DO is expected to render assistance to the officers concerned even when he is not directly concerned. During the drive to exterminate small-pox, the DOs were made in charge of the programme, and for this purpose they were vested with the power to transfer medical officers within their district for a limited period of three months. Similarly, when discipline broke down in the universities in Bihar and governing bodies of colleges were superseded, the DOs were appointed presidents of the ad hoc committees of colleges within their jurisdiction in a bid to restore discipline in the educational institutions. But the DO, like any other functionary, has physical limitations and frequent use of his name and authority to control all sorts of problems would only berate the authority of his office. When and how the DO should be utilised, and when he should precisely act are matters for careful consideration or else the aura of infallible authority that has accrued to the office since British times will disappear.

Recently attempts have been made to make the office of the DO more amenable to popular control. His judicial powers have been greatly reduced, while some of his other powers have been transferred to other functionaries. Several committees have been constituted at the district level to assist and advise the DO in discharge of his duties. The legislators are generally represented on these committees besides other non-officials. But these committees meet rarely, attendance is also poor and they are not able to pursue their decisions. The discussions are mostly centred around eliciting information. Needs of particular areas are vociferously pressed by representatives of the area whereas pressing needs of the district as a whole are ignored. The committees have hardly enough time to draw a programme of action. A DO may also successfully avoid calling the meeting of these committees. The ministers are also shy in attending these meetings and are not very enthusiastic about the decisions taken. With frequent change of ministers as well as DOs, there is also no

continuity in such meetings. The result is that most of the committees fail to have any effective role or exercise influence on the district administration. In practice, therefore, there is hardly any popular control over the office. The only control which can be exercised over the DO is through the state government and this situation often brings him in confrontation with the public representatives from the district. Such a system can be defended on the ground that the DO must be strong enough to withstand pressure from local leaders who have parochial interests in mind. But this leads to frustration among the public representatives who feel that they are being ignored. Though there is popular government at the Centre and at state levels, we have so far hesitated from establishing popular institutions at the district level. The result has been that the panchayats, the popular institutions at the grassroot level, have failed to be strong. The panchayats function under bureaucratic patronage and function more as appendages to bureaucracy than as independent agencies in formulation and execution of popular programmes.

#### THE ADMINISTRATIVE HIERARCHY

##### **Relationship of the District Officer with BDO/SDO/ Divisional Commissioner/State Government**

The DO hardly finds enough time from his routine duties to devote to the problems of the interior rural areas. The DO can supervise and manage the problems of a district comprised of 10 to 15 blocks, more effectively than large districts with nearly 40 to 50 blocks and population approaching 3 to 4 million. It is obvious that in such a large district, the DO, due to his multifarious duties and engagements and the volume of his work, can not give personal attention to the problems that arise.

The DO is a senior level IAS officer, generally of 6 to 10 years seniority if he is a directly recruited incumbent. He is generally a young man, not more than 35 years of age. He is assisted in the discharge of his duties by two to three officers of additional collector's rank. One of them, the district development officer, assists the collector in the discharge of his developmental functions. The additional collectors look after revenue and law and order duties. They are senior officers of the state civil service with more than 20 years of service and are above the age of 45.

During the British days and until the judiciary was completely separated, the real limbs of the DO were his sub-divisional officers. How far the DO is effective, depends, to a large extent, on the quality of his additional collectors, SDOs and other subordinate

staff, as he functions more as a leader of a team than as a mere executive. The DO is expected to provide guidance to the SDOs and to strengthen their hands. As captain of the team, he has to carry his subordinates with him. It is his qualities of leadership and heart which come into play. The subdivisional officer does not write the confidential report of the officers who are placed under his supervision. This is done by the DO who gets an assessment report of the officers from the subdivisional officers concerned. Similarly, the SDOs have only limited financial powers and he has to depend upon the sanction of the DO for majority of the expenditure incurred by him. Generally the DOs allow free hand to their SDOs. The position becomes really difficult when any of the SDOs is slack and unable to cope with the problems. The DO has to take the initiative in such situations.

The SDOs are in direct contact with the block development officers (BDOs) and circle officers (COs). The BDOs/COs are in contact with the masses and are thus the real executors of government programmes. In many districts, the regulatory functions are separated from the developmental functions. The agricultural programme is supervised at the block level by the Prakhanda Vikas Padadhikaris who are drawn from the agriculture service. The anchal adhikaris look after the revenue functions. The BDOs/COs carry a lot of responsibility and the performance of government depends to a large extent on their ability. The calibre of the average BDO is not high. Till recently, they belonged to the junior branch of the civil service but with merger of senior and junior branches into one cadre, it is expected that the quality of recruits would improve. The BDOs'/COs' job is very strenuous and responsible and they have to cope up with the pressures of local politics. It is not surprising, therefore, to hear complaints that the BDOs/COs are partisan or are taking the side of influential men of the area. The situation gets further aggravated due to a tendency to post new recruits as BDOs/Cos. This is risky, for the powerful groups prevail upon such inexperienced officers. Administration at the grassroot level would gain in strength if experienced hands are posted as BDOs and COs. It would be also worthwhile to improve the working conditions at the block level.

The DO is assisted in his day-to-day work by about half-a-dozen deputy collectors at the headquarters who head the establishment, arms, legal, revenue, relief, nazarat and certificate sections, besides attending to other miscellaneous duties. The departmental officers of the food and supply, welfare, panchayat and statistics departments also function directly under the supervision of the DO.

The collector is the supreme master of the district, subject to the general supervision of the commissioner. The commissioner is a

senior officer of the IAS cadre of nearly 15 to 20 years seniority. By virtue of his longer experience, the divisional commissioner is expected to act as a mentor to the DO. Generally, the commissioners allow a free hand to the DOs. He interferes only occasionally to correct and guide the DO. The commissioner hears appeals against the orders of the DOs in revenue, arms and service matters. The commissioner is supposed to be the link between the DO and the secretariat.

This concept of an elder and experienced brother guiding the younger one in complicated affairs of the district, however, does not work very smoothly in practice. The commissioner has no financial powers except some nominal executive powers. The result is that the DOs do not experience any disadvantage in having direct contact with the state government and it is not unusual for the state government to correspond directly with the DOs. In the existing circumstances, this cannot be avoided. The office of the commissioner assumes importance only when serious law and order situation emerges, or when some superior officer is required to enquire into the lapses of the district administration. The DOs view the office of the divisional commissioner (DC) as an unnecessary hindrance. The corrective role of the DC is often interpreted as interference. The line between correction and interference is too thin, and it could lead to estrangement.

The supervisory role of the DC is vast but he has no means of backing up these functions. He can issue directions but he has to depend on the DO for its execution. No doubt, the DC writes the confidential report of the DO, but it would be unfair to use this power to have control over the DO. The confidential report is an assessment made only at the end of the year and goes into the record of the officer. The chief minister also writes the character roll of DO and if he has kept the politicians on his right side, surely he can look to chief minister for reprieve. To make the supervisory role of the DC meaningful, there should be some arrangement for making it effective. For instance, government should take decision on important matters concerning a district, only after considering the views of the DC. This may be difficult to follow in practice.

The role of the DC has been very much undermined after Independence. In British days, the DCs were generally senior British ICS officers, who used to supervise the work of DOs, majority of whom were Indian officers. The British officers as DCs were expected to safeguard the interests of the Raj. There were many matters which could not be mentioned in correspondence. The DCs could be confided in and trusted to carry out these directions.

With the formation of popular government, the above mentioned role of DC is no longer relevant. The DO is as much a loyalist as the DC.

In fact, the DC, as he is directly in contact with the party executives, enjoys their patronage to a greater extent. The state government naturally looks to the DO rather than the DC for managing its local affairs.

#### FUNCTIONS OF DISTRICT OFFICER AND HIS PROBLEMS

The DO exercises control over field offices through his visits to the blocks, inspections and frequent meetings and discussions with his subordinate staff by which he is able to monitor different programmes and also fix priorities. Such meetings enable the subordinate staff to know the mind of the DO and pursue those matters which the DO desires to be executed on a priority basis. Routine inspections do not have much value, but it makes the staff alert and keeps them on their toes. Frequent visits to the field offices and review of the different programmes by the DO brings him in contact with the field staff and gives him personal knowledge of local problems. This personal element is very important in administration. Only with personal knowledge, one can hope to make any significant contribution to any problem. If the DO wants to be effective and takes initiative, he must have his own assessment of problems affecting the district.

It is not possible for the DO to attend all the development committee meetings. If his engagements permit, he must find time to attend the block development committee meetings. This is an excellent forum for knowing the local people and understanding the local problems. Every anchal has its peculiar problems but they are few. The usual demands are for more and regular supply of ration, drinking water, water for irrigation and better roads. The complaints are generally about shortage of seeds and fertilisers, irregular supply of power and sometimes attention is also drawn to the inefficiency and corruption in the local offices due to which people are greatly harassed. DO's presence at the block development committee meetings induces the technical officers to attend these meetings. The technical officers generally stay away frustrating the very purpose of these meetings.

In the past, the DO was primarily an agency for collection of government dues. It is for this reason that he is popularly known as the collector. Earlier, he was responsible for collecting land revenue only. Now his ambit is much larger. He supervises collection of nearly all the government dues, which include government loans, cooperative dues, excise revenue, mining cess and royalties, water rates, etc. When these dues cannot be realised, as matter of course, they are realised through certificate proceedings. The hall-

mark of any administration is its ability to realise its dues and enforce its claims. Unfortunately, certificate proceeding is the most neglected item of work in the collectorate. Due to large number of certificate cases, it is virtually impossible for the collector to get acquainted with the cases or pursue them individually. The procedure is cumbersome and the vested interests are active to obstruct the execution of the cases.

Collection of land rent is not much of a problem because of inflation, value of money has depreciated and the amount of land rent is now a token amount which no land owner has any grudge in paying, provided he is contacted and persuaded to make the payment in time. But collection of other government dues is difficult. The popular impression is that government dues are not to be paid. The collection of cooperative dues is on the average only 50 per cent and this also is largely due to the fact that fresh advances to individuals depend upon recovery of previous advances. The cooperative banks insist on minimum collection of 50 per cent of old dues for making fresh advances. Collection of takkavi loan, agricultural loans, etc., is very poor.

Besides being collector of government dues, the DO is the head of the revenue administration and he is the kingpin of the relief operations in the district. In times of drought and flood, the DO is the supreme head at the district level and he is fully responsible for the relief work in the district. It is on his assessment of the situation that the state government takes decision regarding the quantum of relief and its manner of distribution. Of late, distribution of relief has become a politically significant matter. Thus, reports of distress overestimated and exaggerated to enhance for relief. The DO, in such a case, is expected to give a correct picture of the distress to the state government. He is also inclined to yield to popular pressure. This gives him an opportunity to ingratiate the population. The shortage of funds makes it very tempting for him to tap this additional source of funds. Relief funds are seldom utilised to the full. It is generally diverted to other routine items of general administration thereby reducing the impact of relief operations.

The additional collector assists the DO in discharge of his revenue functions which include settlement of Sairats, payment of compensation to ex-intermediaries, settlement of government and public lands and implementation of land reforms programme. These functions are so numerous and urgent that they are enough to engage the attention of the collector fully.

The DO discharges several other functions which make his office important to the public. Besides supervising the distribution of

social security pensions, which include the old, disabled, widow and infirm, he grants leases for mines, administers the excise and prohibition policy of the government, grants licences for arms, and temporary licences for cinemas also. He is the custodian of the land records and in this capacity he is the district registration officer for the district. He is assisted in this function by the sub-registrar who performs the daily duties for him. He is also the head of the treasury. The power to grant arms licences brings the DO in contact with the public. It is a useful practice to grant licences to applicants after the collector personally interviews them. Such a practice enables the DO to have personal knowledge of the individual applicants.

### **Head of the Public Distribution System**

The collector heads the public distribution system and is directly responsible for the distribution of controlled and essential commodities. He grants wholesale licences for trading in foodgrains and other essential commodities. He is the head of the rationing system in the district and expected to control black-marketing and ensure timely and equitable distribution of essential and controlled commodities. In these days of scarcity, availability of wheat, sugar, cooking oil, cement, etc., affect the people most and the success and reputation of the collector depends very much on how successfully he is able to supervise the distribution of these essential commodities. It is the public distribution system that is most affected by corruption, and the extent to which the collector is able to curb corruption, indicates his sincerity and strength. The DO can do little to increase the supply of essential commodities which depends on the allocations from the state government. But timely and correct reporting to the state headquarters and prompt and proper distribution of all that is available can ameliorate to a considerable extent the grievances of the people. There is a tendency among the DOs to depend on subordinate officers for performance of these functions which can be disastrous because mismanagement of the public distribution system affects the people directly. Only the DO can handle the vested interests who have a strong hold over the public distribution system. He should personally attend to all complaints regarding the public distribution system. Such vigil is necessary to keep the public distribution system responsive to the needs of the people.

### **Relationship with Superintendent of Police**

In normal times, the superintendent of police looks after the law and order situation and the district magistrate's (DM) role is restricted to general supervision of the law and order situation.

People may come with complaints to the DM about the lapses of the police or about failures in bringing the criminal to book. He normally refers these complaints to superintendent of police, who is expected to look into these matters promptly. Similarly, the DM holds monthly reviews about the state of criminal administration in the district. Before separation of the judicial functions, he exercised control over the criminal administration through his sub-divisional officers. Now his control is only indirect and minimal. In times of emergency, however, when the law and order situation breaks down, the control of DM over the police force is closer. The police is directly concerned with the law and order situation and have to tackle the agitationists and law-breakers. The Police, since it is directly involved, may adopt a hostile attitude in tackling such situations or may adopt a soft approach in order to avoid confrontation and responsibility. The DM has, therefore, to take stock of the situation and supervise the preventive actions that are taken. What preventive action would be effective in any situation is a matter for judicious consideration. Too harsh and indiscriminate action may create an adverse public opinion and antagonise the people, whereas too mild action may encourage the agitationists and law-breakers to indulge in overt actions which may endanger peace. How a particular situation is to be handled is, therefore, a matter of careful assessment which is only borne out of experience and personal knowledge of varying conditions. A minor omission or error can have far-reaching adverse consequences.

Relationship with police has always been a delicate and sensitive matter. After Independence, the police has resented its subordinate role vis-a-vis the DM in managing the law and order affairs. Even the political bosses are too willing to accord independent status to the police officers. The result has been that in some of the states, the DOs no longer write their confidential report. The pay of police officers is only marginally less than IAS officers. The police officers enjoy more perquisites than their counterparts in any service. The superintendent of police is, in practice, the head of the criminal administration and the real commander of police force in the district. A practice has been evolved by which the DM and the superintendent of police submit joint report on incidents of police firing and other unfortunate matters affecting law and order. This is also done by the DC and DIG (Range) of police. The draft is prepared by the police and the DMs rarely disagree in substance. Such a procedure deprives the DM of his independent judgement and the police enjoys some sort of immunity. The police force has grown tremendously since Independence, its resources in manpower and materials are now awesome. It is not surprising, therefore, that



politicians too are wary of them. Police excesses are increasingly becoming a source of immense embarrassment to government. The superior police officers are unable to impose discipline. The DM is reduced to a mere spectator and often has to bear the brunt of lapses of the police. There are scathing attacks on the police in the legislature and, on most occasions, the government parries the problem by instituting enquiries. But there is no doubt that there is little control over the police. A device has to be built in the administrative system by which check and control over the undisciplined and corrupt police personnel could be exercised.

#### **Coordinator Between Different Technical Departments**

The major role of the DO is as a coordinator between different development departments. He can act as a catalyst for development. His effectiveness in this role depends on what support he gets from the government itself. There is no compulsion or obligation for the executive engineers, public works department, rural engineering organisation, electricity, irrigation to consult or take direction from the DO. The role of DO as a coordinator, in the circumstances, depends on the incumbent's personality. Some DOs have been extremely successful in carrying the technical officers with them but some, on the other hand, fall out with the technical officers. It is necessary that the DO is an officer of sufficient maturity and experience to command respect of the technical officers. The DO in his relationship with technical officers is first among equals. He should, therefore, be very restrained and tactful in his relationship with technical officers who are generally sensitive in their dealings with the DO. The technical officers have the feeling that they stand to gain by their cooperation with the DO. There may be situations when young and inexperienced DOs have to deal with very senior and experienced technical heads. The DO is the highest functionary of the state government in the district and the effectiveness of the state government depends very much on the leadership and respect which the DO is able to command from his fellow officers. It is in this context that the government's policy regarding the choice and posting of DOs assumes importance. However, this sensitive issue does not get the attention it deserves.

#### **SEPARATION OF DEVELOPMENT FUNCTIONS**

With the object of implementing panchayati raj, people's representatives have been given more say in the execution of development programmes and the parallel office of deputy development commissioner (DDC) has been set up in the districts. The development, welfare and

planning functions of the collector were vested in the DDC and he was also made somewhat independent of the collector. The DDC, however, lacks the authority of the DO and does not command the same respect from the technical officers and others as the collector. It is for this reason that the collector has been made the chairman of the District Development Authority and DDC as its vice-chairman. It has already been mentioned that only a few development functions are directly under the control of DO. The principal role of the DO as a development officer is as a coordinator which he enjoys due to his unique position, a position that he enjoys not merely because of the authority vested in him but by the traditions of his office as well. After trying the scheme for some time, some of the state governments gave up the idea of having a parallel DO for development functions under popular control. In the State of Bihar, it was revived again in 1980 but two years later the IAS DDCs were withdrawn and replaced by senior deputy collectors. The prime reason for the tentative actions has been bureaucratic resistance to subordination of the DO to elected representatives. Subordination of the collector would have meant surrendering the idea of an all powerful, unattached DO cast in the mould of the British ICS days. But it was equally difficult to shelve the mounting pressure for democratic decentralisation and control of the executive functions at the district level. So a replica of the DO, the DDC was created and made subordinate to Adhyaksha, an elected representative of the people. The collectors have been jealous of this office and reluctant to part with their powers. The DDCs envy the authority and independence of collectors and also resent their complete subordination to elected representatives. The result of all this has been that the office of the DDC could not become an effective institution.

#### JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE

The judicial functions of the DO have been greatly reduced by the separation of judiciary from the executive. He still continues to hear appeals against the orders of SDO/deputy collector, land reforms, and other subordinate officers in respect of revenue, supply, arms and other miscellaneous matters under different special enactments. The urgency with which these cases are disposed off indicate the DO's keenness to resolve disputes. If a wrong is promptly corrected by the DO, when it is brought before him, he wins the confidence of the people. More than justice, it is the belief of the people that their grievances would be heard and looked into promptly that is important. Regular court sittings give satisfaction to the lawyers who constitute an influential gentry in almost all the

district towns.

By depriving the erstwhile sub-divisional magistrates of their judicial powers, especially the power to take cognizance and grant bail to offenders, SDOs have been reduced to mere executive officers. The power to grant bail and to take cognizance endowed the SDO with much authority. The SDO/sub-divisional magistrate was not only the executor and administrator of government policies, but also the officer who could punish offenders of law. This lent awe to the SDO's office and through the SDO to the DO and it facilitated the execution of government's policies. The chief judicial magistrate has now replaced the sub-divisional magistrate, the result is that the police no longer considers the executive magistrate as its patron. No wonder, the present SDO finds it very difficult to have control over law and order problems. In Indian conditions, where violence and crime abound and where people are not enlightened regarding their responsibilities, it is the fear of law and authority that has the correcting influence. The separation of judicial powers from the executive magistrates has very much weakened their effectiveness. It is not surprising, therefore, that recourse has to be taken to National Security Act and Crime Control Act in large number of cases by the DO. Too frequent application of such detention laws may lead to its misuse, and have demoralising effect on the society and fetter the freedom of the people.

#### RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PUBLIC, PRESS AND ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES

The DO, as the representative of the state government and as the chief executive officer at the district level, presides over all official functions. He is also invited to preside over social and cultural gatherings. These occasions afford an excellent opportunity to the DO to know the local institutions and come in contact with the local people. In all such gatherings, statements made by the DOs are of much significance. He is not a regular platform speaker; he speaks only on rare occasions. His statements are supposed to be responsible utterances and enable the people to read the mind of the district administration vis-a-vis the government. He has the opportunity to address the general public on the Independence/Republic day. He is extremely fortunate in having this opportunity because from this forum he is able to address the cross-section of the society. He can dwell on the local problems and explain to the people the efforts being made by the administration to remove people's difficulties as well as recall the achievements of the administration in the previous years. Generally, the DOs are shy of assembly and gatherings and hesitate to speak their mind openly with the result that these

functions become drab ceremonies with people's attention being focused merely on the rituals. He must try to make the best use of his public appearances in propagating government's programmes and in projecting his personal image. The DO, because of his executive powers and also because he is a non-political person, is in an enviable position. If he takes sufficient initiative and interest and shows sympathy for the people and takes the necessary pains, the people will give him cooperation in abundance. Some of the DOs have contributed a lot to their places of posting and are lovingly remembered for a long time. The DO indeed holds an enviable position. What he will achieve, however, depends on his character and personality.

The DO grants interviews to the people. This is a must if he wants to have first-hand knowledge of the people and their problems. It is not necessary for him to enter into long deliberations with the persons he meets. It is sufficient if he hears them and looks into their difficulties. Administration is generally so apathetic these days that the common man feels frustrated. Any action for redress of his grievances gives him solace.

The DO is expected to hold a press conference every month. This is another media by which he can allow the people to seek redress for their grievances. At the same time, it gives him an opportunity to give publicity to the activities of the district administration and also to correct misconceptions and misunderstandings. Friendly relationship with the Press can contribute greatly to the success of the DO. A favourite Press would highlight the DO's achievements and improve his image as well as that of the government with the public.

In pre-Independence days, the administration was criticised for being indifferent to public opinion. "It was strong in everything except the faculty of consulting the people". If a DO became very popular with the people, it was a matter of concern for the British Government as the DOs were expected to keep themselves aloof from the people. After Independence and transformation of the government into a welfare state, the DO has to be responsive to the needs of the people. He does not come in contact with many people. In each district, there are strong vested interests and these interests have also links with powerful persons in the capital. One of the major problems of parliamentary form of government is the lack of proper adjustment between the political and executive wings of the government. The elected representatives reflect the popular aspirations and public sentiments. It is the job of the administration to translate into reality the popular aspirations of the people. Lack of understanding of the role of each other leads to misunderstandings and irritants between the two. It is quite natural for the ministers

to expect that the DO must attend to them and carry out their wishes. Much of the work of politicians, however, relates to cases where justice has been denied or where red-tape has prevented disposal of long pending matters. The DO should have no hesitation in looking into these cases promptly. For after all the legislators are spokesmen of the people and they are responsible to the electorate. The legislators could be very good media for the DO to familiarise himself with the problems of the people. There are, however, cases where some unscrupulous politicians have pressurised the DO to obtain certain favours against the accepted norms. In such cases, the DO cannot avoid resisting the pressure. The politician, in his self-interest, is likely to take narrower view of things and be unmindful of administrative propriety. What should be the relationship between the elected representatives and the executive was aptly summed up by Sardar Patel as follows: "Do not quarrel with the instruments with which you want to work. It is a bad workman who quarrels with his instruments".

The DO's job is truly a tricky job. He is standing on a precipice all the time. His actions are under scrutiny, his conduct is under observation, he is expected to serve several masters at the same time and and keep all of them in good humour. It is a stupendous job indeed, a challenge to his administrative and human abilities.

#### SELECTION OF DISTRICT OFFICER

Government should be very careful in selection of DOs. An officer should have acquired sufficient maturity of outlook and judgement and experience of the working of government departments before being posted in a district. There are obvious risks in posting young and inexperienced officers to districts, some of whom have been source of considerable embarrassment to government. There is also a tendency among such officers of over-dependence on their subordinate staff. The DO, being a generalist, does not have specialised knowledge of various fields on which he presides. He is a novice in most of the fields. The nature of the office is also such that he is not called upon to execute any programme directly. But he is certainly not a figure head. As the district head, he sets the trend. Naturally, the DO must be a person of strong common-sense, with a quick grasp of the essentials. He must be energetic, always alert and alive to the situation. He must have the necessary confidence in dealing with officers, who are both senior in age and specialists in their fields. Too much probing and interference may not only be irritating to his fellow officers, but may be counter-productive also. The DO is the kingpin of administration in the district and successful execution of

government's programmes depends to a large extent on the pace set by the DO. An officer, who is too rigid in outlook and theoretical in approach, would not be able to function in a world dominated by pressures. In administration, it is not the academic knowledge of problems that matters, but the intuitive ability to forestall situations and think ahead that matters. His dealings with people should be such that they are not antagonised. A good administrator must be able to distinguish the grain from the chaff. He cannot give attention to all the problems. He must concentrate on a few issues, seek solution to them and have an eye on quick results.

One is pained to observe that this office is being subjected to increasing political pressure. Politicians are in search of pliable officers rather than able officers. The choice of DOs is governed by considerations that are extraneous to the needs of the office. The result is that DOs selected on such considerations are not responsive to the needs of the people. They instead tend to be guided by the political bosses from the area. To make matters worse, due to unstable political conditions, there are frequent changes in the office. An able DO can leave his imprint only if he is given some discretion and allowed sufficient time to understand the problems and tackle them. He cannot give off his best if he is under threat of transfer all the time. This vulnerability of the office, in spite of its authority and power, cripples the initiative of the DO. Government should support its DOs so that they retain their initiative.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

Lately, there has been some curtailment of DOs' responsibilities in keeping with the ideals of democratic decentralisation. As already mentioned, he has been deprived of his important judicial functions and in some states the developmental functions have been taken away from him and vested in the DDC. In times of emergency, the need for an overall head is keenly felt. Who will fill this position in the absence of the collector? The office of the collector has a history and a tradition behind it. The people are familiar with the office. No body questions the jurisdiction of the collector, other functionaries are reluctant to act beyond their jurisdiction. Extreme reliance is placed by the government on collectors' report about the affairs of the district. In the absence of the collector, it would be difficult for the government to rely on any report when there are conflicting reports from different departments.

It has been often suggested that the DO should be the head of the law and order and revenue administration only, as he has no time to attend to development work. The protagonists of the office argue

that he does not perform any work directly. He is assisted in the discharge of his functions by experienced and knowledgeable officers. His job is to take work from his subordinate officers. He is a liaison officer between the state government and the district administration, and also acts as a coordinator between different departments. He is the officer to whom all can take their problems and difficulties. He is the man of the emergency, who will take on the responsibility where others cannot. It will be really a folly to scrap this institution or even bifurcate it, when it has withstood the test of time so well.

There are obvious advantages in a magistrate-executives performing the role of coordinator between different departments, especially in the undeveloped conditions in our country. It is argued that the criticism directed against the DOs is largely due to jealousies. Those, who are closely acquainted with the working of the DO, are aware that the need today is to impose discipline in the different departments of government and to activate them. Who else other than an all powerful DO can perform this work?

Accepting all that has been stated above in favour of the DO, it cannot be denied that a fresher from the university with hardly 5 to 10 years' experience of real life, with no previous knowledge of the district except only temporary stay in the district--the average period of a DO being only one-and-a-half years--can be entrusted with the complicated task of development. An autocratic DO during the British Raj, who took directions from above, served the needs of the time. The institution is certainly not adequate in the changed circumstances today. The picture of a young man of less than 35 years, enjoying autocratic powers lends glory to the person holding the office but is not conducive to promoting amicable feelings of participation and equal venture among different branches of administration. The DOs are directly responsible for land reforms, public distribution system, rural development programmes and yet the progress in these fields is no better than in other fields.

Why cannot the head of the executive at the district level be an elected representative? He is a man from the area, has deep knowledge of the local conditions and problems and has a lasting stake in the office and is accountable to the people who have chosen him. The bureaucratic DO is only a temporary incumbent, whose loyalties are more to the bosses at the capital. The DOs have given priority to programmes which have brought them quick popularity. There is no reason why we should doubt the efficacy of an elected district head, when we have opted for the same at the state and Union capitals. Our commitment to democratic ideals makes the office of a DO an anachronism. The existence of such an office has prevented the growth of

democratic institutions at the district level and below. The only argument, one can think of, against an elected district head is that it may introduce instability in administration. The fears are, however, exaggerated. The present-day DO, will assume the role of a chief executive officer. But he will be more than a chief executive officer as he is also the representative of the state government in the district. We could continue to have the benefit of his zeal and enthusiasm. Even now there is much of unwarranted political interference, on which there is little check.

The elected district head and the chief executive officer along with half-a-dozen non-officials and officials, including a few technical officers, could take on the role of decision-making at the district level. A single individual, howsoever competent, can act arbitrarily and be whimsical. This risk will be eliminated if his role is institutionalised as suggested above. This will give opportunity to talented persons in other services for greater participation, besides making the administration more accessible to the public because the presiding officer would be an elected head. This body could meet every fortnight to take decision on urgent and pressing problems. The day-to-day management of district officers would continue to be the responsibility of the chief executive officer. This change-over has to be effected to introduce strong unified control over different branches of administration rather than loose coordination as at present.



## Role of Administrative Elites : A Reassessment

AHMED SHAFIQUH HUQUE

IN ADMINISTRATIVE organisations, functions are arranged in such a manner as can be supervised easily by officials at the higher levels. The principles of unity of command and coordination can best be applied when tasks are systematically assigned to different groups at various levels. The needs for coordination and control as well as uniform application of laws and policies to all regions in the country turn administrative organisations into centres of power. In societies, where the bureaucracy is a dominant institution, people who exercise influence in such bureaucratic centres can certainly be considered members of an elite group. A feeling of corporate identity develops and becomes strong among individuals with similar academic backgrounds, service patterns and interests, who have acquired considerable power as members of administrative agencies. These symptoms seem to be present in a good number of countries. The variations may be found only in the degree of corporate identity and the influence exercised by the public administrators at the higher levels.

The concept of elites is used to explain certain fundamental features of organised groups. Inequalities in performance, ability and positions lead to differences in authority, achievement and rewards. Elites are those minorities which are set apart from the rest of the society by their pre-eminence in one or more areas. Administrative organisations in modern societies are not free from this syndrome. Public administration networks cover a range almost as extensive as the society itself.

The large body of personnel engaged in the task of public administration may be divided in various ways according to the qualification required for each job, the nature of work to be done, the amount of power and influence stemming from the positions of individuals in the organisation. The existence of several levels of hierarchy and many specialised branches of public service result in situations similar to those in the society. Generally, the higher echelons of admini-

strative organisations are manned by individuals who have been recruited to the service on the basis of merit, have been in public service for a considerable length of time, and have reached positions where they can exercise a substantial amount of power and influence. They have developed into a group of administrators who have also been referred to as an administrative class or higher civil service. For the purpose of clarity, the terms 'elite' and 'class' are being used interchangeably in the rest of the article.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE ELITES

It is difficult to define administrative elites. Robert Dahl chose the British civil service to analyse the concept of an administrative class. According to Dahl, the system involves the acceptance of the hierarchical idea, a scholastic system that creates and favours the 'educated non-specialist' and a recruiting system that selects him, the acceptance of merit as the criterion of selection, and the existence of a condition that such a group possesses the prestige of an elite so that it can "compete against any other elite for the brains and abilities of the nation".<sup>1</sup> In most developing countries, high remunerations and benefits paid by multi-national corporations and international organisations often lure the best people in the job market. However, only a small percentage of the employables are accommodated in these jobs, and the majority still seeks employment with the government.

Bottomore has stated that in complex societies, high government officials form an important part of the 'governing elite', which is a minority that effectively rules a society. He emphasised the influence of higher civil servants in modern societies, resulting from the extension of state activities, the technical complexities of administration, and the organisation of the civil service as a professional career, based upon merit and training. Bottomore pointed out a number of features that distinguish the administrative elite from other types of elites. According to him, an administrative elite is a relatively small, well-defined, homogenous and cohesive group which is directly involved in the exercise of political power.<sup>2</sup>

John Armstrong stressed the roles performed by groups in 'a societal control centre'.<sup>3</sup> He assumed that, at any given time, only a small group of individuals in a society exercise very disproportionately high authority in "social control and allocation of resources", and also referred to "processes (especially education) which differentially influence elite roles". Armstrong employed theories of role perception, class-role behaviour linkage and organisational modes to derive factors which influence the correlation between the

administrative elite and economic development as well as modernisation in France, Russia, Germany and Britain.

Bruce Heady examined the roles of civil servants as an administrative elite, since they are the "main group in any government whose primary concern is with the efficient administration of policy".<sup>4</sup> He also referred to the "skills and general qualities appropriate to high-level administrators". Heady reviewed the challenge posed by advocates of civil service reforms that the present systems of recruitment, training and promotion of the civil servants do not allow them to be considered as administrative elite. In Germany and Britain, the traditional type of civil servant is criticised. Therefore, a body of men must be trained to whom the phrase 'administrative elite' can be applied not just as a plain description of their role in government, but to indicate that they possess relevant professional expertise.

R.S. Milne provided a list of five characteristics of a stereotype of an administrative class. According to him, a group of people at the top of the civil service concerned with the most important administrative functions, along with the holders of some lower positions, who, in course of time, will be promoted to the highest ranks, can be considered administrative elites. They are recruited directly from the universities within an age limit on the basis of general intellectual ability. They do not possess any specialised skill and may be moved around from one department to another in the course of their career.<sup>5</sup> Milne included not only the group at the top of the civil service but also officials recruited at lower levels who are believed to be superior in some respects to the average standard of those recruited, and whose chances of rising to prominence in the civil service are above average. But since they have not attained positions of influence yet, I will categorise this group as 'potential elites' and concentrate on those who have already become elites.

On the basis of these discussions, a definition of an administrative elite can be drawn up which includes public officials at or near the top levels in the administrative civil service. They are members of a career civil service, recruited on the basis of merit on conclusion of their formal education. Through advancement within the service, they reach the levels where they play important roles in the societal system. The definition should also consider the influence and power wielded by these officials. A basic feature of administrative elites is their power and pre-eminence in the society.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE ELITES ACROSS SOCIETIES

Speculating on the existence of administrative elites in various

parts of the world is not an easy task. Administrative systems and personnel vary and so does the notion of people regarding the role of administrators in the society. The imperfect dichotomy of 'developed' and 'developing' countries renders the problem of analysis more complex. Countries vary widely even within these two categories. Instead of going into the details of all administrative systems, it will be rewarding to consider the features generally present across the countries. Generalisations can be attempted on the situations prevailing in developed and developing countries.

The growth of governments and the expansion of its administrative arm into a variety of fields have resulted in an unprecedented surge in the number of administrative agencies and personnel. Changes took place in the administrative organisations to ensure better and efficient management. Complexities in administrative issues called for increased involvement of specialists in policy-making as well as implementation. Political executives have started to delegate more and more authority and functions to the administrative personnel. The net effect is a substantial increase in the functions, jurisdiction and power of the public administrator.

The shift of more and more authority and responsibility to the public officials is a natural consequence of governments' efforts to deal with increasingly complex and new issues. Its impact on the role of administrative elites has been profound. Most of the scholars use the British model to identify and examine administrative elites. The characteristics of such an elite as examined by Dahl, Bottomore, Milne, and Heady have already been discussed. Dahl has pointed out differences between the British and the American administrative systems, particularly in the nature and career patterns of public officials. Heady drew attention to the incompatibility of the traditional type of civil servant in present-day administration. Milne has refuted much of the traditional views regarding the British administrative class and mentioned that although the British system had been taken as a stereotype of an administrative class, conditions have changed in Britain. He also stated that there are both advantages and disadvantages in the system of an administrative elite.

In order to establish claims that administrative elites can be found in certain countries, one has to examine specific systems. The civil service in the United States is quite different from that in Britain. Educational backgrounds, recruitment methods, advancement in the service and career patterns, relationship between specialists and generalists may all differ among countries which are categorised under the 'developed' label. Milne has pointed out that there is no administrative class (or its prototype) in either Australia or New Zealand, but neither "is there whole-hearted support for the expert

as against the administrator".<sup>6</sup> Milne has, on the other hand, admitted that countries like India, Pakistan and Malaysia have groups which roughly correspond to the British group which was called the 'administrative class'.<sup>7</sup> These facts make it difficult to draw clear-cut distinctions between 'developed' and 'developing' countries in discussions aimed at locating administrative elites in specific countries.

The structure and organisation of administrative institutions do not vary to a great extent between developed and developing countries. But the actual operations of such organisations do not correspond in countries belonging to the two types. Fred Riggs has brought out a number of features that distinguish administration in developing countries from that in the developed countries, and stressed the need for studying administration with reference to the environment in which it takes place.<sup>8</sup> The nature of developing societies allows large gaps to appear between the intended and the actual work done in administration. Riggs demonstrated that laws are formulated and implemented in order to uphold the interest of dominant groups in 'poly-communal' societies. 'Rationality' gives way to 'rituals', and nepotism and corruption become regular features. These facts indicate that administrative agencies in the developing world are bastions of power with overt support from the dominant group as well as the political elite. It may be said that public officials in developing countries are able to exercise more influence on other groups than their counterparts in the developed world. The principles of political neutrality of civil servants (in most countries), responsibility to elected representatives, and various other checks to ensure fairness and impartiality in administration result in constraints on the powers exercised by public officials in developed countries. Theoretically, these checks exist in developing countries, too. In practice, they are not very effective.

Most of the characteristic features of an administrative elite can be present in any country. The principle of hierarchy remains a key element in organisations. Any group activity is inconceivable without a chain of command and coordination conducted from the top. But differences exist in the nature of personnel and recruitment procedures. The system in Britain may be described as 'closed', a forte of the 'educated non-specialist', recruited in their 'early twenties'. The officials move around in several departments, gain experience as generalists, and work their way up the hierarchical ladder to the top of the administrative civil service or the next higher level, performing important administrative functions in the system. The American system is more 'open'. Specialists are assigned to important administrative positions on the basis of their

expertise in particular areas. Merit is not the sole criterion for appointment to public offices, and patronage remains in practice. A different educational system produces graduates with a strong orientation towards practical fields. The highest levels of the public service is not composed exclusively of members of a career service. Thus, the concept of an administrative elite, as defined at the beginning of this article, is not conceivable in the American administrative system.

A study edited by Ridley made a survey of several developed countries which were more or less representative of different traditions.<sup>9</sup> An examination of the administrative systems in the United States, France, Germany, Sweden and Australia revealed that none of these countries had anything equivalent of the British administrative class--"generalists in functions and generalists in background". Sometimes, post-entry training is used to impart a detailed knowledge of the field to which the administrator is assigned. The comparative study reiterates the arguments for studying countries individually rather than establishing a dichotomy between developed and developing, and looking for administrative elites in one group or the other. Yet it may be safe to conclude that the prototype of administrative elites are prevalent in some areas at present, although they existed in many countries, including Britain, at one time. With the advent of administrative reforms, many countries have been able to discard the traditional prototype of the British administrative class. Administrative reforms are seldom implemented fully in 'prismatic societies'.<sup>10</sup> Bureaucratic self-interests are upheld and administrative reforms warded off by members of the public service because they may result in a reduction of the influence exercised by public officials.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the developing countries are more likely to retain a system facilitating the existence and continuation of elite groups in public administration.

#### DESIRABILITY OF ADMINISTRATIVE ELITES

The question concerning the desirability of administrative elites can not be answered easily. Desirability depends on the delivery of public policy as well as the maintenance of a system where the administrative elite does not loom as a threat over all other groups. A perfect equilibrium cannot be guaranteed, and therefore, concessions must be made in one or the other in passing a verdict on the desirability of administrative elites. As is evident from several studies, many developed countries no longer possess an equivalent of the British administrative class. The top echelons of the civil service are occupied by both specialists and generalists.

Administrative changes have been proposed and brought about in many countries, and accepted by the participating groups. The previous levels of efficiency were retained, and in some cases, enhanced, as is apparent from various indicators of better administration. The tasks were facilitated because of a highly responsive electorate, an efficient political executive, stable systems of government, and a relatively responsible bureaucracy.

The situation is different in developing countries. Low levels of development, mass illiteracy, weak political leadership and instability are chronic features of many developing countries. Military dictatorships provide the only possibility of stable rule without major upheavals. The period of rule by General Ayub Khan in Pakistan and Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines may be cited as examples. Excepting India, very few developing countries have had any political leaders capable of matching the cohesiveness and efficiency of the army and the bureaucracy. Even with low levels of political and economic development, day-to-day administration must be carried on and administrative structures maintained. Administrative elites perform usual functions in system maintenance. Since no alternatives are available to these countries for taking over these functions, developing countries can continue to benefit from the services rendered by an administrative elite. The "absence of other powerful social forces to oppose and act as a counter-weight to the bureaucracy" may make this group too powerful, and that is a threat to democracy.<sup>12</sup> Some developing countries which rank closer to the 'developed' side of the spectrum may be able to introduce reforms gradually, and start the process of eliminating administrative elites.

#### CONCLUSION

Administrative elites can no longer be defined in specific terms and within fixed boundaries. The traditional British civil service, which represented the embodiment of all the vices and virtues of an administrative elite, does not exist any more. They are gradually being eliminated through the introduction of reform measures. Other countries, which followed the British model to establish an administrative class, have also changed. The developing countries, which 'mimed' the British model, had consequences peculiar to their own 'ecology' of administration.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, it will be logical to consider public officials as elites on the basis of the functions they perform and the amount of power they exert in the process with respect to other leading groups in the society.

Due to innumerable bottlenecks in the way of administrative

reforms, most developing countries have yet to make transitions from the models which were initially adopted. Previous attempts at administrative reorganisations have not produced noticeable changes, and the impact of recent attempts is still to be seen. Developed countries have handled the problems of change better. Thus, the last vestiges of administrative elites are expected to be found mostly in developing countries.

Some useful functions are performed by administrative elites in developing countries. Unlike developed countries, where the powers are more or less evenly distributed among the groups in the society, in the developing world, it is heavily skewed in favour of the dominant groups. Administrative elites have the rare combination of relative efficiency, cohesiveness and power in developing countries, and it is their support which makes the difficult task of administering such countries possible for the ruling elite.

However, administrative elites are not desirable as they tend to close themselves off from the rest of the society and contribute toward the creation of an artificial barrier between the ruler and the ruled. But due to the absence of alternative means, they can be considered to be coordinators for the unstable systems. Judging from the trends in the field of public administration, it can be assumed that gradual reform attempts will continue to be made and dated elements, such as administrative elites, will ultimately be eliminated from the public services.



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# Redesigning Performance Appraisal System: Experience of A State Government

V.S. SISODIA

PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL, an inescapable activity, has been one of the most maligned managerial tasks. It has also been a much discussed and studied topic, but the search for the 'right system' is still on. Particularly, in larger organisations, whether private or public, the concern for evolving a suitable system is in evidence.<sup>1</sup> This article reports almost three decades' effort at introducing change(s) in the system of appraising performance in a state government.

## THE SETTING

Nearly 2.2 lakh employees work for this state government, which operates through 130 departments. The employees are spread over several revenue districts. The departments are engaged in providing various regulatory/developmental services, like education, medical and health, law and order, transport, social welfare, tourism, rural development, industries, etc. Its employees generally take up the government service as a life-time employment and retire after putting in 25-33 years of service, receiving 2 to 5 promotions during their service career. Until 1964-65, promotions were being given on the basis of seniority, but in 1965, the government decided that two-third promotion posts will be filled on the basis of merit and the remaining one-third on the basis of seniority.<sup>2</sup> This led to a large number of supersessions and consequent complaints/litigations regarding the system of assessing performance, commonly known as the Annual Confidential Report (ACR) system. The ACR system was trait-oriented and required a classification of an appraisee on 'A', 'B', 'C', 'D', and 'E' grades--'A' being the highest and 'E' the lowest point of the scale. This system was being followed by all the departments of the executive, including the secretariat. The judiciary and the Legislative Assembly were not obliged to follow it, but usually adopted the prevailing system. In one of the cases, the Supreme Court declared the 'confidential-circular', which guided the departmental promotion

committee(s), as ultra vires.<sup>3</sup> The promotion system based on merit-cum-seniority and the consequent Supreme Court judgement created great turmoil in public services. It also paved the way for a series of changes in the system of appraising employees' performance.

#### CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

##### 1955

The system of maintaining a confidential ephemeral roll, in which the immediate supervisor was expected to record all the critical incidents regarding his subordinates' performance, was given up primarily due to the pressure from the employees' unions.<sup>4</sup> The traditional trait-oriented ACR system continued even without the informational support of the ephemeral roll.

##### 1964-65

The system of 66.67 per cent promotion by merit and 33.33 per cent on the basis of seniority was introduced by changing the earlier system of 100 per cent promotions on the basis of seniority-cum-merit. As a consequence, large-scale supersessions took place.

##### 1966

The Supreme Court declared that the confidential circular, which guided the departmental promotion committee(s) while recommending 66.67 per cent promotions on the basis of merit, was ultra-vires. The state government withdrew the confidential circular and left the promotion committees free to decide their *modus operandi*. Yet, despite the review, two-third promotions on the basis of merit, still continued.

##### 1968

Due to pressure from the employees' union, the monthly report by O & M department on the work done by each clerical worker of the secretariat, giving numerical marks, was discontinued. Since these reports were being used for writing ACRs, it was not easy to get it expunged in the event of an adverse entry.

##### 1969

A higher management seminar on 'Personnel Administration' was organised at the state's training institute, in which the system of appraising performance was discussed at length. As a follow up, a committee of senior secretaries to government and the director of the training institute, was appointed by the government to review the prevailing ACR system and propose a more objective/rational appraisal

system.

#### 1970-71

The director of the above mentioned institute, assisted by a foreign consultant and one of the faculty members, worked for 4-5 months and submitted a proposal to the state government.

#### 1971-72

The new Annual Performance Appraisal (APA) system was discussed by the director of the training institute with the chief secretary and various secretaries to government. The then chief secretary to the state government decided that the recommendations should be discussed by the committee of secretaries to government as well as employees' consultative council. The council opposed the move to introduce an annual performance appraisal form for class IV employees. The institute's director, who was the prime-mover of this new system, promptly agreed to drop this proposal.<sup>5</sup> In the light of various discussions, the committee revised its report and the final version was considered by the secretaries' committee in January 1972.

#### 1973 - May 1975

During this period, two chief ministers and two chief secretaries changed and the director of the state's training institute was promoted and posted as the home secretary. Although personnel department was not under his charge, yet he continued to pursue the recommendations at various levels. A detailed cabinet memo was submitted in March 1973, but the item remained under consideration for almost two years.

#### June 1975

Emergency was declared in the country. The prime minister wrote to all the chief ministers to revamp the administration by introducing administrative reforms.

#### July 1975

A high-level committee, headed by an influential politician--an ex-speaker, was appointed to suggest measures for revamping the administration. The home commissioner was also included as one of the members of this committee.<sup>6</sup> This committee recommended to the government, adoption of the new system for performance appraisal, as suggested by the secretaries' sub-committee in 1972. The recommendations removed the provision of countersigning, which meant that in future the ministers would 'normally' not be able to give their comments on the APA reports of any officer below the rank of head of

department. Yet, the recommendations were promptly accepted by the cabinet.

#### 1977-78

The Janata Government came to power, it changed the promotion formula to 50 per cent by merit and 50 per cent by seniority and decided to review the prevailing system of performance appraisal, which was introduced during 1975. An official committee, presided over by the then financial commissioner (FC), was appointed to study and recommend changes.<sup>7</sup>

#### 1978-80

The Janata Government and along with it the FC was changed. The Financial Commissioners' Committee (FC committee) suggested that the APA system should adopt a simpler set of forms and almost revert to the age-old ACR system with minor modifications.

#### January 1981

The report of the FC committee was placed before the secretaries committee. The agenda for the committee was to be prepared by the same officer, who had worked on the APA system (along with the director of the training centre) during 1971 which was adopted in 1975. While drafting the agenda, he raised the following issue for decision: "Whether there was a need to bring greater result-orientation and objectivity into the APA system?"

The secretaries' committee almost took a decision to revert to the old ACR system by adopting the recommendations of the FC committee. Though most of the secretaries agreed with the then chief secretary, who himself wanted simpler performance for APA, yet somehow no final decision could be taken during this meeting.

#### February 1981

Meanwhile, the chief secretary changed. The new chief secretary had himself introduced a Key Result Area (KRA) oriented information system when he was registrar (cooperatives). He readily agreed to the suggestion of the deputy secretary (administrative reforms) that instead of the trait-oriented ACRs, a KRA-oriented APA system would be better. The APA system again came up for discussion in the secretaries' committee. The majority of the secretaries again agreed with the (new) chief secretary when he suggested that, instead of reverting to the old-trait oriented ACR system, a more result oriented APA system should be adopted.<sup>8</sup> A small committee headed by the then development commissioner was appointed to go into the merits of the prevailing and the proposed system (given in FC committee report) and

submit its report.

### 1981-82

While providing support to the new review committee, the deputy secretary, (administrative reforms) organised a series of workshops for assisting a majority of the 130 heads of departments to clarify their departmental objectives and structures, write job descriptions and identify the KRAs for each position. There was reluctance and avoidance on the part of most of the heads of departments. However, for about 60 departments, very elaborate job-descriptions and KRAs for most positions were developed. However, for some of the staff positions, KRAs could not be written.

### February/March 1983

The state government invited a well-known consultant in the field of MBO and sought his advice on the project. He suggested that instead of taking up all the 130 departments, all at a time, the new system may be introduced in selected departments because, more than the change in the format, the actual process of developing the agreed KRAs and the process of performance review was important. In fact, there was a need for changing the organisational climate in these departments by replacing the input-orientation with result-orientation. Moreover, a continuous dialogue between the senior and his subordinates should commence for clarifying mutual expectations, roles, goals and the review of performance should be made against the mutually-agreed targets.

### March/September 1983

Meanwhile, the development commissioner was transferred out of the state and the revenue secretary was appointed as chairman of the review committee. The committee finalised a format for the middle-level executives and gave directions to the Administrative Reforms Department to develop formats for the other seven levels.

### October/November 1983

The deputy secretary (administrative reforms), prepared the suggested formats and submitted these to the chairman of the review committee.

### December 1983

The deputy secretary, who was involved in the earlier change and was pushing for introduction of the new proposals, was transferred and; after a few months, the chief secretary was also transferred. The chairman of the review committee became the new chief secretary.

The review committee, somehow, has still not been able to finalise its recommendations, although work on this change has been going on for the past four years.

#### FIVE DIFFERENT SYSTEMS

Over a period of almost 30 years, a good deal of effort has gone in pushing the appraisal process through five different systems. For a comparison of these systems, both their contrasting features and common characteristics could be highlighted.

##### Trait-Oriented Annual Confidential Report System

1. One form for all the state and subordinate services, irrespective of the level, and another form for the ministerial services, were in vogue.
2. Rating was done on 'A', 'B', 'C', 'D' and 'E' grades where 'A' stood for 'Outstanding' and 'E' for 'Poor'.
3. No reporting was done on actual job-performance.
4. No recommendations were given on training or placement.
5. Very often, due to the supervisors' language, controversies arose as to which remark should be considered adverse.
6. Only the gazetted officers<sup>9</sup> were expected to initiate ACRs and all supervisory officers above the reporting officer were expected to comment on the ACR. As their span of control was large, the workload of reporting and reviewing officer became unmanageable, leading to delays and casualness in reporting/reviewing.
7. Writing according to 'A', 'B', 'C', 'D', and 'E' grades was rather simple, therefore, the reporting officers found it very easy to appraise.
8. Overall rating was to be given by writing words like 'Outstanding', 'Very Good', 'Good', 'Satisfactory' or 'Poor'.
9. In the event of receiving adverse entries, the appraisee would make all-out efforts and usually succeeded in getting them expunged on one ground or another, particularly, because the remarks were not based on any concrete data nor were they being communicated to the employee during the year of report in writing.
10. Expressions like, 'he works hardly' (instead of hard), and 'outstanding leadership; except for his lack of ability to get along with his subordinates', etc., were frequently found in the ACRs and most of the employees suffered due to the poor knowledge of the language of their bosses.
11. Employees' association demanded that the ACR system should be

scrapped.

#### **An Experiment at Micro-Level**

An experiment was carried out by the collector of a district, which has relevance to the appraisal system. During his stay in the district, the collector made it very clear to his immediate subordinates that for writing their ACRs, the following procedure shall be followed:

1. The annual plan and various targets to be achieved during the year shall be clarified in a meeting and the subordinates will be required to work out their monthly action-plans.
2. The progress of the work done during the month shall be communicated to the collector by each one of his subordinates; at least, three days before the next monthly meeting. The collector would carefully study the progress made and during the meeting give his feedback to the concerned officer. The problems faced by the officer as well as the support required by him would also be discussed.
3. The officers would be free to meet the collector individually, if they had something to discuss in confidence. Along with the positive and negative feedbacks about an officer's performance during the month, the collector would follow it up promptly with a monthly demi-official letter to each officer, giving a gist of expectations and the actual performance.
4. Thus, the collector would receive and send at least 12 demi-official letters in a year to each of his subordinates, which shall be utilised as the objective data about the performance of each officer against the set targets. Thus, each month, each officer would know how he was doing. Bad performers would also know that they are going to get a bad entry in the standard ACR form, unless they improve their performance in future.
5. This led to greater result-orientation, greater objectivity and became more or less like an open appraisal system, with little chance of getting any adverse entries expunged.

#### **The Annual Performance Appraisal System**

1. During 1975, not only the nomenclature of the system for ACR was changed to APA for highlighting the assessment of 'performance', but its basic purpose(s) and character also underwent a change.
2. The purpose of writing the annual appraisal was now made more extensive. Besides creating a basis for taking administrative



decisions, APA was also expected to change the senior-subordinate relationship as the supervisor was now expected to ensure that his subordinate develops and performs even better in future.

3. Instead of two existing forms, eight new bilingual forms were introduced for different hierarchical levels, clubbing the 33 prevailing pay scales in eight categories, viz., top executive, senior executive, junior executive, section officers/superintendents, ministerial staff, personal assistants/stenographers, junior technical staff, and lower staff. Each of these eight forms highlighted the job-related behavioural characteristics and performance indices. Each factor was to be measured on a four-point scale. For ensuring uniformity of standard and avoiding varied interpretations based on supervisor's facility with language, definitions for each point against every factor were provided as shown in Table. The definitions were meant to ensure uniformity about the precise intent and the meaning of factors on the scale points. The four-point scale was considered more meaningful than the finer five-point scale, which was in vogue. The immediate supervisor was expected to indicate his subordinate's assessment by check-marking in the appropriate box on the four-point scale, against each factor. The check-marking, being easier, was adopted for avoiding non-reporting. However, two dysfunctional practices have been noticed. At times, cases of double check-marking and changing the inner sheets have also been detected.
4. Each form was divided into five parts, space was provided in Part I of these forms which was common for all the categories for specifying the prescribed norms. The appraisee was expected to indicate his performance against these norms and also make his self-appraisal. Somehow, no attempt was made for fixing norms for most of the jobs. Only the age-old norm for tours, night halts inspections and disposal of papers under consideration, etc., were in vogue. Typically, the appraisee would write - "no norms fixed; did as the supervisor asked me to do and to his entire satisfaction". In the absence of any detailed information system, the supervisors generally commented: "I agree with the self-appraisal", and thus the great innovation of self-appraisal which was meant to protect the appraisee from subjective appraisal by his boss was brought to a naught.
5. Part II of these forms was meant to appraise the personality of the appraisee. In part III, the immediate supervisor was

Table DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED IN FOUR-POINT SCALE FOR  
EVALUATION OF PERSONALITY AND PERFORMANCE IN THE APA

Factors	Scale of Evaluation			
	Outstanding	Above Average	Average	Below Average
<b>A. Personality</b>				
<b>Intelligence</b>				
Ability to understand and handle new difficult matters	Exceptionally proficient in understanding new and complex matters and finding solution of difficult problems promptly	Able to handle new and difficult matters	Takes some time and requires help in fully grasping new and difficult situations	Comprehension of problems and performance poor, even if proper instructions are given
	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<b>B. Performance</b>				
<b>Output</b>				
Considerable achievement of targets and norms fixed	Productivity outstanding, exceeds targets, highly performance-oriented	Accomplishes great deal of work and meets targets and expectations	Output is satisfactory usually meets targets if serious obstacles do not intervene	Rarely meets targets, lacks consciousness about performance resulting in inadequate output
	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

expected to assess his subordinate's actual-job behaviour and performance against various factors like: output; job-knowledge; cost-consciousness; organisation and control of work; quality of work and dependability; oral and written communication skills; relations with colleagues, citizens and their representatives; etc. While making the overall assessment, specific instances were to be quoted if the performance was being rated as outstanding. The immediate supervisor was also expected to comment on any health problems, disciplinary action, counselling given for any below average performance, training required, suitability for any other type of posting and appraisee's attitude towards weaker sections.

6. Part IV of these forms was meant for comments by the reviewing authority on the report given by the immediate supervisor, with special reference to any outstanding work done by the appraisee. Comments on the fitness for promotion of the appraisee in his turn or out of turn were also to be given by the reviewing authority.

Part V was meant for any comments to be made by a person other than the reporting and reviewing officers. For this, although some space was provided in these forms, but, ordinarily, no person other than the reporting and the reviewing officer was expected to make any observation on the APA report as the countersigning function was given up. This was one of the major departures from the earlier practice. One of the reasons for delay in accepting the new proposal was reluctance at the senior level to accept this change. However, no changes in the levels of initiating/reviewing officers were suggested. Consequently, these officers cannot do real justice to a large number of reports, which they are still made to initiate and review, particularly, when the old two-page format has been replaced by a much elaborate form. At most of the informal gatherings, senior officers still tend to ridicule the system of check (✓) marking and the bulkiness of the APA forms.

7. Separate space for recommending training and future placements was provided in these forms. Somehow, these recommendations have remained vague; the appraisee could also suggest some training for himself in his self-appraisal, but hardly any one did it. On the contrary, the appraisee would consider any suggestion for training him as an adverse comment on his performance, although observations requiring improvement and job-performance and indicating need for training were not to be considered as adverse remarks. The recommendations

regarding training were expected to be communicated by the reviewing officer to the director (training), but almost nobody sent these recommendations, which ultimately got consigned in the confidential section and training programmes could not be tailor-made to suit the felt-needs.

8. The new APA system envisaged that the reporting officer would continuously guide his subordinate, counsel him, pointing out his deficiencies, in the performance of his duties. Adverse remarks were to be entered in the APA only when the appraisee persistently fails to show any improvement. The reporting officer, was, therefore, expected to indicate the efforts made by him at improving the below-average performance of his subordinate, during the year. Due to this rider, more and more supervisors stopped giving any below-average entries. All below-average entries and comments about any lack of integrity were to be construed as adverse remarks. All such remarks were to be first discussed carefully in a meeting between the reporting and the reviewing officer, and only when it was finally decided to give such adverse remarks, the reviewing officer was expected to make the entries and communicate them to the appraisee. A communication from his boss's boss was expected to have the corrective impact. The appraisee was free to represent his case to the reviewing officer. The reviewing officer, after hearing the appraisee, could expunge these remarks. In case he was not satisfied, then the appraisee had the right to approach an appeal committee in which the reporting and reviewing officers were not represented. However, as most of the reviewing officers did not own up their added responsibility<sup>10</sup>, the adverse entries still continue to be communicated by the personnel department and are usually delayed. Besides, their impact is always dysfunctional.
9. The APA system provided for a very tight schedule for filling the APA report, communicating the adverse entries, processing the representation, etc. However, this schedule is hardly being followed. The committee also recommended a widespread training for inculcating new ideas and the spirit, but at best, only one lecture on APA system and that too, in long-term training programmes, is being imparted. Consequently, the writing of APA continues to remain an unwanted chore.

#### Proposed Formats Highlighting Departmental Characteristics: 1980 (The FC Committee)

1. Instead of the prevailing forms of 11-12 pages, the committee

suggested simple, two-page, unilingual formats highlighting job-related behaviour and characteristics. The set of eight forms was to be replaced by a set of 16 forms as separate forms were prepared for the medical, engineering and education departments and for the remaining departments one common format was suggested. Limited space for self-appraisal was provided, but detailed norms were still not spelt out.

2. Rating on a five instead of the four-point scale was proposed. Definition of each point was not to be given in the formats but was to be appended along with the instructions, for keeping the forms sleek.
3. Space was provided in the formats for recommending future training and placement. These recommendations, however, were impractical, because as in the past, the forms were to be consigned to the confidential section.
4. No changes in the level of the initiating/reviewing officer, etc., were recommended.
5. Since there were to be only two pages, the problems of changing the middle sheets with malafide intentions would not arise.

#### **Proposal for Introducing a More Result-oriented Appraisal System**

1. The proposal recommends that the APA should also be used for identifying training needs, career planning and motivation of employees, besides using it as an information base for administrative decisions, like confirmation, promotion and termination before retirement.
2. The format is divided in two parts. Detailed instructions for filling these forms will be appended. Part I is for recording self-appraisal against the prescribed standards for selected KRAs. The actual achievement against each KRA is to be reported by the appraisee, and the reporting officer is expected to give his comments against each item. Limited space is provided for giving a brief narrative about his performance, training and qualifications acquired during the year as well as for preferred field of specialisation and any health problems which militated against the effective discharge of his duties. The reporting and reviewing officers are expected to comment on these. Part I of the form is to remain open and available to the head of the office/department for future manpower development.

Part II of the form would still be confidential. The reporting officer is expected to appraise his subordinate against various factors, like work-performance, intelligence, judge

ment, initiative, knowledge, communication, work behaviour, human relations, leadership and supervisory ability, etc., on a five-point scale. The first item on work performance has to be filled on the basis of the entries in Part I. Since for each post, in each department, different KRAs are to be set, each form becomes tailor-made for the concerned position, because Part II of the APA form focuses on the various factors which are important for different hierarchical levels in the organisation and Part I would spell out the typical, professional and departmental requirements of the job as per the pre-set KRAs. Basing the assessment of the performance against pre-determined targets for each KRA is expected to improve the quality of employees' motivation, as a quarterly review of the performance is expected to be made. Thus, appraisal process would turn out to be part of the management process. The assessment is also expected to become more objective and data-based.

3. The rating is to be done on a five-point scale. In Part II, the definition of each factor will be provided.
4. The recommendation for training and placement is to be given by the reporting and reviewing officer in Part I, which will be open and remain with the head of office/head of department or personnel department, for future action.
5. In view of the past experience, the appraisee will not be required to recommend any training for himself.
6. The burden of communicating the KRAs has been placed on the immediate supervisor. Therefore, in all cases of mid-year transfers, the immediate supervisor is expected to explain the expected results against each KRA to his subordinate and undertake quarterly reviews. Thus, for all postings which are for more than three months, new APAs will have to be drawn against each KRA.
7. It is recommended that only the immediate supervisor should initiate the APA reports, irrespective of the fact whether he is gazetted or non-gazetted; only the reviewing officer will have to be a gazetted officer. This would lead to better supervision and control, reduce the burden of writing a large number of reports on the reporting/reviewing officers, and thus, improve the quality of reporting and reviewing.
8. Instead of check-marking(✓) in each box, it is proposed that the reporting officer could put his initials in these boxes as an indication of his rating.
9. For overall assessment, the rating is to be done on a five-point scale. This would facilitate comparison, while making

recommendations for promotion.

10. It is envisaged that separate space would be provided for entering advisory remarks, which need not be construed as adverse, but should be communicated for the growth of the appraisee.

#### COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FIVE SYSTEMS

1. The primary purpose(s) of these reports in all the five systems tend to be a data-base for making promotion, placement and retirement decisions.
2. All the five systems provide for a subjective assessment of subordinate's personal traits by his immediate supervisor.
3. Subordinates and the supervisors, both view the annual report as a coercive tool for control.
4. Provision has been made for making an overall assessment of the subordinates' performance. The 'halo effect' seems to be determining the pattern of reporting. Usually, the supervisors tend to mentally classify the subordinate at a particular point of the rating-scale and then make their detailed assessments on different factors, so as to justify their earlier 'overall view'.
5. In all the five systems, the rater's bias tend to be present. Besides, no attempt to classify the raters into strict, moderate and liberal categories has been made.
6. In none of these five systems, attempts have been made to provide differential weights to different factors against which the assessment is made.
7. Delays in communicating the adverse comments have also been a common feature and no changes have been proposed in the new system, which could cut this delay.
8. Except in the micro-level experiment, supervisors develop a tendency to postpone the writing of the report and avoid writing any adverse comments, lest they are asked to give an explanation, defending their entries. Chances are that even in the proposed system, these two problems would continue to exist.
9. In all the systems, the in-built mechanism of appeal has been provided to ensure that in case of abuse of power by the appraiser, the appraisee gets a redressal.
10. None of the systems provide for a systematic and regular scrutiny of the reports for determining the quality of the appraisal for ascertaining whether the system is operating as

intended and whether the desired objectives are being achieved?

#### THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

Each of the aforementioned five systems could have been further refined and made more sophisticated in view of the research findings and the experiences of various organisations in India and abroad. In fact, as Lawler maintained, performance appraisal in any organisation is only as good as its overall human resource climate, strategy and policies--especially its processes of fitting it to these.<sup>11</sup> However, it would not be out of place, if we examine the manner in which attempts have been made at introducing changes in a large and complex organisation. The following need to be considered carefully:

- (i) Changing the age-old policy of 100 per cent promotions on the basis of seniority and converting it to two-third promotions on the basis of merit and one-third on the basis of seniority was a Herculean task. But, apparently, introducing this change became easy as the then chief minister became personally interested in bringing about this change. However, one wonders whether it was also possible to introduce at the same time greater objectivity in the system of appraising performance. If so, how?
- (ii) The employees' union systematically opposed the ephemeral rolls, O & M's monthly report and an attempt at introducing an APA proforma for class IV employees. They succeeded in making the supervisors less 'powerful'. In the absence of any authentic and regular record, no adverse entries could stand and despite the 10 per cent promotion quota, the immediate supervisor cannot have any say in the promotion of class IV servants.  
For a change-agent, 'is discretion better part of valour?' as the director (training) seemed to have believed or should the change-agent stick to his gun attempting to push through, the 'appropriate changes', slowly and assiduously?
- (iii) In a large system, like the state government, far too many persons are involved in the process of decision-making, particularly if the decision pertains to introducing change(s) in the existing systems/procedures. This naturally causes delay and uncertainty. However, even in such situations, the chief executive can play a useful role in 'moulding' the views of the decision-makers and facilitating the change. In the context of the changes in administration,



which the ruling party has vowed to bring about, the selection of the chief executive assumes much greater significance.

- (iv) Even when there is an awareness of the need for change and the decision-makers are willing to implement it, the following three problems constantly work against the introduction of the change:

- (a) The long-drawn decision-making process, involving several levels/persons;
- (b) Frequent transfers of the key personnel, who are involved in the change process; and
- (c) The short-term day-to-day activities/matters taking priority over the long-term policy/system improvement issues, which tend to be relegated to the background till such time when important matters also become urgent.

In this case, had the prime-mover of the change and the then chief minister not taken a 'keen interest' in introducing the new APA system and had the letter from Prime Minister's Secretariat not arrived, the change process might still be lingering on, as has been the case with the 'pending proposal'. A project team with a time-bound change programme, which would create a sense of urgency, coupled with the generation of some external pressure and direct access to the power, the Centre could facilitate the change process, even in large and complex systems.

- (v) When the change from the ACR system to the APA system was attempted, the director (training) involved the political system through the chief minister. The threat to the proximate system's power was also reduced by providing opportunities to the employees and the secretaries to Government to discuss the various dimensions of the change and raise questions from time to time,<sup>12</sup> still the change does not seem to have been internalised, because no effort was made to affect any changes in the overall culture of the state government which is overwhelmingly influenced by theory 'X' assumptions. A series of studies at General Electric Corporation have proved that APA system is more likely to be effective when the jobs are clearly defined and an environment of high trust prevails.<sup>13</sup> The pending proposals for changing the APA system seem to have attempted a write-up on the job-descriptions and the identification of the KRAs. However, despite a series of workshops, the actual incumbents and their immediate supervisors have still not been involved in this process of

clarifying appraisee's major areas of responsibility or the identification of the KRAs. Any attempt at imposing these KRAs from above, could even boomerang.

A better strategy for introducing this change could be to start a process of cultural change through a series of training programmes till such time when a senior-subordinate dialogue could commence in a climate of mutual trust, agreed KRAs are identified and an employee development plan is prepared. But how can result-orientation, open communication and mutual trust be developed in a large and complex system, where the senior-subordinate relationships may not even last for one year and the senior is expected to show results during his short tenure? Apparently, an experiment at the micro-level succeeded in bringing greater objectivity in the APA system, but it died no sooner the collector was transferred. How could his style of managing and appraising be institutionalised?

#### THE EPILOGUE

There could be many more issues, which need to be clarified and appropriate change strategies have to be developed. We may not have all the answers. But some method has to be found for introducing changes in large complex systems. The following lessons from this case may give us some directions:

- (i) Making the decision-maker(s) personally interested, will facilitate the change.
- (ii) External pressures quicken the pace of change.
- (iii) The chief executive (in this case the chief secretary) can use his position/power to give an appropriate direction for introducing change in systems.
- (iv) The image and rapport of the change-agent facilitates the change.
- (v) Committed staff people could act as catalytic agents for the change.
- (vi) Changes and change efforts, particularly those which increase workload/responsibility, have a tendency to slide down to the original status, unless continuous reinforcement is provided to institutionalise them.
- (vii) For introducing changes, like in the APA system which tend to affect everybody, enough effort should be expended for changing the age-old attitudes, otherwise only the form may change and it may turn out to be merely 'old wine in a new bottle'.

## REFERENCES

1. See, e.g., the survey conducted by David L. Devres, et al., *Performance Appraisal on the Line*, New York, John Wiley, 1981, and T.V. Rao, and Udai Pareek, *Performance Appraisal and Review*, New Delhi, Learning Systems, 1979. Various public sector corporations, private companies and governments have been attempting to improve their prevailing system of appraisal. The efforts made at BHEL, the State Bank of India and TTC are particularly significant.
2. A close relative of the then chief minister, who worked for the state government, was one of the first few beneficiaries of the new system of promotion on the basis of merit. This young relative was quite efficient and a likable person. However, he could not have been promoted, but for change in the promotion policy.
3. In this case, the state government and the relative of the chief minister were also made a party.
4. Employees nick-named the ephemeral roll as the 'Black-Register', because supervisors generally recorded negative incidents only.
5. Later on, during discussions, the director explained that he did not want the whole set of recommendations to be stalled merely because of opposition from class IV servants on a part of the proposal. Although there is a 10 per cent quota for class IV employees for promotion to the ministerial services, this quota is being filled on the basis of seniority plus a high school certificate.
6. The home commissioner was considered to be a forward looking and change-oriented administrator. The chief minister knew about his abilities and respected him.
7. The financial commissioner was known to be a committed civil servant. He had somehow suffered during Emergency, but enjoyed great power under the Janata Government.
8. It is interesting to note that the majority of the secretaries agreed with the earlier chief secretary, who was inclined to introduce a simpler ACR system and the very next month the same group also agreed with the new chief secretary when he suggested a KRA-oriented APA system. It shows the extent to which the office of the chief secretary can influence crucial decisions for introducing system-changes in state administrations.
9. Gazetted officers used to be those whose appointment was published in the state gazette. The classification still continues, without much meaning, except that the gazetted officers are also empowered to attest certain documents.
10. Very often, it has been noticed that changes in any system which tend to increase the workload are not internalised.
11. E.E. Lawler, et al., "Performance Appraisal Revisited", *Organizational Dynamics*, September 1984, p. 35.
12. For a detailed exposition on the involvement of the political and proximate systems for introducing change, see Udai Pareek, "Introducing Change in Bureaucracy: A Framework", in S. Chattopadhyay and Udai Pareek (eds.), *Managing Organizational Change*, New Delhi, Oxford & IBH, 1982, pp. 253-57.
13. Lawler, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33.

# Redressal of Public Grievances

R. NARAYANASWAMI

WITH THE increase in government's role in improving the quality of life of its people, need for having an efficient system for redressal of public grievances also grows in each public administration system. In fact, with the arousal of expectations of the people in the wake of developmental efforts coupled with distributive justice, the pressure for devising innovative methods and procedures in this regard has ever been growing. It is, perhaps, in recognition of this fact that the present government in the Centre has chosen to keep this subject under the charge of the prime minister himself.

Keeping in view the importance of the subject, experience gathered in a unit of Central Ministry and Delhi Development Authority in this regard, alongwith some ideas for operationalisation at the district, sub-division and tehsil levels are being presented in the following sections.

## PUBLIC HEARING SYSTEM IN EMIGRATION DIVISION OF MINISTRY OF LABOUR

Members of the public, desiring to contact officials in the Emigration Division (ED), usually have work in connection with registration of recruiting agencies, issue of permits to Indian project exporters to recruit labour, and by individuals either intending to emigrate or those who have returned after contractual employment abroad. With the introduction of the Emigration Act, 1983, with effect from December 30, 1983, nearly 1500 applications for registration of recruiting agencies were received by the ED within a few weeks. This resulted in large number of persons visiting the ED daily, gaining access to the sections, as also the supervisory officers, in an unregulated manner, as processing of applications was still to be systematised.

To cope with this problem, initially senior officials like the Joint Secretary (JS)/Protector General of Emigrants (PGE) and Deputy

Secretary (DS) concerned took upon themselves the responsibility of personally scrutinising these applications without any section level processing. In this manner, within a month, most of the applications had been scrutinised and a communication issued to the applying party, either calling for clarifications or for remedy of shortcomings noticed.

Similarly, with regard to emigration clearance cases pending in the ministry, either in respect of project exporters seeking permits or recruiting agents against whom there were complaints, a system of a weekly review meeting at the level of JS/PGE every Thursday was introduced. In this manner, the reasons for delay as also the manner in which the processing could be expedited was discussed. This approach had a positive effect gradually.

However, the unrestricted access to the sections of the ED was found to be undesirable both from the point of view of bringing about a clean administration, as also ensuring that the officials of the division could go about their official business without being disturbed at their tables. To tackle this problem, it was decided with the approval of Secretary, Ministry of Labour, that the JS/PGEs and DS in the ED will hold a public hearing for two hours every Monday, Wednesday and Friday with effect from July 2, 1984. This practice has been regularly followed for nearly seven months now, with very positive results. This public hearing system is held opposite the reception office in Shram Shakti Bhavan, New Delhi, thereby obviating the need for a petitioner to obtain a pass from the Reception Officer (RO). In this manner, the exercise of discretion by the RO as to whether or not a member of the public should be allowed to enter the building has been eliminated by enhancing the accessibility of both the JS/PGEs and DS concerned, on a regular basis, three times every week.

Every petitioner is required to fill in a form on which details of name/company, address and reasons in brief for approaching the officers conducting the hearings, are mentioned. This serves as a record for the office. Also, each public hearing sheet duly filled in, is given a serial number on first-come-first-served basis. The petitioners, no matter how lowly or prosperous they may appear to be, are attended to only when their turn comes. Arrangements have been made near the reception office to seat these petitioners, and at the table of JS/PGEs an auto-telephone has been installed. Petitioners coming for the public hearing range from applicants for recruiting agencies inquiring about their files; project exporters inquiring about their applications, individual emigrants wanting to go abroad seeking advice, prospective applicants for registration as recruiting agencies, seeking guidance on how to apply, and so on. Whenever the

inquiries concern applications/cases which have already been submitted to the ED, the DS immediately rings up the section concerned from the public hearing table and seeks to know the position of the file. In a number of cases, the file itself is called for a quick examination at the public hearing table. On the basis of such enquiry, the petitioner is told to come at 5.30 p.m. the same day for collecting the relevant letter or certificate, etc., from the Ministry and given an entry slip for this purpose, which on presentation at the reception counter facilitates the petitioner's coming to the DS's room. The system enables most petitioners to proceed further in their cases by at least one step, because follow up is ensured the same evening. In a few cases, where some more examination is required, the petitioner is given a slip 'come again at 5.30 p.m. the following evening'. Thus, as the experience shows, before the next public hearing, which is 48 hours later, in about 80 per cent of the cases follow up action is taken within 24 hours. There are, as may be expected, hard cases which cannot be thus disposed of. These may concern complaints by returning emigrants about grievances relating to termination of their services by the foreign employer, underpayment of wages, delayed payment of compensation in cases of death or disability to next of kin, etc. In such cases, it is necessary to refer the matter to the concerned Indian Mission, who in turn, have to contact both the foreign employer as also the local government and this process can take sometime before partial or complete redressal of grievances could be achieved. Similarly, cases involving cheating of would-be emigrants by unauthorised agents involve investigation by the police, which can take time. To the extent feasible, steps have been taken to educate intending emigrants on the pit-falls they should avoid through publicity on radio, newspapers and other media.

To sum up, the experience gained in conducting the public hearing system in Shram Shakti Bhavan has highlighted the following very simple concepts:

- (i) Effectiveness in redressal of grievances depends upon accessibility of sufficiently senior functionaries who can actually take a decision one way or the other on a matter brought before them at the public hearing.
- (ii) In ED, such follow-up is ensured by acting on the petition/application received in the public hearing either by the same evening or by the following evening in over 80 per cent of the cases.

It is this dual combination of ~~accessibility and effective follow-up~~ which has contributed to public confidence in the system. The

arrangement has now been institutionalised because it has been in continued existence for several months. Thus, for three days every week, i.e., in effect for at least six hours every week both JS/PGE, and DS in the ED are available at the reception. Since all discussions are held in the presence of all the members of the public, who have come to the public hearing, there is an element of openness about the system so that confidence is inspired on the point that nothing irregular is taking place.

It would not be inappropriate to mention at this juncture that the public hearing system did not find ready acceptance among the sectional staff in the division, and even amongst some officers of under secretary level because it resulted in the following difficulties for them:

- (i) Their own powers of patronage were eliminated.
- (ii) The public hearing system resulted in a check. Independent of the information on pendancies furnished by the sections for the review meetings. Many files which had not been attended to for sometime were unearthed because the concerned applicant/petitioner appeared at the public hearing resulting in an independent scrutiny of hitherto dormant files.
- (iii) It also compelled the sectional staff to meet the time limit imposed during the public hearing for giving a reply to the petitioner, i.e., either by 5.30 p.m. the same evening or by 5.30 p.m. the following evening. However, after seven months, the system has found acceptance, even if grudgingly. It has had a salutary effect in that access to the sections by the members of the public has been almost completely eliminated, and further, both the sectional staff and the under secretaries are able to devote more time without being disturbed at odd hours. Also, the highly disagreeable practice of members of the public literally accompanying their files from desk to desk and from level to level has been eliminated. Since files are in any case moved at a considerably faster pace, and accessibility of senior officers regularly ensured, there is no need for the interested party to make his undesirable presence felt inside the ministry premises.

Impressed by the efficacy of these measures, the Secretary, Ministry of Labour, has directed that similar public hearings should be held periodically in the subordinate offices, i.e., offices of the Protector of Emigrants at Bombay and Delhi (which between them account for most of the workload of the field offices). In pursuance

of these instructions, the JS/PGEs conducted a three-day public hearing (after prior publicity) at Bombay from January 14 to 16, 1985, and a large number of pending cases were sorted out. This will be followed up with more such visits. With the expansion of the field offices and the availability of more staff, further improvements are expected after sometime.

#### PUBLIC HEARING IN DELHI DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

While it is customary to talk about redressal of grievances by field offices, such as those in the district, sub-division and similar administrative units, it is not often that the question of redressal of grievances by autonomous bodies having lot of public dealing, is mentioned. During the two-year period between 1978 and 1980, when the author worked in the Delhi Development Authority (DDA), a very affective system of redressal of public grievances was run by the then vice-chairman (VC) of the DDA. It should be mentioned at the very outset that there are a wide variety of complaints against this organisation, which has a virtual monopoly over land management, large scale house construction, planning and development in the metropolis of Delhi. Amongst the petitioners at this public hearing, were delegations from welfare associations of various colonies, managing committees of various institutions, individual complainants aggrieved by poor construction of their houses and individual complainants among DDA staff having problems regarding personnel matters. The VC's system involved presence of senior officers from every important department of the DDA ranging from engineering, horticulture, planning and architecture, finance, and housing to personnel. The hearings were held at 9 a.m. every morning on the ground floor of Vikas Minar. The VC and his officers moved from group to group hearing petitions, and did not sit at a table waiting for the petitioners to come to them, because there were too many of them, requiring very quick handling. Disposals took the following form: colony welfare associations having complaints on flat construction, water supply or sewerage were given dates for personal site inspection by VC within the week and these dates were kept up. Following this up, remedial measures were ordered, with fixed time limits for the engineers concerned to report back to him. In a number of cases of sub-standard construction, suspension of the engineers concerned with consequent initiation of disciplinary action followed. On matters concerning lease, housing or personnel, a brief order on a cyclostyled format was issued to the head of the department concerned, to put up the relevant file within 24 hours.

In order to ensure that the file was received within the time



limit, a monitoring system was established in VC's office. He expected a comprehensive self-contained note on every such case from the head of the department, and expected his officers to be themselves accessible during certain fixed hours every day. Cases which came up to him in public hearing and which could have been dealt with by the concerned head of department under his delegated powers, invited the severe displeasure of the VC.

Simultaneously, the VC arranged to put the public dealing departments of the DDA on the lower floors of Vikas Minar, which is a 20-storey high building. Previously, a pass had to be taken from the reception to enter the building on the ground that such restriction reduced pilferage. Also, one elevator used to be reserved exclusively for the VC thereby blocking one of the seven elevators. The new VC dispensed with both the pass system and also ensured availability of all the elevators to the members of the public. In the event of a rush, the VC would himself simply run up the staircase to his fifth floor office. There was no perceptible increase in pilferage because of the pass system being dispensed with.

The cumulative result of these measures involving a daily public hearing, effective follow-up, clear delegation of authority to heads of departments, insistence on their own accessibility during fixed hours, and severe disciplinary action against errant and negligent engineers (by way of demonstration) and others following the VC's site inspections, was that it had a very salutary effect on this hitherto unwieldy and unmanageable organisation. Within two months, the number of petitioners appearing at the public hearing came down sharply from 500-600 to less than one-third of this number, because a large number of problems had been resolved in the interim period. Within six months, not more than 50 petitioners on an average, appeared in the public hearing every morning. Despite his busy schedule, the VC ensured that he was present at these hearings for at least four out of six working days in the week. In the event of some other pressing preoccupation, he would ensure that either the engineer-member or the finance-member of the DDA presided over the public hearings. Even so, it was only the VC's own public hearing that really brought results.

Today, the DDA has about 50,000 members of staff on its rolls as against 15,000 during the period 1978-80. Going by newspaper reports, the author learns that now officers of assistant director level in the DDA are required to meet the members of the public to sort out their complaints. Apparently, there is also a senior officer in charge of public grievances. However, on the basis of the author's experience during 1978-80, the system cannot be effective without the personal involvement of the VC.

The 1978-80 experience with regard to the DDA public hearing again highlights the same simple concept which the public hearing system of the ED in the Ministry of Labour has brought out, i.e.:

- (i) Ready accessibility of the senior most officer and decision-making level; and
- (ii) Effective follow-up with a definite time frame.

In the DDA, the public hearing system also enabled the VC to get a cross-sectional understanding of the problems affecting his various departments. On the basis of repeated complaints of delay, received during the public hearings, the VC got an idea as to which functionary on a public dealing seat was unreliable, and periodically ordered shifting of such persons to relatively 'dry' seats. Corruption is difficult to eliminate, because it is not possible to purge the minds of people. It is, however, definitely possible to minimise it through a combination of checks flowing from a public hearing system, accompanied by reduction in opportunities and temptations for corruption by speeding up the movement and disposal of cases/applications. This can be done only with the direct participation of the head of the organisation in such an enterprise. Nothing less than this level can ensure results.

#### PUBLIC HEARING TOURS AND INSPECTIONS AT FIELD LEVEL

The experiences mentioned in the preceding sections are equally applicable at the field levels--such as the district, sub-division and tehsil--in all departments ranging from the collectorates and their subordinate offices to the police department, PWD and so on. During 1975-77, public grievances committees under the chairmanship of district collector, were set up in collectorates throughout the country. These committees heard grievances against every department in the district on fixed days every week. Wherever these committees operated sincerely, the results were there for all to see. It may be a very good thing to revive this practice all over the country. This should be accompanied by instructions to all state governments that district collectors should be rendered completely free of the protocol duties of attending to VIPs. Notwithstanding the fact that there are protocol officers in most districts in the country, many VIPs, however, expect the collector to be present in attendance, unmindful of the fact that his time could be more fruitfully devoted to his work.

Regarding field level, a few ideas that deserve re-emphasis are as follows:

- (a) Apart from the district officers, and officers at sub-divisional and tehsil levels being asked to be accessible for the redressal of public grievances with an effective follow-up system, district, sub-divisional and other officials proceeding on tour may be asked to give advance publicity in the panchayat/patwari's offices about their availability on certain days for redressal of grievances. This is to facilitate purposeful tours and help the officer in meeting members of the public in remote areas of a district resolve their problems instead of expecting them to travel long distances to the headquarters.
- (b) Quasi-judicial work is largely conducted either at district or sub-divisional or tehsil headquarters. It is always possible to revive the old practice--that was prevalent in the British times and for about two decades or so even after Independence--of doing quasi-judicial work in camp courts during tour, of course, with advance notice to the contending parties. This saves the litigants a lot of expense in coming to headquarters and paying to witnesses, not to mention the lawyers.
- (c) The practice of granting adjournments indiscriminately, is a major source of public grievance. The two contending lawyers will naturally be agreeable to adjournment, because it benefits both. The petitioners/litigants are hardly in the picture.
- (d) In many social legislations, such as tenancy, homestead, and other legislations, there is usually a provision to the effect that appearance by lawyers is at the discretion of the presiding officer of the court. This is usually ignored by the presiding officers who are even known to ask the petitioners to get lawyers. While not expressing oneself against the legal profession at large, it should give food for thought with regard to enforcing these provisions, wherever they are there, more stringently than hitherto. This is because, often in the rules accompanying social legislations, a special responsibility is cast on the presiding officer of the quasi-judicial court to assist the petitioner in drafting and filing his complaint. This distinguishes such cases from the more formal procedures of civil and judicial courts.

## Zero Base Budgeting.

C.V. SRINIVASAN

GOVERNMENTS ALL over the world are worried over mounting resource gaps arising out of galloping inflation and uncontrolled public expenditure. Rising operating costs and declining growth rates have also put corporate entities in a profitability crunch that demands significant, innovative approaches for improving bottom-line results. Across the board cuts, which have been attempted as short-term palliatives, have not worked because essential, basic activities are subjected to the same cuts as non-essential activities, whereas for long-term results in a continuing inflationary situation what is required is imposing of such budgetary reductions that will stick. Hence, the perennial search for new techniques for containing expenditure and reducing the budgetary gaps. For developing countries, like India, reducing the resource gaps and containing public expenditure have become particularly urgent in view of the reduced flow of aid from developed countries and increasing expectations of the populations for quickened tempo of development. Among the new management techniques, Zero Base Budgeting (ZBB) has caught the attention of the Government of India, which is reportedly being considered actively for adoption in budgetary exercises.

Budgeting is the allocation of scarce resources among competing alternate uses. A government may have a number of useful and desirable schemes under implementation or on the drawing board but the selection of schemes to be taken up for execution will depend upon the funds available. Similarly, a business enterprise, which may have a number of ventures in hand, has to make allocation of funds among the ventures with the object of optimising its survival and growth.

The traditional approach to budgeting is the incremental one, wherein the benchmark tends to be the level of activity and expenditure in the immediate past and budget proposals are related in terms of 'more' or 'less'. The previous period's budget and actual results are considered as givens. The budget amount is then changed in accordance with the experience during the previous period and

expectations for the next period. For instance, a budget for the R & D unit might be increased because of salary increases, and introduction of a new project or both.

The inadequacy of ordinary incremental budgeting, as a means of control, arises mainly because it restricts the manager's choice to making a single 'accept or reject' decision or ordering arbitrary cut backs (e.g., 5 per cent across the board) or redoing the entire budget process. Further, the budgetary allocations involve a conflict among competing interests and the accommodation of diverse, partisan interests is often achieved through negotiations, which cannot ensure rational allocation of scarce resources for optimal results. Hence, the search for more rational and scientific techniques for optimal allocation of resources.

#### SOME BUDGETING TECHNIQUES AND ZBB

Though ZBB is a relatively new catchword, the underlying concept is nothing more than a systematisation of a number of operational, planning and budgetary techniques that have evolved in recent times. Capital Budgeting; Planning, Programmes and Budgeting (PPB); Project Management; Management by Objectives; and Overhead Value Analysis are some of the building blocks on which the ZBB is built. A brief description of the salient features of these techniques will facilitate a proper appreciation of the advantages of ZBB.

##### **Capital Budgeting**

This technique, now in use for over 50 years, basically involves evaluating capital spending requests, taking into account the cost, the benefits (in increased productivity, increased volume or decreased cost) and possibly some alternatives (e.g., a comparable lathe from other vendors). In more recent years, more sophisticated analytical techniques have been used to evaluate the worth of projects, like return on investment, opportunity costing, years to break even, cash flow impact, and net present value. If the same measure is used across the board, all projects can be ranked quickly and objectively and the most promising one selected. The zero base approach is then used but only in the capital investment area.

##### **Planning, Programming And Budgeting (PPB)**

Developed in the early 1960s in the US Department of Defence, it was a programme-oriented technique with a long range horizon that demanded cost justification of several alternative approaches against an established strategic need. Though the primary thrust was towards planning and not budgeting, an operating budget was the natural

outcome. The performance budgeting--sometimes it is also called programme budgeting--which has been introduced in most of the departments of the Government of India in the 1970s, was an outgrowth of the concept of PPB. The central characteristics of PPB are as follows:

1. A careful specification and analysis of basic programme in terms of objectives;
2. Analysis of the output of a given programme in terms of the objectives;
3. Measurement of the total cost of the programme not just for one year but at least several years ahead, not on the basis of the first year alone; and
4. Analysis of the alternatives.

#### **Project Management**

This technique, first applied in US Space Programme in the 1960s and later by many business organisations, lays emphasis on evaluating and ranking outputs (or the value of results) by programme rather than summing up inputs (or costs) even though later they were expanded to include such non-economic factors, like technical feasibility, legal requirements, operational feasibility, intangible benefits, and risks of not acting.

#### **Management by Objectives (MBO)**

This technique incorporates, in the planning and performance appraisal processes, broad pre-agreed affordable objectives and strategies which could be readily translated into a tactical operating budget.

#### **Overhead Value Analysis**

Evolved in its full form in the mid 1970s--from the profit improvement techniques developed by a number of consultancy firms, primarily McKinsey and Co.--this technique basically attacks staff costs and subjects each programme or service to a rigorous cost-benefit analysis.

### **EVOLUTION, DEFINITION AND ADVANTAGES**

ZBB made its organisational debut in the early 1960's in the US Department of Agriculture, which, however, abandoned it later. Its first acknowledged success in industry was in the late 1960s at Texas Instruments, where it started as a method to plan and manage research projects and evolved later into a staff overhead control technique.

An article on ZBB by Peter A. Pyhrr, who guided Texas Instruments' initial efforts, appeared in late 1970 and attracted the attention of the newly elected Governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter, who implemented it in that state. Carter's subsequent rise to the presidency of USA hastened the widespread adoption of ZBB in both private and public sectors in USA. By 1979, over 500 organisations throughout North America had implemented ZBB to some degree. These included make and sell as well as service organisations, 12 state administrations, cities, banks, life insurance companies, utilities, school districts, and universities. However, the advent of Reagan Administration and the emergence of monetarist policies saw the eclipse and gradual fading out of ZBB in the Federal Government.

#### **What is the Zero Base Approach?**

In a nutshell, ZBB can be defined as an operating, planning and budgeting process which requires each manager to justify his entire budget request in detail from a scratch (hence zero base) and shifts the burden of proof to each manager to justify why he should spend any money at all. This approach requires that all activities be identified in the 'decision packages', which will be evaluated by systematic analysis and ranked in order of importance. Reduced to its essentials, ZBB involves the following five steps:

1. Defining decision units;
2. Setting objectives for each unit and structuring alternative ways and levels of effort for accomplishing them;
3. Describing each unit's activities in a set(s) of decision packages for the chosen alternative;
4. Ranking all decision packages for a given department (or sometimes throughout the organisation) in order of importance by systematic analysis; and
5. Conducting a post implementation performance audit to assure achievement against commitments.

A decision unit is a cluster of activities, for which a given manager is accountable or, in other words, the lowest level for which budget is prepared. A decision package, which is the building block of the ZBB concept, describes the various levels of service that may be rendered by the decision unit. The key elements of a decision package are as follows:

1. The objective or goal of the decision unit;
2. A brief description of the programme by which the goals are proposed to be achieved;

3. Costs of the programmes;
4. Benefits expected of the programmes as well as any appropriate quantitative performance measures;
5. Alternatives to the programme; and
6. Consequences of not approving the package.

The delicate balancing act of allocating resources among competing decision units and packages, e.g., for today's versus tomorrow's needs or for housekeeping versus strategic activities is accomplished through ranking all the decision packages. Through ranking, we limit ourselves to the most productive array of alternatives, recognising that while needs are seemingly infinite, resources are always limited and allocations are done on the basis of priority.

#### **Advantages of ZBB**

The strong points of ZBB can be briefly mentioned as follows:

1. Goals are more clearly established and more information is offered on a wider variety of choices, particularly concerning competing alternatives. This facilitates explicit consideration of the different alternatives.
2. Managers become more heavily involved in a well-structured budget process which fastens communication and consensus.
3. Priorities among activities are better pin-pointed. A project does not continue at its current funding level just because it was funded in the previous year. Old projects or staff groupings that contribute little to the organisation's new goals are given low priority levels. New projects with high yield or savings potential are able to compete favourably for available funds.
4. Knowledge and understanding of inputs and outputs are enhanced. The budget process is generally more rational and less political than in the traditional techniques.
5. The measures of performance contained in the decision packages facilitate evaluation of the activity and determination of the extent to which the objectives have been achieved.
6. Resources, on the whole, are reallocated more efficiently and effectively.
7. It facilitates control of overhead costs in the organisation.
8. By integrating planning, budgeting and decision-making, the entire management system is simplified as much effort spent in reworking budgets, developing back-up detail, pulling together supplemental requests and reconciling long range resource estimates with tactical budgets are substantially reduced, if



not eliminated.

9. ZBB acts as a vehicle to trade off between long-term and short-term needs and thus ensures that the strategic goals are achievable and are within the inevitable resource constraints.
10. The ranking sheets, when need arises, can serve as contingency plan and as an audit and control mechanism during the course of the year. If resources turn out to be greater than expected (or results lesser), spending can be quickly modified along with associated goals and performance expectations.
11. ZBB helps in pin-pointing duplications throughout the organisation.

The involvement of managers at all levels in the budgetary process and sharpening of their analytical skills are added advantages in management development.

#### PROBLEMS IN IMPLEMENTATION OF ZBB

For all its merits, implementing ZBB is not without difficulties. Some of the most frequently encountered problems and the way these can be overcome are discussed in the following paras.

##### Cost and Volume of Paper Work

The time and cost of preparing the zero base budget are much higher than less elaborate budgeting processes. For example, a proposed study of one portion of the US Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act was to last seven years with a cost of \$ 7 million during the first year alone. Indeed, in some organisations, paper work involved is so much that ZBB is nicknamed as 'Zero-Base Budgeting'.

However, the paper work can be minimised by: (i) careful design of the forms for the decision packages, (ii) focusing the efforts on the decision packages around 'the decision point' or 'level of affordability' and not wasting time in review of packages of obvious merit or those required by law, and (iii) taking up only a minimum size of decision packages, in case of very large organisations, for critical analysis in a budget cycle.

One factor which can add to the cost of ZBB is the creation of separate agency for doing the zero base analysis. The ZBB has been most cost effective and successful where it has been integrated into the annual budgetary process and the line managers and the budget staff have been entrusted with the zero base analysis. The pay off from the reorientation of the approach of line managers and the 298 budget staff towards zero base is more rewarding and long lasting,

though some additional efforts and cost might be involved in training the staff and devising formats for the zero base analysis.

### **Frequency of ZBB**

Though the annual budget cycle is recommended for ZBB also, one method which has helped in reduction of cost is to adopt longer cycles of say two or three years instead of an annual one for zero base analysis, especially where the job has been done thoroughly and the management is comfortable with the results.

Passage of 'sunset' laws by the federal and some state governments in USA, which provide a termination date for each regulatory agency, is an attempt to reduce the periodicity of zero base review, as the performance review is conducted more towards the date when the term of the agency is to expire and it is being considered for extension.

### **Scope of ZBB**

One reason for the high cost of ZBB is indiscriminate application of the technique to all operations of the organisation. It can be most effectively applied to all 'actionable or discretionary' activities, programmes and costs. An actionable or discretionary item is an activity or programme in which a cost benefit relationship can be identified, even if the relationship might be subjective. ZBB can, therefore, most effectively be applied to all administrative (e.g., financial, EDP, personnel and supervisory), technical (e.g., research & development, engineering, laboratory, quality control, maintenance and production planning), and commercial (purchasing, marketing, sales and traffic) functions in an organisation. It is not intended for direct application to direct costs on labour, material and overhead associated with production operation, where it is possible to evolve standards for costs and the budget could be put together by multiplying the projected volume by labour rates and standard costs.

### **Threat to Rank and File Managers**

In the minds of rank and file managers, ZBB is perceived more as a zero sum approach and a gimmick on the part of top management to apply the hatchet. Further, the specification of service levels, especially the minimum levels of service, is threatening to many managers. It would be necessary for the top management to carry all along and reassure them, especially during the initial years of ZBB, that retrenchment is not an end in itself. Since the success of ZBB depends greatly on innovative approach in identifying alternatives, the flow of ideas from the rank and file is a *sine qua non* for success of ZBB and hence the need for rapport with rank and file.

### **Difficulty in Determination of Performance Measures**

To maximise the benefits of ZBB, measurements of inputs and outputs are necessary. In respect of many activities, especially administration tasks or support facilities, devising of appropriate measures poses problems.

### **Top Management's Commitment**

In a nutshell, a successful zero base budgeting requires the commitment and involvement of an executive cadre possessed by a will to manage. They must fully recognise and appreciate the need for the process and the changes it will inevitably require. They must be prepared to spend considerable time and effort with their lieutenants and in executive conference in honing and clearing the final plan. Although they will not be required to work out the details of every decision package and its alternative, they must be willing to lay out clear and consistent management objectives and strategies before those who work with them in crystallising these and maintaining a close relationship with the people in the controller's staff who will administer ZBB. In the final analysis, motivating everyone in the organisation for the success of ZBB is most important.

### **Application of ZBB to Revenue**

Another weakness of ZBB is that it is not applied to the revenue side. The result is that if there are funds, the existing spending programmes do not pass through the same rigorous tests through which they would have passed if funds were limited. Further, many of the revenue measures may not themselves be cost effective. For ZBB really to be successful, the revenue side should also be subjected to a zero base analysis.

### **Applicability of ZBB to Indian Situation**

Critics of ZBB have been quick to point out that our country is not ready for a sophisticated technique like ZBB. Fears have been expressed that the Indian administrative and managerial system, which is already clogged with paper work, will be burdened with additional mounts of paper work. There are others who have advocated a go-slow policy as regards introduction of ZBB.

This approach is due to an incorrect appreciation of the Indian situation. The productivity of the Indian economy is abysmally low and this is due, not to an inconsiderable extent, to the large number of staff and discretionary expenditure, whether in government or in corporate sector. The unbridled growth of non-plan expenditure, excluding Defence (from Rs. 8500 crore in 1980-81 to an estimated Rs. 23117 crore in 1986-87 budget for the Government of India 300

alone), despite ad hoc cuts imposed by the government from time to time and the ban on creation of posts on the non-plan side, shows that some drastic measures are called for. In the corporate sector also, lack of incentives for curtailing discretionary expenditure and promoting cost economy and the regime of sheltered markets have also resulted in scant attention being paid to cost economies. With widening resource gaps, cutting the coat according to the cloth has become imperative for survival and growth. Since ad hoc cuts have failed, there is no alternative to adopting more scientific and rational approaches to budgeting and of all the methods tested world over, zero base budgeting by far appears to be the best.

There is, however, the danger of the ZBB becoming an end in itself rather than the means for an end. We had the earlier example of performance budgeting, which was introduced with great fanfare in the 1970s but has contributed very little towards improving performance and accountability except adding to paper work. We have to learn by our own experience and of the others in the working of earlier innovations. While support and encouragement and active monitoring at the highest levels of the government and of the organisations will be necessary, as was available in USA when President Carter lent his weight to ZBB, there is every need to avoid ZBB meeting the fate of the earlier innovations and allowing it to be reduced merely to an instrument of additional paper work. Unless we are careful, the danger of being trapped in the 'paralysis through analysis' syndrome is real.

#### INTRODUCING ZBB IN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT--SOME PRECAUTIONS

The responsibility for the budgeting process in the government are shared by the departmental authorities, the financial adviser of the ministry, and the Ministry of Finance.

The O & M studies and work studies are, however, the responsibilities of three different agencies--the Administrative Reforms Wing responsible for administrative reforms, the Staff Inspection Unit, and the Internal Work Study units in the ministries. There is a lack of congruence in the efforts of all these bodies to contain staff expenditure. If ZBB is to succeed and be cost effective, there should be a mechanism for coordinating the efforts of all these agencies and to integrate their efforts with the annual budgetary exercise.

To take up the entire gamut of government expenditure for ZBB, review in the very first year may be an insuperable task. Selectivity aimed at optimal results should be the aim and for selection of areas for close ZBB review, enough indications are available in the

files of various ministries, in the performance reviews included in the Audit Reports of the Comptroller & Auditor General of India, and the study reports of Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission and other agencies. For each ministry, a couple of organisations and three or four activities or programmes could be selected for ZBB review well in time and the various agencies mentioned earlier could harness their energies.

To be effective and lasting, the ZBB review should show demonstrable results and the ZBB efforts should have the full backing of top bureaucracy and political leadership. An attempt made and not implemented could have serious deleterious effect on the ZBB technique itself. Hard decisions, like closing down organisations or finding alternative systems and procedures in place of the existing ones may have to be taken as a result of ZBB review. Support from the highest level would be necessary for such drastic measures, where required.

Highly motivated officers and staff, with a flair for innovation, should be handpicked for the ZBB review and they should be suitably trained in the techniques.

For new agencies to be created for implementation of policies, there should be some provision like the 'sunset laws' which will provide for an automatic review of the *raison d'être* for the organisation and its performance.

The failure of the present budgetary processes to contain staff and non-plan expenditure and constraints on resources available for development expenditure make it imperative that we look for improved methods of control on expenditure. Despite the criticism, ZBB appears to be the most natural and appropriate method for the purpose.

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# Political Economy of Irrigation in India.

N.R. HOTA

IRRIGATION IS a state subject and except for inter-state utilisation or disputes in regard to river waters, the Centre has practically no control over water-use. Water is also a vital input for agriculture. Thus, the control of water resources and their use gives the state governments tremendous political power over the economic life of the people in general and the vast majority of the agricultural class in particular.

## POLITICAL ECONOMY OF IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE

The utilisation of water has also been conceived in various forms. The ancient and traditional forms of irrigation were through inundation, to which, with improvement in technology, were slowly added the forms of lift irrigation from wells and streams by means of muscle or animal power with the help of simple gadgets like buckets, baskets, rope, wooden lever (Tenda) and Persian wheel, etc. Further improvements in technology made it possible to have barrages and dams to control the storage, as well as use of mechanical and electrical pumping devices, with the use of diesel or power. The latest in technology are sprinkler irrigation and the seeding of clouds, which simulate natural rainfall to meet the water requirements of crops.

The importance of irrigation in agriculture in Asia can be summed up in the words of Hideo Yamamoto as follows: "Water determines whether there is a harvest or not; fertiliser determines whether the harvest is big or small".<sup>1</sup> This situation applies as effectively to India as perhaps to any other part of Asia. Extremes of dry or high rainfall conditions in India--both make artificial control and use of water essential for agricultural development--much more in fact than fertilisers, improved or hybrid seeds, improved technology or cultural practices. Irrigation can thus be termed as the essential and primary stage of agricultural development, which is to be followed with the intensive stage of new technologies in fertilisation, seeds,

weed control, etc.

The very nature of watershed management, involving large-scale construction and management of water-harvesting structures, appears to have made irrigation the sovereign state's prerogative since ancient times, often linked with the despotic rule of monarchs, who used to appropriate the generated surplus. The peasants thus lost initiative in production of surpluses, which they visualised not as fruits of their own labour, but as results of sovereign munificence. Thus, initiative in production was lost, resulting in stagnation in agriculture.<sup>2</sup> The degeneration and fall of despotism left the rural communities helpless. The colonial period that followed, introduced the concept of private property against community ownership, thus making investments in irrigation by the village community difficult. In any case, high cost river control works required a higher degree of capital formation, which was beyond the farmer or the village community. Even the state was not prepared for such investments in the colony. When Independence came, the need to make public investments in irrigation by the Central and the state governments became quite apparent. Independence aroused the aspirations of the people for their own sovereign state to take up this function of development again. Besides, in terms of providing work, wages and income in the short-run and increased agricultural production in the long-run, there is no better programme for India's rural community than the development of irrigation. It was, thus, potentially an extremely useful tool in the hands of the political system for winning popularity and franchise and in dispersing a share of the developmental expenditure in the countryside.

Table 1 given below shows the progress made in irrigation in the country since Independence.

Table 1 shows how during the entire pre-plan period (about 350 years of colonial rule), the irrigation potential created in India was limited to 22.6 million hectares (m.h.), out of the total potential of 107 m.h., constituting thereby a developmental effort of only 21.12 per cent of the available potential. On the other hand, during a period of 30 years of planned development (1950-80), the potential has been raised to 56.60 m.h., i.e., 52.89 per cent of the potential available. The net percentage of increase in 30 years is thus 31.77, which is about 1.5 times more than what had been accomplished during 350 years of colonial rule in India. This clearly shows the influence of political factors in the macro-level development of the irrigation economy in the country. Besides, the rate of growth of potential/outlay during the planning era can also be seen in Table 2 from one plan period to another.

Table 1 PROGRESS IN DEVELOPMENT OF IRRIGATION IN INDIA  
SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Period	Outlays/Expenditure (in crores of rupees)			Potential Created (million hectares)		Cumulative Potential (million hectares)
	Major and Medium	Minor	Total	Major and Medium	Minor	
Pre-plan	-	-	-	9.7	12.9	22.6
First Plan	380	76	456	12.20	14.06	26.26
Second Plan	380	142	522	14.30	14.79	29.09
Third Plan	581	328	909	16.60	17.01	33.61
Annual Plans (1966-69)	434	326	760	18.10	19.00	37.10
Fourth Plan (1969-74)	1237	513	1750	20.70	23.50	44.20
Fifth Plan (1974-78)	2442	631	3073	24.82	27.30	52.12
Annual Plans (1978-80)	2072	497	2569	26.60	30.00	56.60
Sixth Plan (1980-81)	1225	284	1509	27.55	31.40	58.95

Table 2 GROWTH OF IRRIGATION DURING PLAN PERIODS IN INDIA

Period	(per cent)	
	Potential Growth	Outlay Growth
Pre-plan	22.6 m.h.(base)	N.A.
First Plan	16.19	456 CR(base)
Second Plan	10.77	14.47
Third Plan	15.53	74.13
Annual Plans (1966-69)	10.38	-16.40
Fourth Plan (1969-74)	19.13	130.26
Fifth Plan	17.91	75.60
Annual Plans (1978-80)	8.59	-22.93

Another interesting reason behind such huge state investments is the fact that in every country, including India, the capital cost of



irrigation, per hectare of area irrigated, is increasing and thereby bringing such projects more and more within the state's patronage and cutting out possibilities of investments by individual farmers and village communities. Table 3 shows how steep is the rise in per hectare cost of irrigation in different plan-periods in India.

Table 3 RISE IN PER HECTARE COST OF IRRIGATION IN INDIA  
DURING PLAN PERIODS

Period	Expenditure (in million rupees)	Actual Potential Created (in mil- lion hectares)	Capital Cost p.h. of Potential (in rupees)
First Plan	3760	3.66	1027.32
Second Plan	5410	2.83	1911.66
Third Plan	10240	4.52	2265.48
Annual Plans (1966-69)	7950	3.49	2277.93
Fourth Plan (1969-74)	24110	7.1	3395.77
Fifth Plan (1974-78)	38530	7.9	4877.21
1978-82	68470	9.47	7230.20

These higher investments require a high level of capital formation and thus give the state greater powers in deciding which projects to select and where to locate them, in keeping with the interests of the political system.

#### IDENTIFICATION AND SELECTION OF PROJECTS

Another part of the political economy of irrigation relates to identification and selection of projects. Here, one naturally comes to the streams of costs and benefits or a kind of productivity/financial test. The Royal Commission on Irrigation (1901) was the first body to examine if the financial test was too rigorous and if indirect benefits of irrigation to the government/people were to be accounted for on the stream of benefits. The Commission finally recommended retention of the financial productivity test. The

financial productivity of a project was to be determined as shown below:

		(Year X)	
Debit		Credit	
1.	Interest on capital cost as on year of commencement	1.	Direct receipts (water rates or charges, rents, fines and Miscellaneous receipts under the Canal Acts).
Plus		Plus	
2.	Working expenses	2.	Indirect receipts (share of enhanced land revenue, interest on sale proceeds of government wasteland, rents from temporary cultivation of government wasteland, revenue from trees on wasteland, etc.).

Credit minus debit was to show a return on investment of 4 per cent prior to April 1, 1919, 5 per cent up to August 1, 1921 and 6 per cent thereafter. It was refixed after Independence, at 3.75 per cent with effect from April 4, 1949 and at 4.5 per cent after August 1954.

While this financial productivity test remained on the books, in actual practice, to quote K. Puttaswamaiah, "Since 1947, the financial productivity test has not been applied very strictly and projects are generally being sanctioned on the basis of other considerations".<sup>3</sup> He lists out a number of irrigation projects in different states, which were sanctioned by the Planning Commission during the First and Second Five Year-Plans below the productivity test of 4.5 per cent return.<sup>4</sup> It is invariably the 'indirect benefits' or 'multiplier effects' argument (employment, transport, public revenue, etc.) that is thus used in sanctioning projects outside the approved financial criteria or norms, apart from public romanticism and the obvious potential of large irrigation projects for electoral speeches. Colin Clark, who was Economic Adviser to the Government of Queensland in Australia, mentions the case of hopelessly uneconomic irrigation project which that government attempted to justify (before he resigned) by setting against its annual cost, "the expected entire gross product of the farms, as if not only labour and enterprise of farmers, but also fertilisers, equipment, transport, etc., were to be had free".<sup>5</sup>

Even now, the Planning Commission in India does not have any

strict criterion for sanctioning irrigation projects. The projects are examined by the Central Water Commission and the Technical Advisory Committee from broad aspects and a view is taken to recommend them to the Planning Commission.<sup>6</sup> In the final plan discussions between the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission and the State Chief Ministers, certain adjustments are made and sometimes specific schemes are also mentioned.<sup>7</sup> Since irrigation is a state subject and Central assistance is not tied to any individual project/ sector, many state governments are found to take up execution of certain schemes even prior to their sanction by the Planning Commission, thus pre-empting the latter from sanctioning them sooner or later. "In several cases, the approval of the Planning Commission/ Ministry of Irrigation was accorded 3-5 years after commencement of work."<sup>8</sup> The Public Accounts Committee, in its 141st report, however, has recommended that plan projects should be selected in such a manner that "returns, financial, economic and social, on utilisation of our scarce resources, are maximised".<sup>9</sup> See the emphasis on social returns along with financial and economic returns. Obviously, this committee also could not rule out considerations of political economy and say that projects should be selected entirely on cost-benefit analysis.

The benefits of irrigation are localised in the farmers' fields in the ayacut area and, therefore, the smaller a project or the closer it is to the farmers' fields, the greater is its impact on the beneficiaries. It is for this reason that a dugwell, a tubewell or a minor irrigation tank, fire enthusiasm of farmers more than a medium or major irrigation project. Again, due to short gestation period, these modes of irrigation need a low level of capital formation and yield benefits quickly. Puttaswamaiah argues on these considerations that future policy on irrigation "should have an accent on minor irrigation with a modification to the effect that the large and medium projects should also be taken up when the Exchequer is having safe breathing".<sup>10</sup>

While minor irrigation is more populist, major and medium irrigation projects are perhaps hydrologically more stable and less prone to failure in lean years of rainfall. The overall cost-benefit ratio of larger dams is also perhaps more attractive than many of the minor irrigation projects. Carruthers gives the following range of costs for West Pakistan (conversion of one rupee = 25 c)<sup>11</sup>:

	Costs (c/m <sup>3</sup> )
River Diversion	-0.08 - 0.20
Canal Remodelling	-0.20 - 0.32
Surface Storage	-0.32 - 0.45
Tubewells	-0.45 - 0.81

In India, cost of irrigation water from large dams and barrages varies from 0.13 to 1.35 (c/m<sup>3</sup>) at 10 per cent capital cost.<sup>12</sup> An enquiry in village Danda in Gujarat in 1968 showed cost of water from wells at 1.1 (c/m<sup>3</sup>).<sup>13</sup> These show that river diversion and surface storage works are on the whole economically more attractive.

Since it is a question of proper allocation of state resources over competing demands, generally it is better to follow the economic criterion in sanctioning the projects on the basis of their cost-benefit ratio, whether they are major, medium or minor irrigation schemes. This would ensure that the most economically remunerative schemes are taken up for execution and thus the influence of non-economic factors on choice of projects and their location can be substantially reduced. Since dugwells and tubewells require low level of capital, it will also be useful to promote private initiative in their development, and the nationalised banks can play a useful role in providing credit for such purpose. The state support has, of course, to come by way of groundwater surveys and rural electrification, wherever substantial tubewell development is feasible, and is taken up through emerging private initiative. The working of public sector lift irrigation corporations in many states strengthens such a policy imperative. Such development can also be linked up with a scheme of subsidy for pumpsets, drilling expenses, electricity tariff, etc., for small and marginal farmers or farmers below the poverty line.

The Irrigation Commission (1972) had recommended that the cost-benefit ratio be adopted, in addition to the financial return criterion in sanctioning irrigation projects. They had also suggested that cost of ayacut development should be included in the cost stream. So far, both these suggestions have not been implemented. The internal rate of return criterion is also not being applied. In fact, to quote the Planning Commission, "There is no regular system of assessing actual economic return of irrigation project".<sup>14</sup> In case of irrigation projects sponsored by international lending institutions, mainly the IDA, the cost-benefit ratio is taken as 1:1.5 and is even relaxed in certain cases.<sup>15</sup>

The Public Accounts Committee has, therefore, recommended in its 141st report that, as in case of public sector industrial projects, suitable investment criterion based on economic return should be adopted for all irrigation projects. The cost stream should take care of all costs, like all inputs for agricultural development and the cost of ayacut development. There should also be a quinquennial **post-facto** evaluation of the actual economic returns vis-a-vis the estimated one.

This inevitably raises the question of social benefits, which form

part of the socio-political ethos. Sometimes, these can be quantified and built into the cost-benefit ratio, and sometimes they can only be appropriately considered. Any practical administrator would easily see that such considerations cannot completely be ignored. Where no other means of irrigation is available, say the Rajasthan Canal Project area, the social value of such an irrigation project is bound to be very high. A classic case in this regard is the Canalisation Project taken up in River Swat in the erstwhile NWFP (now in Pakistan) in 1884 by the British Government. The military authorities felt that the inhabitants of this area were raiding their neighbours and leading generally a turbulent life because they did not have any stable livelihood throughout the year. So the Canal Project was sanctioned at a very high cost of \$ 150 per hectare at that time. After the canalisation was completed, Swat became a peaceful agricultural settlement and the people were completely transformed. Such considerations should, therefore, as far as possible, have to be built into the examination of cost-benefit ratios in sanctioning irrigation projects. Economists have been trying to achieve greater sophistication in working out social cost-benefit ratios of projects<sup>16</sup> which no doubt would aid the pragmatic administrators in adoption of workable norms for sanctioning irrigation projects.

#### UTILISATION OF POTENTIAL

This 'terre-capital-formation' in irrigation in the public sector, as it has been appropriately described by Akira Tamaki, has, however, to be converted into actual 'productive power' by a process of internalisation of investment for operation of individual farms.<sup>17</sup> This raises a number of issues like: (i) change in the agricultural environment of individual farms; (ii) technical adaptability of producers and motivation for the same; (iii) construction of field channels and control of water use; and (iv) all these having important bearings on utilisation of potential.

Large irrigation projects invariably have built-in mechanism for flood control and drought prevention through the creation of suitable reservoir capacity, and thus have the effect of changing the agricultural environment of individual farms, which were earlier exposed to the vagaries of nature. Besides, sometimes, the farm environment is completely altered with irrigation water, as it happened, for instance, in the Command Area of the Hirakud Dam Project. The 'bahal' and 'berna' lands, which were deep paddy lands, became waterlogged with irrigation and lost productivity while the 'aat' and 'mal' lands, which were highlands, became more productive with irrigation and with better drainage that these lands already had.

Often, there is also a time lag between creation of irrigation potential and its utilisation by the producers in the ayacut, since the latter need to be adapted to conditions of irrigated agriculture, through education and experience, which take sometime. I had the occasion of working as a DDO in the ayacut area of the Hirakud Dam Project in the year 1961-62 when the IADP was taken up in that area. In my experience, it was seen that a lot of extension effort was required to educate the farmers in water-use and it practically took a decade to ensure full and proper utilisation of irrigation water in the entire Command Area. One even had to fight a superstitious belief that the water had become all useless for irrigation after generation of electricity. The need for the use of a package of practices, including fertilisers, improved seeds, improved agricultural practices had to be painstakingly sold to individual farmers. The importance of proper water-use and water-control for effective absorption of chemical fertilisers, particularly the need for construction of water-courses rather than using the traditional method of field-to-field inundation, had to be explained.

Motivation also becomes an important factor for technical adaptability of farmers, and is linked with the question of the land-tenure system. Unless the producers own the land and are sure that the fruits of improved production will go to them, they will not have any interest in converting irrigation water to productive power in their individual farms. To quote K.N. Kabra, "In an irrigation project, the additional output is raised by a large number of farmers on farms of varying size, under diverse tenurial conditions. The farmers also display many other socio-economic differences having a bearing on their response to and capacity of using new irrigation facilities. It is on account of such factors that there emerges a timelag between the availability of irrigation facilities and their actual use."<sup>18</sup>

Lag in utilisation results, among others, from:

1. Improper planning and execution of projects, due to which the headworks are completed much ahead of the canal system;
2. Lack of synchronisation of Command Area Development works like land-levelling, drainage, construction of field channels and water courses, etc., with availability of canal water at the outlet points; and
3. Lack of a proper system of distribution of water or supervision over water-use.

Before the beginning of the planning era, India had a created irrigation potential of 22.67 m.h. (9.7 under major and medium and

12.9 under minor irrigation) with only two major storage dams at Mettur and Krishnaraj Sagar. During 30 years of planning beginning from 1951-82, a sum of Rs.16,047 crore has been invested (Rs.10,090 crore on major and medium and Rs.5,951 crore on minor irrigation, including institutional outlay of Rs.2,840 crore). The cumulative target for creation of potential was 59.57 m.h. (29.10 m.h. under major and medium and 30.47 m.h. under minor irrigation). The actual potential created has been only 38.98 m.h. (18.98 m.h. under major and medium and 20 m.h. under minor irrigation). Thus, the total shortfall in creation of potential has been nearly 33 per cent.<sup>19</sup>

The analysis available for major and medium projects reveals that the gap between target and achievement of potential has been considerably narrowed down during the fifth Plan and thereafter, as may be seen from Table 4.<sup>20</sup>

Table 4 GAPS BETWEEN TARGETS AND ACHIEVEMENTS DURING PLAN PERIODS

	Potential	
	Target	Achievement
	(million hectares)	
First Plan	3.4	2.5
Second Plan	4.2	2.1
Third Plan	5.2	2.3
Annual Plans (1966-69)	2.5	1.5
Fourth Plan (1969-74)	2.8	2.6
Fifth Plan (1974-79)	5.8	4.12} (1974-78)
1978-79	-	1.04} 5.16
1979-80	1.13	1.02

As is apparent from the table, the overall position, however, still remains unsatisfactory.

Stronger political will and administrative support are necessary to improve the economy of irrigation by reducing this lag between potential and utilisation to the unavoidable minimum. The Ministers' Committee set up in 1973 to study this problem of under-utilisation of created irrigation potential, recommended comprehensive measures, including establishment of Command Area Development Authorities for accelerating utilisation.<sup>21</sup> They also emphasised the need for special legal and financial measures for construction of field channels.<sup>22</sup> Command Area Development Authorities have been created in a number of completed and on-going projects on an experimental basis, with a

charter to take up on farm development programmes, including construction of field channels and water courses. In certain states, such on-farm development schemes are being coordinated with consolidation of land holdings (as for example, Hirakud Command area). Attempts are also being made to introduce warabandi (rotational system of irrigation) in such Command Areas where it did not exist, with a view to improving utilisation of potential.

The progress achieved, however, is still unsatisfactory and a major thrust towards implementation of these programmes with earnestness is required.

#### WATER RATE POLICIES

The next important aspect of the political economy of irrigation is the question of water charges as related to the economic returns of the projects and the costs of operation and maintenance.

In India, water charges are fixed based on maintenance costs of the irrigation projects. Very often, these maintenance costs are themselves set quite low and even then are not recovered fully. Therefore, the World Bank has been insisting on revision of such water charges in cases of international funding for irrigation projects in India. But any increase in water charges is a highly politicised decision and is often taken on political rather than economic considerations. Sometimes, even the modest water charges, already in force, are not collected properly and political and administrative will for enforcing such collections is often found wanting.

Though many states have taken recourse to 'betterment levies' in the irrigated areas, in actual practice, it is seen that these laws have hardly been enforced and hence betterment levies have hardly been collected.

As a result, government irrigation projects are incurring losses in regard to their gross receipts minus total expenditure on maintenance. The actuals of such losses for the year 1980-81 were worked out by the Planning Commission in May 1983 state-wise. There is no state which is not incurring a loss and some of the larger states, like Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh are incurring higher losses. States like Orissa, which levy a compulsory basic water rate on all ayacutdars in Khariff, show a smaller quantum of loss than other states, which charge for irrigation on the basis of crops or water supplied. In fact, assessments run into difficulties in cases of crop-wise or acre-inchwise charges for irrigation water. Assessments and collections also run into trouble in view of the duality in administration, i.e., water is supplied by the Irrigation/PWD authorities and certification of area irrigated and assessment and collec-



tion of water charges is done by the revenue authorities. This duality often suits the beneficiaries and populist governments and any administration which attempts to raise the water charges or even to collect them effectively, is derided as anti-people. Thus, supply of irrigation water has to reckon with large hidden subsidies by government to the beneficiaries, at the cost of a large majority of people living outside the irrigated zones (the subsidies are paid out of their tax contributions). The coverage of irrigation on an all-India basis is about 30 per cent of the total cultivable lands and the population benefited may also be around 25-30 per cent.

The range of charges for water according to use, even in USA, shows a hidden subsidy for irrigation (though lesser than power and waste disposal). This is evident from Table 5.<sup>23</sup>

Table 5

Type of Use	Charges in c/m <sup>3</sup>	
	Average	Maximum
Domestic	9.0	21.2
Industrial	3.6	14.8
Irrigation 0.15		2.43
Power	0.06	0.53
Waste disposal	0.06	0.23

The Planning Commission observed before the 141st PAC that "the main reason for the losses in irrigation projects is that water rates are not being revised in keeping with the increasing cost of irrigation".<sup>24</sup> Despite emphasis on this aspect in every Five-Year Plan, every Finance Commission Report, Report of the Irrigation Commission (1972), and the Report of the Raj Committee on Taxation of Agricultural Wealth and Income, the state governments have been quite tardy in responding to any upward revision of water rates. Only Orissa and Rajasthan, were able to cover their working expenses by the end of 1982-83.<sup>25</sup>

In 1945-46, i.e., before Independence, the return from irrigation schemes was Rs.7.93 crore on an investment of Rs.149 crore, i.e., 5.3 per cent. This came down to Rs. one crore the following year and after Independence, the irrigation and multipurpose projects have been consistently showing losses, as shown in Table 6.<sup>26</sup>

Table 6 LOSSES IN IRRIGATION AND MULTI-PURPOSE PROJECTS

(In crore Rs.)

Year	Losses
1975-76	154.60
1981-82	424.75
1975-76 to 1981-82 (cumulative)	2053.00

The PAC, in its 141st Report, has, therefore, observed, "this situation cannot and should not be allowed to continue" and has found "no reason why the big landowners who are the principal beneficiaries of the irrigation facilities, should continue to be subsidised any longer, though it may be justified in case of small and marginal farmers and share-croppers".<sup>27</sup>

In the Command Areas of large irrigation projects, there is need to evolve a commercial cropping pattern to consume the large water potential created. In the process, substantial agriculturists, who are often the most adaptable, organised and vocal and have access to centres of political power and patronage, come to control the water and its uses, thereby depriving the bulk of the poorer sections from the benefits of water. These people often join hands with the canal administration in cornering benefits for themselves and also oppose any move to raise the water rates.<sup>28</sup> A progressive administration has to break this vicious nexus of power and bring the economic benefits of irrigation to the common people in the Command Areas.

In India, while major and medium irrigation projects are treated as commercial schemes, minor irrigation projects are not yet treated as such. This is economically not rational since irrigation water is a commercial product and irrespective of the source, the society has a right to get an adequate return from such investment. A rational water-rate policy is, therefore, necessary to ensure an adequate social return on the investment in irrigation. The shadow-pricing of water does not help us in fixing an economic water charge, since the alternative use of such abundant water is often not available near the points of storage or diversion or lifting. Therefore, a rational water rate policy has at least to ensure that the costs of operation and maintenance are recovered, even if there is no return

on the capital invested. Since irrigation projects are basically infrastructure projects, a return on capital can perhaps be sought in the multiplier effects that this investment generates in the economy.

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## Coordination in Agricultural Development.

C. SATAPATHY, B. DAS AND (MRS.) B. MITRA

OUR PROGRESS in agriculture since Independence has helped to generate self-confidence for better achievement. The foodgrain production in our country had increased to an all-time record of 142 million tonnes in the year 1983-84 as against 55 million tonnes in 1950. Although technological advances in our country took place in the present century, the real breakthrough in agriculture production occurred in eighties only. The achievements of Indian scientists in the field of agriculture won acclaim all over the world by the end of 1980.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, imperative that this progress on the agricultural front should be improved further in the coming years.

The way to reap higher benefit from agriculture is to facilitate scientific intensive farming through use of improved inputs, proper management of water resources and adoption of high-yielding varieties, which are inevitable to attain a rapid growth in agricultural production to meet the growing needs of our ever-increasing population. Agricultural production calls for a systematic approach through coordination of different organisations. No organisation can attain its goal without adequate coordination among units and their functionaries. Coordination is an administrative process which seeks to bring about unity of purpose in order to achieve common objectives. Effective coordination is, therefore, necessary between different units under the same organisation and among different agencies working towards a common end. Coordination implies a cooperative situation where two or more participants have a common goal and where each has sufficient information as to what others are going to do to enable him to make correct decision. It will usually be ineffective in the absence of coordination, for where coordination exists team work automatically exists.<sup>2</sup> It is the means whereby different entities may achieve concerted action without losing their organisational identity.<sup>3</sup>

## STUDY CONDUCTED IN PURI DISTRICT

Keeping the importance of coordination from agricultural development point of view, a study was undertaken to investigate into the role of coordination in agricultural development in general and the following objectives in particular:

1. To determine the relative position of coordination among the factors influencing agricultural development;
2. To find out the gaps in coordination among different departments of agricultural development; and
3. To secure suggestions for effective coordination among different agencies and departments of agricultural development.

**Research Design**

The investigation was undertaken in the Puri District of Orissa taking four levels of development, i.e., state, district, block and village. The respondents of the study constituted the officials of these levels. The official respondents were selected from those departments which are directly or indirectly involved in agricultural development. Altogether, 100 official respondents were selected taking 25 from each level for the study. The respondents were interviewed by means of a structured schedule. The sample size of the study is given in Table 1.

Table 1 SIZE OF THE SAMPLE

Departments	State	District	Block	Village	Total
Agriculture	6	7	5	18	36
Cooperative	2	4	1	2	9
Soil conservation	3	1	-	-	4
OSCMF	4	-	-	-	4
Irrigation	6	2	2	-	10
CD	2	-	9	5	16
OSEB	1	1	2	-	4
AH&VS	-	2	4	-	6
CBs	-	8	2	-	10
FCI	1	-	-	-	1
Total	25	25	25	25	100

## RESULTS

## Relative Position of Coordination in Agriculture Development

For effective implementation of any programme, either in the field of agriculture or in any allied sectors, coordination becomes an integral component. At present, development programmes are multi-dimensional in nature. Therefore, coordination among different agencies is important and necessary. It has been a matter of research for a considerable time in the past to know the relative position of coordination as an ingredient of development which needs to be channelised for effective cohesion. Coordination is necessary at all levels, specifically at the village level, in the performance of different functions, such as identification of small and marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, filling-up of loan application forms and laying out demonstration plots.<sup>4</sup>

In order to enlist different factors of development, an attempt was made through this investigation and the information so collected was subjected to statistical examination to determine their relative position as given in Table 2.

Table 2 RELATIVE POSITION OF COORDINATION AMONG FACTORS  
OF DEVELOPMENT

Sl. Factors No.	State	District	Block	Village
1. Input	I	I	I	I
2. Irrigation	II	II	II	II
3. Training	III	III	III	III
4. Organisation	VI	VII	VI	VII
5. Technology	IV	IV	IV	IV
6. Coordination	V	V	V	V
7. Marketing	VII	VI	VII	VI

The findings given in Table 2 reveal that input, irrigation, training and technology are the four important components to which due importance was being attached at all levels, namely, state, district, block and village. The other components, like coordination, organisation and marketing, which are found to have a bearing on implementation of agricultural programmes, ranked at the bottom level of the scale so far as their importance is concerned. Coordination as a factor of agricultural development programmes is found to

have ranked at the fifth position at the levels of state, districts and block but sixth at village level. Even though agencies or departments dealing with inputs, irrigation, training and technology are well designed at all levels, the implementation at agricultural programmes faced the problem due to lack of proper coordination among them. This is evident from the poor perception of officials about coordination at almost all levels, where programmes are being implemented.

### Gap in Coordination

It is very often complained that many programmes fail in our country to achieve objectives because of lack of coordination between and among the developmental departments. Rural development depends not only on active participation of related departments but also effective coordination starting from the level of policy-making to the point of implementation. On analysing the opinion of official respondents about gap in coordination among different departments at different levels, the results obtained are shown in Table 3.

Table 3 GAP IN COORDINATION AMONG DEPARTMENTS

(in percentage)

Sl. Departments No.	State	District	Block	Village	Mean
1. Cooperatives	3.06	5.00	5.00	5.00	4.51
2. Co-operative Banks	3.15	3.06	12.50	10.55	7.31
3. Fertiliser agencies	2.00	2.00	8.00	8.16	5.04
4. Agro-industries	2.00	17.85	22.22	13.04	13.77
5. NSC	2.00	8.00	17.85	23.91	12.94
6. Private input agencies	37.88	19.55	8.00	2.00	14.60
7. Irrigation	0.00	2.00	5.00	5.00	3.00
8. OSEB	12.97	13.04	23.91	22.22	18.03
9. OSCMF	10.00	12.50	22.20	22.22	16.73
Mean	8.11	8.22	13.85	12.45	-

NSC--National Seed Corporation; OSEB--Orissa State Electricity Board; and OSCMF--Orissa State Cooperative Marketing Federation Ltd.

A look at Table 3 reveals the gap in coordination among various departments at various levels for agricultural development. The mean value of the gap reveals that maximum coordination lacks with the

departments of OSEB followed by OSCMF, private input agencies, agro-industries and NSC in that order. However, the cooperation of fertiliser agencies is found to be highest. In view of the findings, it can be stated that coordination is lacking in most agencies of power supply and marketing. At state level, lack of coordination is found to be highest with private input agencies whereas at district level it is with the agro-industries, at block and village levels with that of OSEB, NSC and OSCMF. The findings, on the whole, lead to the conclusion that the input dealing agencies and agency for power supply fail to keep pace with desired coordination with other agencies for agriculture development.

### Suggestions for Effective Coordination

It is very often claimed that the views of officials are not taken into consideration for which intra- and inter-departmental coordination is not being maintained, as desired. The official respondents were requested to offer their opinion regarding maintaining coordination between and within departments as shown in Tables 4 and 5.

### Intra-Departmental Coordination

All the sample respondents expressed about ten important attributes for keeping effective coordination within the departments for execution of agricultural programmes effectively. The information contained in Table 4 describes the suggestions.

Table 4 SUGGESTIONS FOR INTRA-DEPARTMENTAL COORDINATION

Sl. No.	Suggestions	Frequencies (Percentage)	Rank Order
1.	Sincerity	30.00	IV
2.	Punctuality	20.00	VI
3.	Monthly conference	15.00	VII
4.	Informal meeting	10.00	VII
5.	Brotherhood relationship rather than bossism	17.00	I
6.	Clean and unbiased administration	20.00	VI
7.	Enforcement of rules and regulations rigidly	25.00	V
8.	Coordination committee	15.00	VII
9.	Willingness to work together	55.00	II
10.	Incentives to efficient workers	40.00	III



The findings in Table 4 indicate that brotherhood relationship should exist among the employees to maintain coordination followed by willingness to work together, incentives to efficient workers, sincerity, rigidity of rules and regulations, punctuality and clean administration. The findings, therefore, lead to the inference that the above mentioned factors should be looked into while planning for effective implementation of agricultural programmes.

#### Inter-Departmental Coordination

On investigating the opinion of the official respondents about inter-departmental coordination, the results obtained are shown in Table 5.

Table 5 SUGGESTIONS ON INTER-DEPARTMENTAL COORDINATION

Sl. Suggestions No.	Frequencies (Percentage)	Rank Order
1. Inter-departmental seminars	50.00	III
2. Equal importance to all co-ordinating departments	45.00	IV
3. Minimisation of communication gap	30.00	V
4. Setting up of coordination committee	75.00	I
5. Joint supervision	70.00	II
6. Recruitment of proper personnel in all the coordinating departments	30.00	V

A perusal of Table 5 reveals that for effective inter-departmental coordination, formation of coordination committee, joint supervisions, inter-departmental seminars, equal emphasis to coordinating departments, effective communication and recruitment of suitable personnel should be given top priority in order of merit. However, these are the suggestions for state, district and village level officials, who deal and work relating to agricultural development.

#### CONCLUSION

The study leads to the following conclusions:

1. For agricultural development, seven important agencies and departments have distinct roles to make the programme a success. These are input, irrigation, training, organisation,

technology, cooperatives and marketing. Coordination, as a factor of development, occupies fifth or sixth position at different levels of programme implementation which reveal the poor conception of the officials about coordination in programme execution.

2. A considerable gap in coordination between agriculture and department/agencies of OSEB, OSCMF, private input agencies, agro-industries and NSC is found in the area under study.
3. For intra-departmental coordination, factors like brotherhood relationship rather than bossism, willingness to work together, incentives to efficient workers, sincerity and enforcement of rules and regulations should be taken into account.
4. For effective inter-departmental coordination, formation of coordination committee, joint supervision, inter-departmental seminars and equal importance to all coordinating departments should be given top priority.

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# Human Resource Development for Rural Banking.

ANIL K. KHANDELWAL

PUBLIC SECTOR banks are engaged in a big way in the process of rural development. After the nationalisation of major commercial banks in 1969, banking has undergone a revolutionary change in its very objectives and the contents. One of the major expectations of the government as well as the society at large from the banking system has been in the area of rural development.

One dimension of the banks' involvement in rural development is evidenced by the simple fact that in the last five years banks have brought 15 million new customers in their fold under IRDP alone.

The major features of achievements of banks are as under:

1. The number of rural branches has increased from 2,233 in 1969 to 22,910 by March 1984.
2. The quantum of deposits mobilised from rural branches increased from Rs. 258 crore to Rs. 4,644 crore between 1969-80 (Rs. 10,990 crore as of March, 1984).
3. The amount of advances granted to various priority sector activities rose from Rs. 504 crore to Rs. 15,798 crore between 1969-84.
4. The number of loan accounts under priority sector increased from 642 thousand accounts to 17,895 thousand accounts between 1969-83.
5. Average population served by a bank branch got reduced from 88,000 to 15,000 between 1972-84.

According to an estimate, banks will continue to enlarge their rural activities by increasing number of branches to 55,100; deposits to Rs. 38,060 crore; and advances to Rs. 22,100 crore by 1990. This is also consistent with the direction of Seventh Plan.

It appears that banks have done reasonably a good job in achieving certain landmarks in rural lending but the recovery position which is around 52.7 per cent is only one indicator of banks' obsession with

the quantitative dimension in the processes of rural lending. It has been pointed out by several authorities that rural borrower by and large wants to repay back and where recovery is in arrears, it seems that it has been on account of lack of persistence, absence of providing counselling, extension and support services by the banks as well as other rural development agencies.

#### WHAT IS RURAL DEVELOPMENT?

In fact, the malady lies in our understanding of the word 'Rural Development'. The experience shows that the activities of the bankers have largely focused on rural disbursement. Thus, the focus is on disbursement of credit rather than development of rural poor which has wider connotations. This brings us to look at the word 'development' itself in the context of rural areas.

The World Bank<sup>1</sup> looks at the rural development as a process through which rural poverty is alleviated by sustained increase in productivity and increase in the income of rural workers and households. A seminar discussing the approaches to rural development in Asia agreed on the definition of rural development as the process which leads to continuous rise in the capacity of rural people to control their environment, accompanied by a wider distribution of benefits resulting from such control. Different authors have put different emphasis while defining rural development. For example, Miller<sup>2</sup> sets four tasks of development programmes:

- (a) Development of human resources;
- (b) Expansion of physical resources;
- (c) Extension of community's own control over its physical environment as a result of the expansion of physical resources; and
- (d) Correspondingly bringing more permanent changes in relation to the external environment.

Other authors have defined rural development in terms of:

- (a) Man as the centre of development;
  - (b) Delineation of man so that he becomes the subject as well as object;
  - (c) Development of collective personality of men;
  - (d) Participation as the true form of democracy; and
  - (e) Self reliance as the expression of man's own abilities
- (Haque, Mehta, Rahman and Wignaraja, 1977)

In his speech before the National Development Council, the then Planning Minister, Shri S.B. Chavan<sup>3</sup> laid special emphasis in the area of human resource development (HRD) which, according to him, requires concerted efforts on the part of Central and state governments. He mentioned that HRD in achieving targets of Seventh Plan would mean:

1. A drive to eradicate illiteracy totally;
2. Provision of safe drinking water to all habitations;
3. Drive to wipe out the major diseases afflicting the health of people;
4. Preventive health care and higher nutritional standards; and
5. Determined perseverance with the programmes for fertility control and reduction in child mortality.

Thus, the focus of several schemes as well as development strategy for the Seventh Plan is on the 'Development of Man'.

Thus the emphasis of bank's contribution in rural development has to be essentially in the context of 'Development of Rural Client'. In this article, our hypothesis is that banks' effort to develop 'rural client' can bring fruitful results if only banks are able to develop their own human resources to do rural development work.

#### RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND BANKS

Obviously, efforts of banks as well as other public agencies have been far from impressive in the area of development of rural personnel in its entirety. For example, banks have largely concentrated only on giving financial input, whereas the government agencies have largely concentrated on providing subsidy. Thus, the major thrust of banks and the government together has been on providing financial resources. However, mere economic help does not bring about total development and unless it is backed by other facilitative inputs like proper technology, marketing facilities, counselling services accompanied by strong will. The increasing percentage of overdue as also increase of persons below poverty line are two important indicators supporting our contention that credit alone is not a panacea for rural development.

In the above context, the observations of Prof. Karkal<sup>4</sup> are quite revealing. He observed that the pattern of public investment during various plan periods (1 to 6) reveals that if the government were to distribute the entire amount for public expenditure to rural population, on an average every family would have got Rs.18,000 approximately and that this capital if invested in fixed deposit would have

enhanced their earning capacity much more than what the plans have achieved.

Prof. Karkal<sup>5</sup> states that there are four characteristics of rural development: (a) economic; (b) scientific and technological; (c) socio-cultural; and (d) politico-administrative.

As far as banks are concerned, their major role can be seen in the context of giving economic push to rural developmental activities. However, this economic push needs to be seen beyond the limited perspective of disbursement of credit. The economic input by the banks must aid capital formation in the rural areas through productive investment which would require a concerted action for developing the borrower. The borrower will also have to be assisted through proper education and training to take appropriate benefits from other agencies and create in him necessary confidence to deal with the environment and help his brethren to come out from the darkness of ignorance and poverty. Thus the task before the bank is to move from 'disbursement oriented framework' to 'development oriented framework'.

The development oriented framework for a banker would mean basically playing two roles, viz., (a) functional role, and (b) promotional role. The functional role would mean: (i) quick delivery, (ii) ensuring end-use of funds, and (iii) recycling of funds. Promotional role would mainly include using credit as a lever of development. This would include going beyond functional role. The focus of promotional role should be on the overall development of the customers in terms of counselling and creating awareness in him so as to increase their capability and confidence to handle variety of problems faced in dealing with the environment. We do not intend to suggest that bankers indulge in a deliberate task of raising organised social awareness about their political rights but we definitely intend that bankers through education and development strategies can help in making the customer see his own inner potential to work for higher goals.

We see banks as a major resource for rural development only if banks, through their six lakh employees and money power at their command, can go beyond their traditional banking function. After all even if lending is done to poor persons while the basic mode and core is traditional, it merely tantamounts to extending traditional banking to clients in rural area without any element of 'innovativeness'. While urban clients, with their education and socio-cultural awareness, can, with the help of bank's borrowing, look after their interests, the rural client is not capable of looking after his interests in the best manner to that extent. This makes bankers' role much more challenging and demanding in dealing with rural poor than that with

urban clients. Therefore, banks have a very important role in rural development to look beyond traditional banking activities in rural areas, and have to actively engage themselves in the total development of the rural client.

### Defining HRD for Rural Development

In order that rural development, in its proper perspective, is achieved through economic help from the banks, it is necessary that the banks pay increasing attention to human resource development for rural banking. Human resource development is not a one shot affair. It would mean planned change on continuous basis changing the perspective of bank personnel and motivate them to undertake rural banking job with a sense of dedication and commitment. It should also

call for systematic design of systems to help bank personnel to use their untapped potential and productivity to undertake such work as also to develop reward and punishment system consistent with performance record in rural areas. HRD for rural banking would also call for developing a spirit of collaboration and problem solving. The basic skill involved in the development of people through rural development programmes would require a new orientation altogether. The HRD process would include developing empathy, trust, helping attitude, autonomy and a sense of collaboration amongst bank personnel. Development of all these traits is obviously beyond training alone and would encompass:

1. Suitable recruitment strategies to acquire such personnel who can identify themselves with rural processes and develop empathy for rural mass by their very background;
2. Sound placement policies giving rural orientation to one and all who join banking industry;
3. Developing reward and punishment system consistent with performance in rural areas;
4. Performance linkages with creative involvement with rural development rather than merely traditional banking in rural area; and
5. Developing systems for better communication and prompt grievance resolution of the rural employees.

These steps, we believe, will certainly help in acquiring a highly motivated force of bank employees who can identify themselves with the developmental ethos.

Rural development through banks cannot be achieved by individual enthusiasm at different levels but by collective wisdom and adopting a group problem solving approach.

The task really is stupendous because after nationalisation, despite the success of the public sector banks in achieving certain targets, very little has been done by public sector banks to develop commitment in their cadre to serve rural poor.

#### RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND MOTIVATIONAL PROBLEMS OF PERSONNEL

Before suggesting a strategy for human resources development for rural banking, we cannot help analysing the current scenario in this area. Unless we examine the inadequacies of present policies, we would not be able to develop a plan for future.

Let us, therefore, discuss in following paras the 'Problem Areas' which are contributing to the inadequacies in promoting rural development.

#### Recruitment

Recruitment policy and strategies presently in vogue are not able to attract right kind of personnel for rural development job. For example, banks continue to recruit personnel from urban areas in large number. In both clerical and officer cadres, large number of highly educated youth, often from different disciplines, are recruited. A high percentage of them have absolutely no understanding of rural India. For them, rural poor is a fact of this country which finds a mention in their text books. Many of them have not even seen a village. In college/university they have had no exposure in either theoretical or practical aspects of rural life giving them any exposure/understanding of rural setting. Even the most highly qualified personnel holding degrees like M.Sc. (Physics), Ph.D., etc., who join banks are motivated to join this industry not because they want to serve in rural areas but because bank jobs are most secured and offer guaranteed promotion and status symbol in the society. At the time of recruitment the test given to them places emphasis on their numerical ability and reasoning. In interviews those who can communicate their ideas well in English language and are well versed in information ranging from Sunil Gavaskar's record to Disco numbers of Michael Jackson get selected. It is a pity that in many cases even the panel members have no exposure to rural development and are least qualified to test rural orientation of a new entrant.

#### Manpower Planning

When the task of rural development was assigned to banks after nationalisation, they largely responded by recruiting agriculture graduates. While this was a good strategy to begin with, its fall out was quite unfortunate. The bankers solely entrusted the task of



rural activities to these technically qualified officers. The result was that rural development became their baby while a general banker was able to progress in the organisation without having an exposure to rural banking. This also demotivated these agriculture graduates as they feel that they are destined to live in rural areas all the time and the experience and expertise required by them in other branches is not utilised. The banks recruited thousands of agriculture graduates. In some of the large banks they constitute as much as 10 to 15 per cent of officers, work force. This only shows absence of adequate manpower planning and existence of a strategy for rural development. As time passed, these technical officers started feeling the pinch as they felt that their good work is not amply recognised and rewarded in the organisation. They also saw lack of career opportunities as major promotions at higher level are from operational banking area. Thus, in most of the banks the rural development work did not occupy the central place in the functioning as far as promotional avenues for employees are concerned. Can we afford a future banker without any background and exposure in rural banking?

It is painful but true that most of the present senior management and top management personnel do not themselves have any direct exposure to rural banking and largely rural development plans are seen as government plans. An average banker wants to engage himself in traditional trade/industrial advances or international business rather than rural development.

#### **Lack of Rural Orientation**

As has been pointed elsewhere in this paper, the rural development activities have largely been carried out in a traditional fashion by the banks generally to achieve targets. Given the broad parameters of development which require total understanding of rural economy, rural ethos, and understanding of socio-economic environment, it is necessary that for doing real and significant work in rural development the change-agent totally identifies himself with the local area. The banker, who has been called upon to act as a change-agent in the rural area, has to totally integrate himself to the rural environment. However, this has hardly happened. It appears that most of the managers and other employees working in rural branches do not stay at the place of work. They come and go away. There is hardly any opportunity for them to mix with the rural folk and community feelings with those people. It is not uncommon to see that this goes on with the tacit understanding with the management. While absence of infrastructural facilities, like a house, a school, drinking water and medical facilities, are real and genuine problems, which discour

age officials of the bank to stay in such areas, there is increasing tendency amongst bankmen to stay outside even where such facilities are available. Perhaps this is because of their basic urban orientation. The basic malady lies in recruitment, which has been highlighted earlier. Under the circumstances, a rural posting in a bank is considered as unwanted posting and an average officer takes up the job with utter reluctance. Such an officer is hardly motivated to build up a long-term link with the rural setting and somehow looks forward to pass two to three years in rural area and move on to urban area. In fact, in most of the banks, the management has entered into understanding with officers' association regarding maximum duration of posting in rural area. This itself shows that rural posting is considered as a necessary hurdle to be crossed to reach the final destination. One of the reasons why rural posting is considered as hurdle is that it is not compulsory for every one to work in rural areas. This makes many officials feel discriminated and perhaps it is for this reason that officers' association insists on definite duration for such posting. In many cases, officers are able to rise to the top echelon without a stint in rural area.

#### **Appraisal System**

Another dimension of the problem is that the rewards are not linked with the performance in rural area. Most banks have appraisal systems which are heavily oriented towards achieving of targets on deposits, and of late on IRDP and other government sponsored advances. The creative and innovative work done in the rural area generally remain unnoticed for want of adequate control monitoring mechanisms. Barring honourable exceptions here and there, the performance in rural area, specially in the area of creative developmental work to help the poor, remains unnoticed. Also, people get away with their even rural posting even without any instance of success to their credit. It is nowhere reflected in their appraisal also. Since the expectation is restricted only to the area of traditional banking function, developmental work is generally ignored. For the factors outlined above, effective linkages with rural folks are not built up. This perhaps also explains the reasons why there is increase in political push for giving loans to weaker section.

#### **Training**

One of the most inhibiting factors for rural development by the banks is lack of training facilities to staff at all levels. According to one study, rural banking training constitutes only one-sixth of the total training programmes conducted by various training establishments of the bank, despite diversified increase in rural bank

ing activities and non-availability of trained staff. According to the Committee on Training in Rural Development Through Credit (TRUDEC), there is backlog of 38,000 officers who are to be trained in the rural banking<sup>6</sup>. Only four banks have their separate training establishments for rural banking. The backlog at individual bank's level is so large that almost all big banks need to have separate training establishments for rural banking alone. Within the existing training set-up, rural banking is not able to get the needed priority in the training function. Further, there is tendency to play with number and in this process the rigour is lost. In fact, the training requirements in rural banking are so complex and variant that it is necessary to have a totally different appraisal to rural development training. There is also no systematic strategy to train a traditional banker to adopt rural technology. Often the efforts are unplanned, uncoordinated and half-hearted. Also, there is a tremendous training gap in this area at senior management level.

#### SOME REMEDIAL MEASURES

In order to make bank finance productive and help rural client to develop, some remedial measures are discussed in the following paras which can be considered for implementation.

##### Recruitment Policies

Banks will have to change their recruitment strategies immediately. The oft-repeated problem that people from rural areas are not available, though genuine, is not unsurmountable. There are 14 institutions in the country which provide higher education in rural development. These institutes offer diploma/degree courses equivalent to graduation and post-graduation. These institutes also carry out experiments in the field of rural higher education to provide research and extension service for the benefit of the people of the area. The methodology adopted by these institutes is to provide students to live a fuller life by providing field experience. Institutes like Gangajala Vidyapeeth, Aliabad, Gujarat; Lok Bharati, Sansora, Gujarat; Vedchhi Ashram-cum-Gandhi Vidyapeeth, Vedchhi, Ahmedabad; Gandhigram Institute for Rural Development, Madurai; Rural Higher Education Institute, Virauli, Bihar, are some of the leading institutes which are producing good number of people with proper rural orientation. Besides there are 27 agriculture universities in India and 152 gram sevak training centres producing agriculture graduates and multi-purpose village level workers called gram sevak.

Banking Services Recruitment Boards (BSRB) can do campus recruitment both for clerical and officer cadres in such places. This will

greatly help BSRBs to acquire personnel with necessary orientation for rural development work. The BSRB also needs to have a second look at the present test system which is highly urban-oriented because it focuses only on numerical ability, reasoning ability and fluency in English, which helps the urban graduates to make their mark. There is absolutely no emphasis in the present system on rural orientation.

The BSRB should also insist on proficiency in local language in the recruitment. It is not uncommon to find in banks persons from south working in the villages of Uttar Pradesh or Rajasthan where due to language barrier itself they are unable to develop the required rapport with the local folk. Therefore, it should be ensured that before an employee is confirmed he achieves proficiency in local language. In fact, Officers' Service Regulations applicable to officers in nationalised banks do prescribe that a directly recruited officer may be required to pass a test in a language other than his mother tongue before confirmation but unfortunately banks do not seem to have implemented this clause. Necessary efforts for this purpose will, therefore, have to be made by the bank authorities.

#### **Placement Policies**

Banks will have to come out with a positive policy statement of placement in a rural area. One of the important constituents of the policy should be that rural service must be made compulsory for every officer and considered as an important yardstick for further promotion and growth in the bank. The present policy about rural postings is quite ad hoc which needs to be streamlined. In case of clerical staff also, due attention should be paid to give them necessary training and exposure as also motivation to undertake rural service. Within the first five years of service even in clerical cadre, it should be made compulsory for them to have at least two years exposure in rural areas. This should be given important weightage during internal promotion exercise also. This is all the more necessary because 75 per cent of promotions in the banks to officers cadre are from within the ranks. It is, therefore, necessary that right in the clerical cadre, employees should have exposure to rural banking. According to a recent survey conducted by National Institute of Bank Management<sup>7</sup>, 31 per cent respondents felt that rural postings will help if recognition of good work in rural area is considered essential for further career development. Another 29 per cent felt that it will help to a great extent if recognition of good work is given. This survey also points out that 66 per cent of the bank employees feel that it will motivate them to undertake rural postings if management assures the employees that after few years of

service in rural area they can have a posting of their choice. Another 25 per cent felt that it will help to some extent. Thus, we can conclude that a majority of bank employees (85 per cent) feel that rural postings can be undertaken on the assurance that they can have postings at their desired place after they have served in rural areas. We can appreciate this point more so in view of inadequate infrastructure in rural areas as also lack of any placement policy in the banks. Obviously, there is an immediate need to develop a rural placement policy in the banks. The promotions and reward system should also be strictly linked with the achievements/contributions in the rural areas. In the beginning of the career itself, employees should be given exposure in the rural banking.

#### **Appraisal System**

The performance appraisal system for officers in the bank needs to project a specific contribution and invisible work done by an officer in the rural area. The emphasis of appraisal system in banks is generally on meeting the targets of deposits and advances. Though these are important indicators of performance, yet there are other important dimensions like involvement with the local developmental task, extension services, counselling and coordination services which must be reflected in the appraisal system. There is a necessity for separate appraisal system for rural banking. In fact, while appraising the performance of even controlling heads, suitable criterion must be evolved to relate an individual's contribution to rural development under his area of control. Again, such criterion should not be based only on achievement of target figures but on providing counselling services to branches and pro-active steps in the area of rural development.

#### **Team Spirit and Collaboration Through Grievance Handling**

In order that developmental work in rural areas is undertaken with enthusiasm, it is necessary that the branch functionaries work in a team spirit. Working in rural areas involves dealings on one side with rural folk and on the other with multiple agencies headed by bureaucrats. Local politicians too make enormous demands on a banker. Added to this are the communication problems within one's own organisation. Considering all these factors, it is necessary to have a good communication machinery within the bank so that there is periodical feedback about the problems faced by the staff in rural areas. There may always be interpersonal problems within the branch. If these problems remain unresolved, they become potential source of conflict. It is, therefore, necessary that a time-bound grievance machinery is available to those working in rural areas. In fact,

grievance machinery for entire community of employees is essential but in urban areas employees have better access to management through trade unions. What is, therefore, required is that periodical visits by personnel officers to rural areas should be made to have first hand appreciation of the problem and where behavioural problems exist necessary counselling be given on the spot.

### **Development Through Training**

In view of the massive task of rural financing, banks have to have trained personnel in various aspects of rural development so that they are able to play a role of change-agent in rural areas. In fact, one of the major factors for failure of banks to touch qualitative dimension of development in rural areas has been absence of trained manpower. Though commercial banks have provided training opportunities in rural development in their respective training establishments, yet the courses offered are far from adequate in terms of both content as well as impact. Majority of banks, including some of the major banks, mainly rely on some of the courses conducted by them in their existing training establishments. There are apex training institutes--like College of Agriculture Banking, Poona; and Bankers Institute for Rural Development (BIRD), Lucknow--which have been established very recently. These institutes conduct programmes for commercial banks as well as cooperative and regional rural banks (RRBs). Other apex level institutions like National Institute of Bank Management (NIBM) and Bank Training Centre (BTC), are not doing many programmes in the area of rural development. Thus, largely, banks have to rely on their own internal facilities for training for rural development. With the added responsibility of training RRB personnel, it is all the more necessary that banks develop suitable infrastructure to take care of training needs at different levels, that is from clerical staff to senior management level. According to the TRUDECO report, commercial banks are required to train 38,000 officers and 26,000 officers of RRBs by the end of 1985. The task is really stupendous. It does not involve merely giving capsule courses in rural development but to design comprehensive courses so that officers with urban background can have a thorough exposure in the area of rural financing. The aim of these courses should be to develop confidence and motivation amongst existing and future bank personnel to undertake rural development activity with increasing gusto.

The following strategy regarding training system may be adopted to

help prepare a motivated banker to undertake rural development activity:

1. Individual banks should develop a written document on "Training Strategy for Rural Development". This document must contain required projections for rural development in terms of business levels and manpower requirement. It should also contain existing backlog in training in rural development. This training should also chalk out a time-bound action plan in relation to training infrastructure for rural development, necessary software, development of trainers as also potential target groups. Essential training must be linked to proper placement otherwise this would cause waste of major resources of the bank.
2. In view of various commonalities in financing and development activities as also gigantic backlog in the field of training, the banking industry would require a very large number of training establishments. Though many banks are contemplating to establish separate rural development institutes for their personnel yet we feel that rural development requires understanding of local socio-economic conditions as also understanding of human process in a particular locality. Therefore, there is a need for inter-bank collaboration in establishment of training institutions for rural development in specific areas which would greatly save the cost and duplication of efforts. For example, in a particular state, lead banks can combine to open a few training centres for a cluster of districts. This will help orienting training to specific requirements of the regions as also to undertake field studies and using such data in the curriculum. These institutions can provide training to clerks as well as officers. It is only through this approach that training of bank personnel on continuous basis can be undertaken at a low cost and at the doorstep of the developing regions.
3. Further there should be an organic linkage between various training institutions for rural development like CAB (Poona), BIRD (Lucknow), NIBM (Bombay), and NIRD (Hyderabad). These institutions should periodically undertake studies on various aspects of rural development and also provide facilities to prepare trainers for rural development. These institutions should help in developing curriculum for various categories of personnel for rural work.

### Role of Trade Unions

Trade unions in banks have a major role to play in rural development. In fact, the place which they have achieved in the banking must help them in rural development. This would call for restraint on their part and allow management to transfer people to rural areas, making rural service compulsory for each employee, developing reward system based on contribution in rural areas, and periodical job rotation as also enlarged job role for bank personnel in rural areas. They will have to shed their narrow outlook about allowance based additional performance and work in collaboration with bank management to change the pattern of rural financing.

In the foregoing sections, current status of various components on HRD system, like manpower planning, recruitment, training, reward and punishment system, etc., have been discussed. Specific measures have also been suggested which can be undertaken by the banks to facilitate the process of human resource development for rural development. Since the Seventh Plan places lot of emphasis on rural uplift and enhancing productivity in rural areas, development of human resource in banks to fullfil needs of rural development programme assumes tremendous significance. Perhaps what is required now is the will to introduce changes in personnel policies so that rural development becomes integral to the banking activities.

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## District Administration in India.

H. BHUBAN SINGH

IT WILL be hypothetically correct to say that if the 388 districts of India (as on October 1983; this figure must have increased considerably by now, as new districts are created every now and then) are well administered, then the whole country would have been administered well. The pivotal unit of administration in India is a district, which has a well defined geographical territory. Management of public affairs in a district--whatever it may mean is implied from the term 'district administration'. But the fact that the districts are not managed well, can be seen from the concern expressed in the first ever conference of chief secretaries of states held in May 1976. Recently, the Ashok Mitra Committee on Administrative Reforms, set up by the West Bengal Government, also found fault with district administration.

During the early days of East India Company, when money-making was the overriding consideration and empire-building was only incidental, the district collector's office (established in 1772) was designed to collect revenue only. The then district collector was not concerned whether the people were harassed by criminals or whether justice was denied to the majority of the people, so long as revenue collection was not in arrears. There was no district governance worth the name at that time. Gradually, but certainly after the 1858 Declaration of Queen Victoria, the practice of spoils system vigorously pursued by Robert Clive and his ilk, was abandoned. The Campbellian concept of district administration (named after Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal 1871-74) with the D.C. (the district collector or the deputy commissioner, the designations given to the district officer in different states), representing the Raj in totality in a district, was introduced. It suited the colonial concept of the British in order to register full impact of the might of the Empire on the masses. Interestingly, the people were also pleased for they had someone to whom they could turn to for succour, security and justice, and where immediate relief or justice was dished out to

them.

With Independence, many structural, organisational and functional changes in district administration took place. The changes, as many tend to believe, were not aimed at wholesale rejection of the colonial system. One has the highest regard and respect for British institutions. But these changes were necessitated by the requirement of an elected government to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of the people. The country is needed to be developed, to be made strong, to be able to defend herself, and to be able to command respect in the community of nations.

So the first wave of change which hit the district administration was the programme of community development (CD) and national extension service (NES) inaugurated in October 1952. Development blocks, not necessarily co-terminus with sub-divisions, were demarcated and block development officers (BDO) were appointed. Some states also introduced the post of district development officer (DDO). These DDOs were officers of revenue service and were made to perform the duties of additional district magistrate (ADM) also, which indicates the suspicion that they were to be used mainly as ADMs as reflected from their qualifications and nature of service. Later, when some states introduced district planning officer (DPO), an item of recent manufacture, again belonging to the revenue service, and again to be used as ADMs, the suspicion got confirmed. Government's approach either towards the field of development or planning is half-hearted. In the beginning, the developmental activities were not part of the normal administrative functions and the district administration was more or less kept insulated. All development projects and their execution were under a development commissioner. This parallel line approach hampered developmental work as for example, a minor irrigation project could not take-off because the required land-acquisition work was held up. The deputy commissioner who was more busy in his regulatory functions of election, law and order, revenue collection, etc., did not find time to process the case of land acquisition.

After some prolonged hit-and-miss trials which produced less hits and more misses, the single line system of some sort, was evolved. In this arrangement, the DC was made the coordinator of all activities in his district. The IAS DC, in sour taste, reckons this as back-seat driving. He opines that with the district level officer treating his head of department as the real boss and the DC as the dummy boss, things cannot move in the district as programmed by him. Resultantly, the two bosses cannot be satisfied and the frustrated person in this game is the DC. Sometimes the situation is so bad that not only there is lack of cooperation but there is also marked hostility. When the question of accountability comes, predictably

neither the DC nor the head of department is held responsible. Inquiries are conducted but the voluminous inquiry report makes sure that accountability becomes undefined. It is then blurred till it finally disappears in the thin air.

With the ostensible object of democratic decentralisation of power and of allowing direct participation by the people in administration and development, the Balwantrai Mehta recommendation of three-tier Panchayati Raj institutions was introduced in the late fifties. In the hill areas, inhabited by tribals, corresponding institutions like Hill Areas Advisory Board, and District Councils were introduced at a later stage. The main impetus was to transform the bureaucratic ruler's image of the DC to that of being a servant of the people, willing to implement the people's wish. It was also further thought that the DC would be relieved of his normal minor duties by the Panchayati Raj institutions and he would thus be able to devote his time on more important jobs. But the trust is belied mainly due to reduction of the Panchayati Raj institutions to innocuous existence, just like municipalities and other local-self bodies. The net result is that these institutions hung like dead loads round the neck of the district administrator. Instead of lightening, the burden on the DC has increased further.

Experimentation with district administration goes on unabated. Separation of judiciary at district level was introduced in gradual phases. Since this arrangement was made with much hope of social justice, it is best to be silent on this. However, one cannot help recording the comment of senior IAS officers who had the experience of being deputy commissioners earlier, on the current law and order situation, which runs something like "For 'law' go to the court, for 'order' go to the police, for 'and' come to us, the IAS officers". Echoing General K.V. Krishna Rao, Governor of Manipur, who said that law is required to maintain order, it needs to be added that law must be enforced strongly and expeditiously to guarantee order. Enforcement, enforcement and more enforcement, that also quickly and immediately is the main requirement, indeed, the only requirement, regardless of separation or no separation of judiciary. With enforcement of law being now delayed more, than before, the socially undesirable characters are becoming more adventurous, much to the chagrin of district officers. The deputy commissioner is now important with regard to authority. Some districts are in fact ruled by goondas. It is, therefore, surprising as to how districts are still running or at least avoiding collapse.

The wind of change, which was sweeping the district administration by programmes like IRDP (Integrated Rural Development Programme), NREP (National Rural Employment Programme) and so on (almost

innumerable), did not stop blowing even during the Janata period. The District Industries Centres (DICs) with a set organisational pattern having a general manager, six functional managers, and a host of assistant managers and other officials, suddenly landed on the districts, with the avowed purpose of industrialising the districts. It does not seem to matter whether that particular district has raw material for any kind of industry or not, or the infrastructure exists there or not, or whether the requisite competence is available or not. But industry must be established by hook or crook, and if required, by crook only. Though the deputy commissioner is not very much involved, but still, in the game of shifting responsibility, if things go wrong, the deputy commissioner is blamed, for it is easy to pick him for not providing the required motivation or for non-cooperation on matters of praedial nature. The significant thing is that something or the other is always thrust down the throat of district administration which has already had its mouth full.

With the happenings mentioned above as the backdrop, the district administration is to be braced up. One of the methods suggested was to adopt a well defined single line system of control. Here the DC is to act as a deputy heads of department, and he will have direct control over all district level officers. The argument is that the DC as a deputy chief engineer, or a deputy director of agriculture or a deputy inspector general of police will sanction, execute and process projects or dispose of cases on the spot. This arrangement will simply fail because of the inherent defect that the DC, who belongs to a different service, will require to depend so much on his technical service officers that he will become a rubber stamp. On the other hand, in order to outsmart his technical officers, if the DC tries to master the intricacies of other departments then he will need 30 hours in a day of 24 hours. To crown it all, he, with his air of superior service, will be reluctant to subordinate himself to the technical heads of department, which he will be duty-bound to do as a deputy. If the intention, however, is to allow the DC to exercise powers without the corresponding responsibility to the head of department, then he will become a super-duper deputy and he will become a dangerous official. This solution will not simply work.

Having decided that the DC cannot assume direct command of all the departments which function in a district and which form part of district administration, the solution lies in effective coordination, which, in fact, is one of his main duties. Now coordination, cannot be done on request-basis. This is the principal drawback of the present set-up. So the DC must be provided with some authority--direct or induced. As direct authority is ruled out, induced authority is the key, which will emanate from seniority only. It is

common knowledge that a Secretariat Department, headed by a senior IAS officer, will perform better than another department headed by a comparatively junior IAS officer because of induced authority caused by seniority. The ADC, who is on back-slapping terms with departmental secretaries, will do well because, firstly, he will find that the secretary is one of his colleagues and he can talk freely to him and, secondly, departmental head will react better since the DC can become his own departmental secretary any day.

The West Bengal Committee on Administrative Reforms has also recommended that DCs. must be IAS officers of at least 10 years' service. The present-day arrangement of having DCs with only four or five years' service has ruined district administration, though a few of the youngsters are really good. But they lack maturity and experience. They are unable to trade blows or wits with the politicians. They can only twiddle their fingers when faced with a difficult law and order situation. To aggravate the problem, the IPS is also competing with the IAS by sending more and more junior officers as district superintendents of police. Recently, the disease has caught up with the Defence Forces as well. This is very unfortunate, but perhaps unavoidable in the mood of keeping up with the Jones. If this trend continues, in no time we will have trainee officers direct from Lal Bahadur Shastri Academy of Administration as DCs and IPS officers direct from Hyderabad Academy as SPs. This is quite the opposite of ICS officers of British days when one could find DCs with more than 20 years service in the same district. In fact, they were almost possessive of the district they belonged to, as if it was their personal property. They, perhaps, felt that the people of the district would suffer if someone else managed their affairs. They did not want to move out, say from Lushai Hills District (now Mizoram) of undivided Assam to neighbouring Khasi and Jaintia Hills District (now Meghalaya) again of undivided Assam. To revive district administration to past glory and to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of a free people and to accomplish the aims and objects of developing country, we must have DCs who are senior enough. This is more relevant now, since the present-day DC has no senior to guide him or absorb shock coming directly from top that is the Government itself, as the office of divisional commissioner has been abolished in almost all the states.

A number of profitable side-effects also accrue out of having senior IAS officers as DCs. Overnight, there will be about 400 senior posts available for IAS officers. This will mitigate stagnation.

The period of isolation of departmental secretaries from the reality of the ground will also be over. Many state government

secretaries or Central Government secretaries who have done their stint as district officers about 15-20 years back are ruefully out of tune. They are unable to comprehend the prevailing condition. Alternating tenure of field duty and secretariat duty will sharpen the edge of administration. Unfortunately, the secretariat--both at the state or Central Government level--has become the centre of career-planning and such a hot-bed of power-politicking that if one scratches even a very junior IAS officer, leave alone the senior ones, one should not be surprised to find New Delhi written under his skin. This needs be and must be stopped. It is a sad state of affairs that field duty has been reduced to an unwanted duty. The king-pin of administration is district administration, for beyond the district level comes the state level. At state government level, there is no direct administration. At present, the 'king' of district administration is gone and only the 'pin' is left. District administration must be raised to the level of importance, it deserves.

As 'lawless and disorder' situation is not conducive to development, the DC must be provided with sufficient magisterial and judicial powers to make it a 'peace and order' situation (as per American technology). In the prevailing Indian atmosphere of providing political patronage, may be unwittingly even to law-breakers, it will be best to give punishment quick and fast before allowing the build-up of political pressure to yield the point of administration. Therefore, a rethinking on the advisability of separation of judiciary at district level has become necessary.

Lastly, a few heroes produced here and there does not make the service safe. If the administration is to tick, the officers must be able to function fearlessly. They must form the bedrock of a working institution, provide continuity of policy and even constitute a bulwark against the conduct of state's affairs for personal gains. The most damaging thing which can happen to career servicemen is ruination of career. Their pliability comes out of this fear. It is possible that service officers will work more fearlessly, if only servicemen are associated with their annual confidential reports. In short, the career of the captain of the district administration must be protected from exploitation and he must be a senior, mature and powerful officer, not a tiny tot, as is happening today.

## Managerial Leadership Style in Scientific Organisations.\*

KULWANT SINGH AND OM SINGH VERMA

THE CHOICE of a proper leadership style at the proper time is very vital. The proper style is that which best fits into the personalities of the manager and the subordinates. The leadership style thus describes the amount of manager-subordinates 'equality'.

The first attempt to delineate the dimension of leadership behaviour was made by Lippitt and White<sup>1</sup> under the general guidance of Kurt Lewin. They distinguished two non-overlapping styles: authoritarian and democratic. Tennenbaum<sup>2</sup> identified seven possible leadership behaviours ranging from total authoritarian to the extreme of democratic state. Vroom and Yetton<sup>3</sup> assumed that the basic function of a leader is to make decision and hence the leadership style amounts to decision-making styles. In the light of this theory, they identified four basic styles of management: (1) autocratic, (2) consultative, (3) group, and (4) delegative. In Indian studies, five styles were found most prevalent: (1) risk taking, (2) technocracy, (3) organicity, (4) participation, and (5) coercion.

For the purpose of this study, Tennenbaum<sup>4</sup> model of leadership style was considered most relevant. It was so because leadership was viewed not as a special kind of style but rather as a degree of influence which every individual possesses in varying amounts. His seven-point continuum of leadership structure was, therefore, adopted to find out the functioning style of managerial leadership in scientific organisations.

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\* This is a part of the M. Sc. thesis (1983) entitled, **An Appraisal of Leadership Styles, Roles, and Credibility in Scientific Organisations** written by Kulwant Singh under the chairmanship of Om Singh Verma at National Dairy Research Institute, Karnal.

## METHODOLOGY

In order to quantify the leadership style, the seven statements described by Tennenbaum<sup>5</sup> were rated on seven-point continuum ranging from 'always' to 'never' attributes with their respective score from seven to one. These statements and their scoring system is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 MANAGERIAL LEADERSHIP STYLE SCALE

Cadre .....

Department .....

Sl. No.	Statements	A 7	Q 6	O 5	N 4	S 3	R 2	N 1
1.	He makes a decision and announces it.							
2.	He sells his decisions.							
3.	He presents his ideas and invites questions.							
4.	He presents a tentative decision subject to change.							
5.	He presents the problem, gets suggestions, and makes decisions.							
6.	He defines the limits and asks others to make decisions.							
7.	He permits the subordinates to function within limits defined by the superiors.							

A = Always

Q = Quite often

O = Often

N = Normally

S = Seldom

R = Rarely

N = Never

**Note:** Indicate the way your 'Boss' leads. Put up a tickmark for all the seven statements in any one column of the seven answer attributes.



Firstly, the average score of each of the seven statements was worked out by adding the ratings of all the respondents groupwise and dividing by the number of respondents who rated the questionnaire. Secondly, these average scores of all the seven statements were summed up vertically and divided by the number of statements. This resulted in the overall average score which indicated the exact location on the ascending vertical seven-point leadership scale ranging from most democratic score to most authoritarian score of managerial leadership. The scale value thus obtained was taken to describe managerial leadership style.

The study was conducted in two scientific organisations, one representing agricultural universities and another ICAR institutes, i.e., Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana, and National Dairy Research Institute, Karnal, respectively. Investigation included three different management hierarchies through which leadership style was studied. These were: (1) upper management group (deans and directors), (2) middle management group (heads of the departments), and (3) lower management group (sectional/cell incharge).

These three levels of management were considered relevant for the study with a view to knowing which hierarchical level was more effective while dealing with the subordinates. Data were collected during 1983 from 125 respondents who were asked to indicate their perception about the way their bosses lead them. In this exercise, they were further requested to tick mark all the seven statements in any one column of the seven-point 'always to never' continuum as demonstrated in Table 1. These 125 respondents were composed of three groups, i.e., middle management=18, lower management=56, and staff functionaries=51.

## FINDINGS

Leadership style ranged from a maximum score of 7 which shows the autocratic style to the minimum score of 1 which shows the most democratic style of functioning. The middle point at 4 indicates the neutral type of style. The data obtained in Table 2 demonstrates that in general the scientific organisations are in the neutral state of their management style. This dilemma, however, was more prominent in agriculture university. The ICAR institute was more leaning towards autocratic style.

The results in Table 2 further show that higher the status in administrative hierarchy, greater the amount of autocratic style. The deans and directors were, therefore, more autocratic in their behaviour as compared to the heads of department. Similarly, heads of department were more autocratic than the sectional incharges.

Table 2 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MANAGERIAL LEADERSHIP ON  
SEVEN-POINT MOST AUTOCRATIC TO ONE POINT MOST DEMOCRATIC  
CONTINUUM WITH A NEUTRAL POINT AT FOUR

Management Style of	As perceived by			Average
	Heads	Incharges	Staff	
1. Dean and Directors	4.15	5.28	4.85	4.76
2. Heads of Departments	-	4.13	4.20	4.16
3. Sectional/Cell Incharges	-	-	3.45	3.45
Grand Average				4.12

The internal data of this study further revealed that the ICAR institute was comparatively more vested with authoritarian tendency as compared to agricultural university. This trend was, however, more pronounced in upper management hierarchies. These findings give a clear-cut hint that managerial leadership in scientific organisations are relatively more conscious of their status while making decisions. The concept of leadership, that a good leader is one who leads in a most congenial fashion does not hold true in this study. The findings, therefore, reveal that the decision by the leader is made without giving opportunities to share with the lower functionaries of the organisations.

An in-depth study was further made in respect of all the lower hierarchies of the organisation with a view to finding out their relative style of functioning. The findings as given in Table 2 reveal that heads of department perceived the deans and directors as slightly autocratic but not as much as perceived by the sectional incharges and other staff functionaries. It means the personnel in upper management cadre do not care for the subordinates while dealing with the issues pertaining to them. They took decisions and asked lower cadre functionaries to comply with these, unmindful of the consequences. This is a somewhat disturbing state of affairs in our scientific community.

It is further interesting to note that the deans and directors are more autocratic with lower cadre functionaries as compared to immediate subordinates. It leads to a striking inference that lesser the interaction, greater are the chances of authoritarian tendency of the supervisors with their subordinates.

As regards leadership style of the heads of the department, data in Table 2 reveals that they were almost in neutral state of their

management style. They were neither excessive in their misdeeds nor liberal in their approach. They were normally found to have a tendency of making decisions subject to change based on ideas and suggestions of the subordinates. This is a somewhat tolerable climate. Lower management group was the only hierarchy which was found to have a tendency of democratic style. They were, therefore, more receptive and congenial in their style of functioning. Before making decisions, they were found to have invited suggestions on the problems of common concern. They too, nevertheless, were not as democratic as they should have been.

### Discussion

Based on the findings of this study, it is suggested that the managerial leadership, particularly in higher hierarchies, requires occupational training on organisational development (OD) so as to induce in them an element of humanitarian consideration. In a democratic state, it is neither productive nor desirable if the managerial leadership works with an authoritarian tendency. The crux of the problem, as we today face in India, about unrest and discontentment, practically in all spheres of scientific advancement, can be largely attributed to these higher ups of administrative management. It is so because they have miserably failed in dealing with the human element. They are leaning more towards their controlling ego rather than that of nurturing.

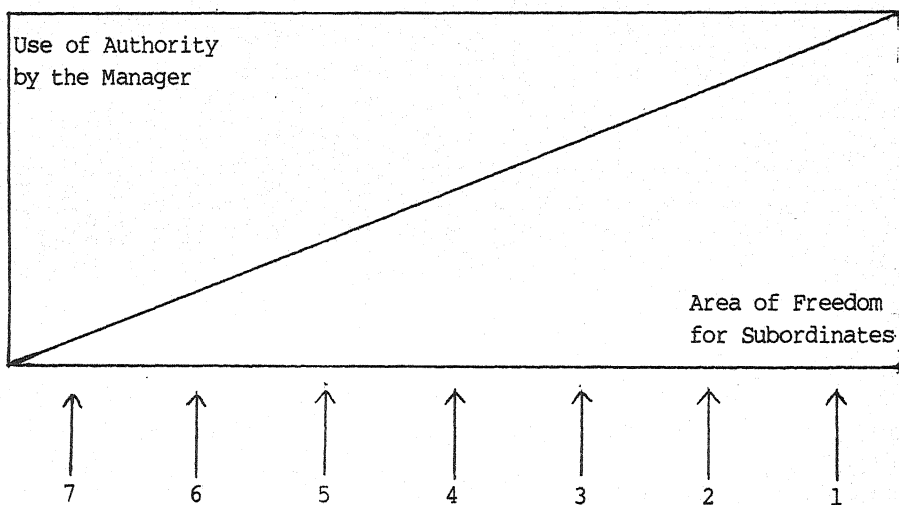
If the findings of this study are any indication, it is the leadership which is mainly responsible for any sprouting problem, which could have been otherwise controlled had it been properly dealt with by them. There are a number of studies which have amply demonstrated the fact that greater the amount of dictatorship in managerial leadership lesser the amount of productivity. Besides this, authoritarian climate also adversely affects the human relations component which has been considered a core concern of productivity in the management theories. The leaning of managerial leadership towards authoritarian tendency appears to have been an impediment in the growth of the scientific organisations. This apparently calls for some corrective measures in our top management cadres. Perhaps, top floor training in OD techniques might recede this tendency. The management grid, as suggested by Blake and Mouton<sup>6</sup> is an example. Proper familiarisation of the managers of scientific organisations with these suggestions might possibly bring a change in their attitudinal approach.

In Fig. 1, leadership behaviour is plotted on the seven-point continuum ranging from heavily boss-centred to heavily subordinate-centred. On the left side of the continuum are the leaders who

delegate very little authority, preferring to make the bulk of the decisions themselves. As we progress across the continuum, delegated authority increases, the trust of the managers in subordinates goes up, and the freedom of these personnel to exercise their own initiative in work-related matters rises. On the right side of the continuum are those leaders who delegate a great deal of authority to their subordinates. This figure, therefore, illustrates that lesser the authority in the leader, greater is the freedom to the subordinates. Inversely, greater the authority in the leader, lesser is the freedom to the subordinates.

BOSS-CENTRED  
LEADERSHIP

SUBORDINATE-CENTRED  
LEADERSHIP



- 7 = Manager makes decision and announces it
- 6 = Manager sells decision
- 5 = Manager presents ideas and invites questions
- 4 = Manager presents tentative decision subject to change
- 3 = Manager presents problem, gets suggestions, makes decision
- 2 = Manager defines limits, asks group to make decision
- 1 = Manager permits subordinates to function within limits defined by superiors

Fig. 1 CONTINUUM OF LEADERSHIP STYLE

The data of the study presented in Table 2 shows that upper and middle managerial leadership in scientific organisations is still boss-centred. The academic freedom appears to have been very limited

to the scientific workers. The leaders are power hungry, authoritative in their attitude, and less concerned with having a human relations approach in their dealings with their subordinates.

By and large, the findings of this study conclude that the leadership at higher levels of administrative management is authoritative in nature. They make decisions and sell them to lower cadre functionaries without giving them much opportunities of sharing their views even in the matters of their interest. This indeed is against the administrative ethos.

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## Provincial Administration of Ottomans, with Reference to Iraq.

ABIDA SAMI UDDIN

THE OTTOMAN concept of structure of state and society, of production and exploitation of wealth for supporting the ruler and the state, and securing justice by the ruler for the subjects, appears to be derived from the traditional Middle-Eastern concept developed by Sassanids and introduced to the Islamic Middle-Eastern civilisation by Persian bureaucrats during the Abbasid period.<sup>1</sup>

The ruling institutions of Ottomans, apart from the Sultan himself, included the officers of his household, the executive officers of his government as well as the entire body of the army--standing and feudal, and the navy.

Since the central institutions of the ruling class were also extended throughout the empire at different levels of administration--provincial, district and local--it would not be out of context to consider first the basic structure of these institutions at the central level.

### Ruling Class

With the expansion of the empire, the Sultans followed the practice of making "periodic levies of the unmarried male children of their orthodox Christian subjects taking them from their parents between the ages of ten and twenty, reducing them to the status of slaves and training them for the service of the state....But their servitude carried with it scarcely any social inferiority".<sup>2</sup>

These members of the ruling class, known as Ottomans, had to "(1) accept and practise the religion of Islam and the entire system of thought and action that was an integral part to it, (2) be loyal to the state, established to carry out his sovereign duties and exploit its revenues, and (3) know and practise the complicated system of customs, behaviour and language forming the Ottoman way. Any person could rise to the ruling class by acquiring and practising these attributes, while children of the ruling class lacking these qualifications could be reduced to the subject class. Thus existed a

system of social mobility based on the possession of certain definable and attainable attributes" <sup>3</sup>

### **Imperial Council**

The most important central institution was Imperial Council, which till late seventeenth century was the main central organ of Ottoman administration. It consisted of four categories of the ruling class, vazirs, the scribes or men of the pen, incharge of correspondence and administration, military men, and the ulema.

Ilmia, the religious and cultural organisation of ulema was the only institution of the ruling class able to compete with scribes. Their right to declare any administrative action invalid gave them substantial power in the day-to-day administration. All the bureaucrats, apart from their professional training, had to receive training in the traditional Islamic field of knowledge, literature, history, geography and the religious sciences. The ulema had a profound influence on the administration. Sometimes they also sent their own men to serve the scribal institutions; the transfer between the two was quite frequent and their relationship was so close that both of them bore the title of Effendi. "Their monopoly of education gave them a hold over the minds of the masses as well as many members of the ruling class. Their ability to bring thousands of students into the street gave the Ulema an instrument of force second only to that of the Janissary corps." <sup>4</sup>

### **Imperial Treasury**

Hazin-e-Amire was responsible for finance and accounting.

The Ottoman tax system, like its laws, was divided between the taxes authorised by the Islamic Law Seriat and the taxes covered by the 'Sovereign prerogative'.

The ruling class was created and maintained by the Sultan primarily to collect these taxes, which was considered as the basic attribute to sovereignty.

### **Military Institutions**

The most important part of the army was its infantry, the Janissary corps, all 'Kapikulari' - the Sultan's slaves. "They were supposed to maintain themselves on a war footing at all times and be ready for instant action. Because of their organisation, training, and discipline as well as their expert use of picks, bows and arrows, they formed the most important fighting force in the Empire until well into the seventeenth century." <sup>5</sup> Basically founded as a body-guard corp of the Sultan, but as the corp increased in size, most of them were posted to provincial garrisons, where they were subjected

to the command of local governors.

#### BASIC FRAMEWORK OF PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The basic unit of provincial government in the Ottoman empire was Sanjaq-'Liva' in arabic. Inherited from the Saljuks, it meant literally, the 'banner' of the ruler or administrator in possession of all military and civil functions and powers. It was in the beginning of the 16th century that 'Villayat' became the standard term for province and 'Vali' for the governor. The governor bore the title of Pasha and combined in himself both the military and civil functions. Officials to assist him were appointed from Istanbul and initially functioned under his complete control, but later on were made more independent with a view to balancing his power. In most provinces, correspondence and records were handled by Divan Effendis (council secretary) and 'Mal Defterdari' (treasurer) took care of provincial revenues. The provincial Kadi(Judge) supervised judicial and legal matters. Each province was divided into sanjags which, in turn, were divided into districts (Kazas) towns and villages.

#### Provincial Tax System

From the 16th century onwards, we find two different types of Ottoman provinces. In the territories under their direct rule, the Ottoman established the old Saljuk 'Ikta' system. "Portions of the conquered territories were cut out into 'Mukataas' to which the name 'Timar' (Fief) was given. The Timars were then assigned to the Ottoman military commanders as rewards for their service and also to make them governors of the new districts. Apart from their administrative duties, Timar holders had to feed, train and supply soldiers to the army when needed, with the state treasury thus being relieved of this obligation as well".<sup>6</sup>

In older Timar provinces, all the revenues were given to the governor as a Tax. Governors had to deliver fixed annual sums to the central treasury and were allowed to keep the balance of the tax collection as their personal profit, in addition to regular salaries paid to them from the central treasury. In Tax Farm provinces, most of the duties of security, tax assessment and collection were arranged by government officials. So in theory, the Governors authority was not all-embracing.

The extension of Ottoman rule over Mesopotamia, the land of the old caliphate was completed in 1538; and subsequently the regular Ottoman administrative and tax system was established in the newly conquered territory.



### Ayalet System In Iraq

For administrative purposes, the Ottomans first applied the system of 'Ayalets' in Iraq. The country was divided into four Ayalets of Baghdad, Basra, Mosul and Shehrizor. They, in turn, were divided into Sanjaqs and the Sanjaqs into Kazas. The Ayalets were governed by a Beglerbeg. His appointment to such an important province as Baghdad was highly prestigious and profitable. In theory, the appointment was annual, "but in practice the highest officers sometimes could not be displaced; some were too loyal and valuable, some had bought a longer term. The last was the dominant consideration".<sup>7</sup>

The Sanjaqs were headed by a Sanjaq beg and the 'Kazas' were administered by a Subusi (police chief). The individual Timar holders performed all the duties of local administration, making sure that the land was cultivated and that the merchants were engaged in trade and commerce so that taxable revenues were produced; they were also responsible for assessing, levying and collecting taxes and keeping order and security.<sup>8</sup> In each Sanjaq, Kazi, with the help of Subusi, took care of municipal and local administration. Thus, both the religious and military elements cooperated to rule and enforce justice.

The administrative officials were of two kinds: (a) appointed directly from Istanbul--they were Daftardars, responsible for financial administration of the Ayalet, and (b) appointed by Beglerbeg--they were his Timar lieutenants (Kethuda), his chief writer (Divan Effendi), his treasurer (Hazindar) and his seal bearer (Muhurdar). The local population of Ayalet also participated in its administration through their representatives - the 'Ayan'. The Ottomans followed a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Kurdish tribes and emirates in the North and Badvin Arabs. In the South, Janissaries (Imperial infantry), posted in each Sanjaq, also helped to run administration. To the "Iraqis their drills and arms made them formidable, while their quarrelsome oppression made them hated. Their function in the province was to enforce government. They were the town police, the official messengers, the tax collectors, where the force or fear were required and a ubiquitous regular army".<sup>9</sup>

The type of Ottoman administration was a rigid pattern of bureaucracy throughout the Empire. All the top positions were strictly reserved for Ottoman people without any consideration of merit. Personnel were governed mostly through religious regulations issued by the Sultan, who along with his governors held the political power besides the centralised authority of the government administration.

It was in 1704, during the rule of Sultan Hasan Pasha in Baghdad that a faint line of differentiation between public and private

officials began to exist. The Sultan introduced certain kinds of grades of servants, such as treasurers and the storemen, and arranged them into chambers which looked like departments. Sons of Turkish officials in Iraq and some famous Iraqis were given training and then recruited in those chambers. Facilities were also provided for their promotion and transfer within the chambers.<sup>10</sup>

In 1750, Sulaiman Pasha formed a small fighting group of 200 boys who, after being trained under his supervision, were employed as writers, collectors as well as commanders on his own staff. That was the emergence of public officers in Iraq.<sup>11</sup>

The central government issued orders to recruit personnel for top management posts, such as governors and Divan officials. Governors, in their turn, selected candidates whom they trusted for vacant posts. Nepotism, favouritism, bribes and sale of government posts was quite common. The civil servants during this period were inefficient, poorly trained and their salaries were fixed according to the amount of taxation that the officials and governors could get from their subjects.<sup>12</sup>

As the government of the Empire was an autocratic monarchy, the government of each province was absolute.

S.H. Longrigg observed: "Provincial administration in fact was in a transitional state between its origin as a fief group and its later place as a devolved government."<sup>13</sup>

The Ottomans comparatively found Iraq a most difficult and expensive province to administer, primarily because of religious animosities, tribal resistance to authority and its frontier's position. As the Ottoman state fell into decline, it became very difficult to control course of events in such a distant province as Iraq from Istanbul.

#### REFORM OF PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION DURING NINETEENTH CENTURY

A study of later administrative developments in Iraq under the Ottomans is not possible without a brief assessment of the Ottoman reforms at the central level known as Tanzimat because of the two obvious reasons.

In the first place, as observed by Holt, Iraq in contrast to Syria and Egypt was fully integrated with the Ottoman Empire for about four centuries.<sup>14</sup> In the second place, the history of modern Iraq, specially its administration is actually largely affected by what is still considered, "a successful reform of Midhat Pasha".<sup>15</sup>

It was probably a weakness in the Ottoman polity that the line between rulers (Hukkam) and the ruled (Re-ayas) was very sharply drawn. The practical outcome of this cynical view was the universal

substitution of monetary standard for the old standard of efficiency. Therefore, it was not surprising that by the middle of the eighteenth century, the system witnessed alarming symptoms of breakdown. Consequently, during the nineteenth century, inspired by the increasing knowledge of European thought, the Ottoman Empire witnessed a sustained effort of reform. It had become an Ottoman practice by this century to copy one western institution after another. As a result, knowledge of western language and acquaintance with Europeans became an important *de facto* qualification for high bureaucratic offices.<sup>16</sup> Salim III and Mehmed II tried to refashion the administrative structure and military forces of the Empire on European lines.

The era of modern Ottoman reforms (Tanzimat) starts from the reign of Mehmed II (1808-1839). He laid the foundation during his last period of a process of continuous reforms, the work was extended by his sons, Abdul Majid I (1839-1861) and Abdul Aziz (1861-1876) assisted by the reformist bureaucrats the 'men of Tanzimat', such as Mustafa Rashid Pasha, Ali Pasha, Fuat Pasha, etc.

"Mehmed's desire of increased centralisation necessitated structural changes in the central government generally involving denigration of the military and the religious classes in favour of an ever expanding bureaucracy of administrators and scribes centred in the palace and the Sublimeport."<sup>17</sup>

Consequently, long preserved traditional institutions of Ottoman state and society were replaced by new ones. A new westernised bureaucracy replaced the old ruling class. This new bureaucracy extended its power over classical autonomous socio-economic and religious groups of Ottoman society. A highly complex centralised system of government resulted in a sovereign autocracy unparalleled in the history of that period.

In order to understand the new forces of change, one has to keep in mind that throughout the history of Middle East, control of land has been a fundamental factor that played a key role in determining the socio-political framework of the Empire. The specific structural changes in the Ottoman Empire after the middle of the sixteenth century stemmed from the slow disintegration of the state land system which was basic to both economic and social organisations.<sup>18</sup>

The decline in the state revenues in a period characterised by increasing need for revenues, because of the challenges from the external forces, was one of the key internal factors, which compelled the government to initiate far-reaching measures in order to assert its own supremacy. These measures eventually culminated in the adoption of a modern form of centralisation, which was the major political force of modernisation.<sup>19</sup>

Shah and Shah observed : "The Tanzimat created a centralised

government based on a new ruling class, the bureaucrats, now called 'memurs'. This class constituted a modern generation of Ottomans that sustained the tempo of modernisation, mainly oblivious to or even in spite of the waves of political and military crises that hit the Empire during much of the century."<sup>20</sup>

The emergence of this new social set of the Ottoman bureaucracy was characterised by its practical knowledge of European affairs and its complete control over the government policy. This new elite had certain common values—"belief in the Empire, belief in modern civilisation, a certain interpretation of the strength of Europe in terms of justice, rationality and efficiency". Most of these bureaucrats belonged to families with a long tradition of public service.<sup>21</sup>

These bureaucrats had no small influence on determining the succession to the throne. It is, therefore, not surprising that they were behind the uprising which brought Mehmed II to power after the first reform when Sultan Salim was removed by the Janissaries.<sup>22</sup> This was a prelude to a bond of cooperation between the two, ignoring the ulema and the nobility. Since then, the power of bureaucrats increased or declined with weak or strong Sultans. It made them realise the necessity of a modern type of personnel, on the one hand and elimination or weakening of the bureaucrat's rival, on the other.

Consequently, the Janissaries were disbanded in 1826, paving the way for establishing a new standing army. For their survival, the rulers had to augment the development of weapons and military institutions. This, in turn, accentuated the power of bureaucracy which alone could mobilise the resources for this purpose.

New secular law codes and courts were gradually introduced in order to weaken the power of the ulema. Efforts were made to secularise the education. However, "the reform measures received to some extent the support of the upper layer of Ulema, in the hope of restoring their own institutions threatened by internal decay. In the provinces, the development took a different course. Closely associated with the decline of Ottoman government at the local level, ulema rose as the principal administrators of the Empire. Only the ulema had the empirewide organisation of judicial districts, kazas, manned by Kadis and Naips, able to assume the duties of the agents of the imperial and financial classes".<sup>23</sup>

For the notables, first the reformers destroyed the upper layer of Ayan, without endangering their economic and social basis, and later tried to make them adjust with the requirements of the new system. Nevertheless, the process again exhibited itself in a different manner in the provinces. In the capital, the main object of the reformers was to limit the powers of the notables in order to strengthen the government. In Iraqi provinces, a kind of balance was

achieved by allowing the local families to administer their local affairs during the indirect rule of Mumluks. A significant swing in favour of government took place only towards the end of the 19th century, though it was not the end of the local power of notables.<sup>24</sup>

The destruction of Janissaries, weakening the influence of ulemas, besides the absence of other groups of army and notables from the political scene at Istanbul, left bureaucracy as the only powerful group to determine the directions of reform, its nature and characteristics. Consequently, it was the institution which largely benefited from the new arrangements.

#### Reform Of Provincial Administration

While introducing the reforms at the provincial level, the reformers had three objectives in mind: (1) substitution of Ottomanisation as an ideology to counter nationalism; (2) limiting the power of Ottoman autocracy, and (3) reform in provincial administration. In respect of reform in provincial administration, the reformers, throughout the period of Tanzimat had to face a dilemma--how to maintain centralised control over the farflung Empire, while allowing sufficient latitude and authority to local officials, so that administration might be efficient and expeditious.<sup>25</sup> Consequently, the provincial administrative system underwent three different stages of development.

At first, the powers of the provincial governors were weakened by giving most of their functions to officials sent by and responsible to Istanbul. Later, the state tried to operate through the governors, restoring their powers while extending control over them in other ways. The final solution was a combination of these, with the provincial government being a small scale reflection of the central administrative structure, but with controls to assure the ultimate authority of Istanbul.<sup>26</sup>

In January 1860, efforts were made to accelerate the provincial reforms. In order to have capable Tanzimat administrators to the more important provinces, the status of these governorships was changed to that of 'Mutasarriflik', a term once used at the district level, but with higher salaries than those provided to the regular governors. Governor's power over provincial financial activities increased with the abolition of the independent treasurers and scribes sent from Istanbul and their replacement by accountants to assist the governors. After hearing of Midhat Pasha's success in applying the Tanzimat (Villayat) system in Nis, 1861, Fuat Pasha invited him to Istanbul for consultation. The result was the promulgation of the provincial reform law of 1864, which introduced a new era in Ottoman provincial life, remaining the basis for government

outside Istanbul until the end of the Empire.

### PROVINCIAL REFORMS AND IRAQ

The history of administration in Iraq is the record of partial application of the various comparatively liberal ordinances of the contemporary central government. The reforms which clearly substituted a western, for a Turkish concept of government, penetrated slowly into Iraq. There the Mamulks were too strong for the Ottomans to rule directly.

But the reforms being introduced at Istanbul foreshadowed the end of Mamulks regime in Iraq. Mehmed II sent Ali Ridha Pasha to complete the mission in 1831, when Dau'd Pasha was deposed, and Iraq entered a new phase of its history.

#### Villayat System and Its Application in Iraq

The first modern attempt to introduce important administrative reforms was made by Midhat Pasha through introducing Villayat system in Iraq. He was appointed Governor of Baghdad in 1869, to succeed Taqil Din Pasha and is rightly said to be the founder of modern Iraq. The Villayat system was closely modelled after the French 'Prefect' system he had already experimented on Danube.<sup>27</sup> Its main object was to make the administrative system more equitable as well as stronger.

Two basic changes were introduced through the Villayat system. Provincial boundaries were redrawn to make larger units and each was, subdivided hierarchically; the new administrative arrangement survived with little changes till 1914. The new large provincial units (Villayat), approximately equal in size, replaced the older historic Ayalets. Each Villayat was governed by one Vali (Governor), responsible directly to Istanbul. The scope of his authority was also widened. He was to supervise the socio-political and security affairs of the villayet, and was made responsible for the execution of laws. He exercised direct control over the activities of his immediate subordinates in the administrative hierarchy. As the representative of Sultan, he dealt with heads of local communities, foreign councils and the tribals. His control extended over the general and non-departmental administration. He "directed the Municipalities, settled tribal disputes, which defied settlement, heard multifarious grievances and through the Daftardar influenced or controlled the all important fields of land revenue."<sup>28</sup> All such measures of public interest as education and communication were entrusted to him. He was empowered to convene the local councils at a time fixed by him to receive their recommendations and implement those falling within his jurisdiction. The New Provincial Law authorised him to supervise the

collection of taxes as well as the behaviour of tax-collectors. Such administrative departments and their bureaucratic functions as accountants, director of foreign affairs, public works supervisor and inspector judge were associated with the Governor, though these functionaries were appointed and were responsible directly to their supervisors in the capital. An Administrative Assembly (Idare Meclisi) coordinated the activities of different departments. It consisted of the Governor, departmental heads and six other representative members (three Muslims and three non-Muslims), elected from among the inhabitants. The Assembly was specifically forbidden to interfere with judicial affairs. This was a consolation for ulemas, apprehensive of the increasing impact of secularisation.<sup>29</sup>

The New Provincial Law also defined in clear terms the administrative relationship of the parts to the whole. Each province was divided into a number of districts (Sanjaq) or Liva. Each Sanjaq was placed under a Mutasarrif, responsible to the Governor. Iraq was considered as one Villayat, subdivided into 17 Sanjaqs. Further subdivision, Qadhas and Nahiyas were placed under the Qaimmaqam and Mudir respectively.

Every town and village was graded according to the importance of its district. At each 'level', a fixed cadre of officials performed defined duties, and at each level an elected council assisted the administrative head. These councils, composed partly of officials and partly of elected members, included representatives of Christian and Jewish communities, with the object of introducing the elective representative principle into the functioning of local government, a progressive measure unknown in the capital.

It was under Midhat's inspiration that the "Villayat Provincial System of 1864 was incorporated with provincial, district, and country representative, councils, performing the duty of debating on subjects of public utility, such as establishment of means of communication, organisation of agricultural interests, development of trade, commerce and agriculture and extension of public education, as well as lodging complaints and gaining redress for acts committed in violation of the law".<sup>30</sup>

In the tribal affairs of the Villayat, Midhat followed a new policy of settlement.

As mentioned earlier, no study of administrative development in the Middle East can be completed without taking into consideration the problem of land. Land in Iraq had been subjected to many claims. Dau'd Pasha and Ali Riza bestowed estates freely. Sale and purchase of state land went on for generations without the knowledge and recognition of government. The absence of definite rights hampered the agrarian improvement. The conscious aims of Midhat's policy

of settlement were detachment of Shaikhs from their tribal setting, breaking the power of the great tribes and winning their loyalty, multiplication of ploughs and providing safety to the roads. The new settlement policy provided selling of great or small tracts of state land on easy payment, giving full security of tenure (though not actual ownership) to holders of the doubtfully valid farmans and to farmers and villagers who had cleaned a canal and planted a garden and to Shaikhs of tribes for their tribal areas.<sup>31</sup> For this purpose, Tapu (land registry) offices were opened and the occupation of state owned land was secured to individual holders. The policy achieved a limited success, primarily because of two major difficulties : (a) ignorance and incompetence of the Tapu officials as well as absence of maps and surveyors, and (b) a poor response from those for whose benefit it was introduced. The two lines of tribal policy settlement of the land and Ottomanisation proved damaging to the tribal spirit.

I quote at some length in following paras the other details provided by Longrigg in his **Four Centuries of Modern Iraq**:

The tribes of the lower Tigris were considerably checked because of the steam boats. Carrying of arms was universal, yet numerous police posts along the routes made travelling quite safe. Tribal wars were also reduced to a considerable extent and means to meet this threat were improved. The **Nidham Jadid** of Mehmud II was modified after the Russian wars of 1854 and 1879 and was remodelled on the continental territorial system in 1885. Public order was maintained by regular and reserve forces of the army, by gendarmes, and fleet at Basra.

The customs, a main source of revenue, were represented at all places, on sea or land frontiers by the most corrupt Gumruk officials. The other two revenue sources were taxes on live stock and land revenue, the officials of which worked at every government headquarters. Methods of assessment were many, such as estimation of crops, counting of trees and water lifts, farming of whole estate, bargaining for lump sum demands, etc.

Education had little to show, yet because of Midhat Pasha's efforts there was an increase from nearly half per cent in 1850 to five to ten per cent by 1900. The highest literacy rate was among the christians and jews in towns. Use of Turkish as medium of instruction identified education with the official class.

For communication, after Turkey participated in the Paris Postal Convention in 1878, Turkish post offices were gradually opened, and fairly satisfied the simple needs of Iraq. Telegraph service was extended to all the major towns, opening the region to the outside world. Land transport was comparatively progressive.



Midhat also paid attention to steam navigation.

The department of Nafiah (public works) was scarcely operative in Iraq. Hindiyya Barrage was an exception. Only Baghdad had one public hospital. It was only local pressure that some time forced the administration to take up public works.

The judicial system of the period was a "compromise between the Islamic simplicity and Code of Napoleon"; clumsy in application, slow in process, it was ill coded in case of old laws and ill drafted in case of the new ones. About the Auquf, Longrigg observed, "the Auquf, influential by reason of strong vested and social, religious interests, succeeded to some degree in its trusteeship of endowments, saving them at least from secular misuse, but it did not save the yearly despatch to Istanbul of surplus waqf revenues."<sup>32</sup>

The municipal administration was the most pleasing feature of public life in Turkish Asia. Honesty of purpose and more sense of service were to be found in Baladiyyah than in the central administration. Many of these bodies were created by Midhat Pasha, the rest came into existence gradually. The Ottoman empire laid down the law of municipalities in 1877, which considered each town or district as a municipal unit. Big cities like Baghdad were divided into three or more units according to population. Each municipality had an elected council headed by a Rais Baladia. In Baghdad, he was called Al-Assima. Municipal councils were entrusted with fixing the scale of taxes, issuing by-laws, appointing local officials and approving normal expenditures. For all their decisions, councils had to take the approval of the Muttassarif. Lack of financial resources matching with their responsibilities was their main problem. The Ottoman Municipal system continued in Iraq up to 1931 when a new Municipal Law No. 84 replaced it.

Bureaucratic behaviour changed little during this period. Throughout the history of Ottoman empire, Iraqi bureaucracy enjoyed power, status and a centralised control over local affairs. It was accepted as a desirable policy mainly because of two reasons.

In the first place, it was expected that centrally sponsored reforms would stop exploitation of the masses by local land owners, and in the second place, the benefits of remaining under Ottoman protection were to be demonstrated to the centrally controlled masses, with a hope of an increase in the government revenues.<sup>33</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS

All the measures of reforms introduced by Midhat Pasha in Iraq did

not achieve the desired ends. Apart from his short term in office, the reforms were faulty both in their conception and execution.<sup>34</sup>

Division of Iraq into regional areas was primarily based on geographical and military consideration, while political and social factors were completely ignored. There were frequent changes in the status and boundaries of the units in accordance with their changing strategic position in the frontier wars.

The structural changes did not follow the necessary modification of public policy. Shortage of competent lower and middle level administrators undermined the efficiency of reforms. Employment of certain half westernised Effendis did not result in an improvement of administration. The Porte did try to train the public officials below the rank of the Governor in a school established for this purpose in 1859. But the 'fathers of Tanzimat' were unable to realise that the men brought up in old relationship, determined by status and easily influenced by money, could hardly produce a new style, honest and efficient civil service. Most of the values of traditional elite still dominated thinking of the new ones, as the "Social structures of the societies were scarcely altered".<sup>35</sup> Many of the reformers themselves were children of the old ruling class and had a high respect for kingship.

In pursuance to his Policy of Settlement, Midhat applied to Iraq the Ottoman land Reform law of 1858. The new system of land holding, worked against the interests of actual cultivators, and resulted in the emergence of a new type of local landlords replacing the old chiefs. They not only used this power to accumulate wealth but also threw their influence against the reforms that threatened their privileges and their role as the intermediary between the state and the citizens. The new system of land registration proved ineffective to change the conditions. "In unsurveyed agricultural lands, largely in immemorial tribal possession and far from conforming to the official view that uncultivated state lands were at government's disposal, the 'Tapu system' could do little, save create new disputes, bestow rights on parties, powerless to exercise them and destroy the best elements in the shaikh-tribesman relationship".<sup>36</sup>

The system of councils too "did not prove sufficiently effective as the government was never really able to achieve representative institutions".<sup>37</sup>

After a detailed and careful evaluation of the reforms, in general, it can be easily concluded that the process of administrative development in the Middle East failed to initiate the process of modernisation. The process of modernisation or socio-economic development, can only be successfully initiated if in the first place, political system has the strength to promote socio-economic reforms

through state action and in the second place, it has the capacity to assimilate in itself the social forces produced by modernisation, but the "Father of Tanzimat" could not commit himself to more than reforms.<sup>38</sup> They lacked both, commitment to modernisation as well as its specific requirements. The elimination of traditional interest requires indeed a mobilisation of new social forces into politics. The Ottoman Empire had never witnessed this process before or during the Tanzimat.<sup>39</sup> The absence of entrepreneur middle class, and consequently, absence of its role in the process of innovation and modernisation was the key factor responsible for an entirely different course of development in the Ottoman Empire.

Lack of diversity of groups and institutions produced a highly centralised hierarchy of civil servants replacing the old centralised bureaucracy.

Movement of reform and change was initiated within this class itself because, in turn, it gave initiative, power and a high status to it. "The bureaucrats became reformers, because reform furthered centralisation which increased the strength of the bureaucracy."<sup>40</sup> It worked constantly 'to maximise' its own benefits and was successful in weakening or eliminating the old rivals and preventing the new ones from acquiring access to power. The two main directions of this change were: (a) a strong bureaucratic self-interest in socio-economic and political matters, and (b) a service commitment to the rulers. The close ties of the bureaucrats with the Sultan made them conservative when they gained power. On the other hand, their westernised education alienated them from the masses.

However, in spite of all these shortcomings, while reviewing the government and administration in Iraq at the beginning of the twentieth century, it can rightly be concluded: "the measures of reform and improvements between 1813 and 1914", though, "must indeed be judged as belated and inadequate", and "the Iraq of 1900 differed little from that of 1500, yet a process of fundamental change had begun, which no regime however inept, could reverse".<sup>41</sup>

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## Hindu Concept of Ecology and the Environmental Crisis\*

MALATI J. SHENDGE

THIS IS a short article written by a team of three scholars representing two disciplines, viz., political science and Sanskrit studies. One can easily guess the division of labour. The Sanskritists have supplied Sanskrit material alongwith translations and conception, interpretation, and the final form were probably supplied by the first author. Obviously this makes an interdisciplinary team. It is necessary in such a team that each participating member, with a base in a particular discipline, must be well acquainted with at least basic principles of the other. In this case, the three authors seem to have functioned separately. The result is rather curious. Perhaps none of the authors has intimate knowledge of human ecology as a discipline. The coordinator is not well versed or even familiar with Indology which he ought to be if he is to do justice to Sanskrit material.

What the authors have tried to do is that beginning with the concept of God and creation which they say is non-dual in Hindu sources, and the creation as not being solely for the use of man as in the Judaeo-Christian tradition, they outline Vedic and later theories of creation and refer to some of the exhortations about the conservation of flora and fauna, maintenance of cleanliness of the surroundings and the sources of water supply like rivers, ponds, etc. The loss of these attitudes leading to a regardless over-exploitation of resources of the earth is attributed to 700 years of slavery under Muslim and British rules and the resultant 'cultural invasion' and so on.

The promise the authors held out in the title, viz., to demonstrate the Hindu concept of ecology is not kept in the course of the

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\*Article written by O.P. Dwivedi, B.N. Tiwari and R.N. Tripathy, appeared in Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. XXX, No. 1, January-March 1984, pp. 33-67.

article. In the introductory paragraph, 'ecology' is interpreted to be Hindu concept of nature. With this the article is derailed. The immediate purpose for undertaking this article is stated by: "The exploitation of nature in India, mostly during the 20th century has continued despite the religious injunctions emanating from Hindu religion, as well as Buddhism and Jainism. This baffles us specially when all the Hindu scriptures, ... have very clearly laid down rationale for practising conservation of nature and maintaining environmental harmony, and have prescribed religious sanctions against any indiscriminate use of nature and exploitation of animals or other species. This impelled us to undertake research on the Hindu concept of nature and the emergence of the present attitude of disregard and disrespect towards it" (p. 33, emphasis added). If the authors were thinking about Hindu concept of nature, they should have stuck to it in the title too. The real problem in the whole of the article is the use of the term ecology in certain contexts in most of which it is not called for through the contents. This is because the authors really had nature in their mind. As a matter of fact, the special concerns of human ecology are not found clearly defined here. Likewise, the Sanskrit sources cited cannot be said to explain any way the Hindu concept of ecology.

In order to demonstrate the Hindu concept of ecology we must closely scrutinise the present article in the light of the following (Greek word *oikos* Drhouse, from which ecology, meaning the science of settlement, is derived): "A human settlement is, of course, a dynamic system and its integrity requires an input and outflow of energy and an organised circulation within and through the system of numerous material!"<sup>1</sup> Knowledge of the patterns of energy flow and of the patterns of flow of important substances is essential for the proper understanding of the multiple subtle interrelationships in the system. The dynamism of any ecosystem is the consequence of processes taking place within the system. Thus, in describing the place of a population in a natural ecosystem, one is concerned not only with its numbers, distribution and biomass, but also with what the population and its members do. Further, "an important challenge in the ecological study of human settlement systems is to attempt to recognise significant interrelationships between the findings at the level of the system and those at the populaton level."<sup>2</sup>

We examine the contents of the article in the light of these two citations : The view of creation that we get in the citations is that of the creation of the universe as a whole primarily. It does not deal with the creation of things on the earth. The so-called processes of evolution (pp. 39 and 40) do not deserve the name of evolution as they indicate mere sequences. The relevance of creation

of universe to man's activities on the earth and specially to the settlements is not mentioned anywhere: Can there be any thing like that? Even the creation of the five elements is practically on the same level. Before passing on to the next point, from the process of creation and evolution, from the Self of the animate world as described in the Brihadaranyakopanishad (I.4.1, 3-5 and not Fourth Brahmana, 1,3,4,5) is concluded: "no one single species is superior to another because all have been created by the same Self (it is not only by the same Self but from the same Self), which is neither warranted nor implied in the text itself. The next point immediately follows the above citation on p. 40 and it says: "On the other hand man is particularly obliged to be the protector and guardian of all the Srishti". In support of this, the Aitareyapanishad is cited. The translation contains some inaccuracies. If we follow the citation, we know that the lokapala's (due to this term man is said to be the guardian and protector of all the creation) are the devatas, god-heads,<sup>3</sup> and not man or mankind. The conclusion drawn from this, viz., "the man according to Upanishads, is not given absolute right, authority, and dominion on any of the God's creation" (p. 41) does not flow from this and in fact sounds quite alien to the way of thinking as reflected in this genre of literature. It seems to us that these problems are due to the unfamiliarity of the authors with the mode of interpretation of texts prevalent in Indology.

It is true that the Vedic literature is replete with references to nature. The concern of the poets with creation is generally classified as cosmogonic, pertaining to the creation of universe. Vedic scholars know many such poems and accounts in Rigveda. The Rigvedic poems preserve in them a rich tradition of a religion which originated in nature and which later developed into a philosophico-religious ideology, finally emanating from the forces of nature, on another level became embodied by functionaries of a government.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps this well illustrates a process in which natural forces conceive into an ideological system ultimately taking the form of a political system. (It is not certain if ecologists will classify this as an ecological fact as the natural forces are used in energy and materials form but they could belong to a 'superstructure', in a very crucial aspect. But be it as it May!) However, this concern of early man with nature as seen by them need not be mistaken for 'ecology' in the modern sense of the term as they (i.e., the authors) fail to clearly pin-point the exploitation of immediate sources of energy materials by man for his every day life.

It is true that man has been, especially in the earlier millennia, closer to nature. This concern of Indian man with nature or with specific problems, like the creation of universe or the animate and

inanimate, etc., is on a level different than what is meant as 'ecology'. The latter, as it is defined, concerns itself with the "interrelation between living organisms and their environment, systematically exploring and determining the complex interacting systems upon which the organism's survival depends."<sup>5</sup> To call the cosmogonic and other poems of Rigveda 'ecology' is to oversimplify the concept of ecology and, on the other hand, also to degrade some of the magnificent poetic compositions from a different age and representing a different value system. Both ways we are losers. Thus, the first section covering about half the length of the article does not contribute anything to the demonstration of an interaction between man and his actual environment.

It is true, Hindus are kind to animals; it is true that they have accorded a high status to some of the animals as the vehicles (vahana) for deities; it is true that they are partial to cow (and bullock too). But these attitudes are a product of culture which itself is a product of different circumstances and thinking. And the ecologists, while counting culture as a factor, do not think that it can have impact on the system or on the components of the system, except through agency.<sup>6</sup> (I do think this is a doubtful proposal, especially in the Indian context.)

Sections 2 and 3 have some marginal bearing on the use of natural sources, used commonly by man and exhortations within religious framework. These are of a very elementary nature, basic to every culture worth the name. They do not involve any special ecological considerations. Once again, it does not enlighten us on any of the intricate problems faced by the Indian man in procuring water for the multiple uses or in maintaining its purity. They may at best indicate a traditional, religion-oriented society's awareness of certain problems and its devising of means within the existing socio-religious system to fight them.

It must be remembered that the present-day ecological concerns have arisen from the multifarious problems of industrial and technological development, the philosophy of materialism, the ideal of consumer society thriving on the maximum consumption and of affluence, the depleting of the natural resources or their careless exploitation and so on. Basically, these were not the conditions, problems or the underlying values of the Indian society of ancient days. The exhortation for maintenance of purity of water resources, etc., did not imply pollution with high risk to health and life of man as is through the chemical waste of the industries, for example. This difference and the resultant problems are not clearly demarcated. While applying the new concepts to old material, certain caution needs to be observed on account of the millennia separating



the two different societies and equally different problems. The tremendous changes brought over by industrialisation in the world were non-existent even in the last century and are a totally new phenomenon. The difference can be tellingly pointed out by one single attitude : Now we are talking about the eradication of poverty but the ancient society's ideal was voluntary poverty, simple living, and reduction of wants to the minimum. These ideals, when faithfully practised, served to conserve the natural resources and production.

The study of environment has come into existence out of sheer despair, viz., the problems posed by rapid depletion of natural resources, and the effect of industrialisation on man, nature and society. However, in ancient times, man noticed nature as something that surrounded him, in which there was constancy as well as change, i.e., periodicity and regularity. He wanted to penetrate into the secrets of this nature around him and find an explanation for it. He sought an existence and would have been happy if he could enlist nature's aid, at least cooperation, in his adventurous undertakings, like production of food grains, rather than their collection, (i.e., agriculture), domestication of animals, construction of shelter to retire during the furies of nature, etc. In soliciting the cooperation, he started looking on the forces of nature as something awesome which were to be propitiated, which finally led to the conception of nature gods. Out of this was born the mythology wherein the forces of nature were imagined to have personalities and were attributed all human emotions. However, it would be wrong to suppose that this was the only explanation offered by earlier cultures of nature and natural phenomenon. These cultures also concerned themselves with direct observation of nature which gave birth millennia ago to agriculture, metallurgy, mathematics, astrology, medicine, architecture, engineering, and all that is known as civilisation. The present scientific activity must trace its roots to these early beginnings.

All this is not to discourage the authors from treating the topic exhaustively and to a certain depth. Surely, the Sanskrit sources must contain the right material, because the Indians were, as we know from the Harappan cities of Harappa and Mohanjo-daro, one of the earliest people to have planned cities. But what we have here is not at all the Hindu concept of ecology but at best, the Hindu concern for nature.

Amongst the minor details which need a little attention is the transliteration of Sanskrit words in roman script. The final 'a' is omitted indiscriminately, e.g., Sanskrit पुरुष 'purusha', and not 'purush' which does not represent the exact Sanskrit spelling. This axe has fallen sometimes on 'a' appearing in between, as in 'upnishads' (p. 47, last para). The English would do with a little

editing. In such research pieces, it is extremely important that the basic data is rigorously documented. In order to be good at ecology, it is necessary that the original material be first clearly comprehended and analysed. The interpretations should not be stretched on the procrastane bed to fit the requirements of particular topics. In order to discover anything similar to modern concerns and problems in the earlier civilisations with differing value systems, world-views, and life-styles, studies at certain depths and with an objectivity which can stand scrutiny and challenges are called for and we hope the authors will in future offer us that intellectual treat.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

### District Planning in India

N.R. INAMDAR and V.K. KSHIRE, Delhi, Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., 1986, p. 271, Rs. 96.00

From the very inception of planning in India, there has been emphasis on decentralised planning or planning from below. During the Fourth Five-Year Plan, the Planning Commission issued detailed instructions as to how district and block plans have to be prepared. Dantwala Committee on Block Level Planning and Hanumantha Rao Committee on District Planning have also dealt extensively with the subject. Yet the fact remains that even today planning from below has not been of much success. Our plans are top down rather than bottom up. District plans and block plans are mere disaggregation of state and national plans. The state and national plans are not aggregation of block and district plans. Hence district and block plans do not bring out how the local resources could be used for meeting the local needs.

The issue of decentralised planning is also connected with decentralisation of the administration and structure of government. This has been attempted mainly through the establishment of three-tier Panchayati Raj institutions following the recommendations of the Balwantraji Mehta Committee in 1959. Maharashtra was at the forefront in establishing Panchayati Raj structure with "real and substantial" decentralisation even going beyond the recommendations of the Balwantraji Mehta Committee. It also made serious attempts to prepare district plans.

However, the earlier expectations about decentralisation in Maharashtra were not fully realised. In the midst of seventies, reverse trends set in. Panchayati Raj institutions were by-passed in the implementation of anti-poverty programmes. With the establishment of district plan bodies outside the Panchayati Raj set-up and under the chairmanship of a minister with Collector as the Secretary, there was a decline in the role of Panchayati Raj bodies in the plan formulation process.

The study on District Planning in India by Dr. N.R. Inamdar and Shri V.K. Kshire very clearly brings this out. It is based on case study of planning in the Poona District. Two Taluqas in the District

were selected - one developed and one under-developed or with considerable tribal population. The main object of underlying establishment of Panchayati Raj institutions was to facilitate plan formulation and execution in the rural areas through elected local government institutions but with the transfer of planning function from Zila Parishad to District Collectorate, the role of Panchayati Raj institutions got eroded and they could play a minor role in plan formulation. As a result, there was hardly any scope for their detailed participation in the district planning process.

This has led to a bureaucratisation of the planning process. The sectorwise allocations in district plans are laid down by the State Planning Department in consultation with the functional department at the state level. District allocations were residual in character, arrived at after providing for statewide schemes of national and state importance. Often district wise financial allocations were made by the state government without consulting the district planning and development committee (DPDC). The requirement of prior approval of the schemes by respective state level departments only strengthened the position of the heads of technical departments. Thus, even the role of the DPDC in plan formulation was not very significant. The meetings of the DPDC were not conducted regularly. Often important developmental functionaries were absent. There was hardly any detailed discussion in the DPDC on the draft plan. There was not only absence of statistics but their non-use. People were not expected to participate in the plan formulation but only through their representatives.

The response to the questionnaire issued for the study showed that there was little understanding of the objective, methodology and other aspects of the district planning on the part of the officials and non-officials. While perspective plans were prepared in the beginning based on socio-economic surveys, the work did not proceed beyond the first phase. The Planning Committee had little time available for the tribal areas sub-plans.

All this is very disappointing from the point of view of successful decentralised planning in the country. Obviously, a great deal more needs to be done before we can make a beginning with successful district planning. Popular participation may well require establishment of a comprehensive Panchayati Raj set-up made fully responsible for local planning and development, as recommended by the CAARD Committee. Secondly, the base of local government financial resources as well as the statistical data-base of planning will have to be strengthened. Thirdly, intensive and continuous process of training of functionaries at the district level, responsible for district planning, should be undertaken. There is a need for continuous

action research in the field. A proposal was sent by the IIPA to the Planning Commission some time back to set up a Centre for Decentralised Planning in the IIPA. A Centre like this at IIPA as well as in the State Institutes of Administration could undertake an intensive programme of training and research in the field of decentralised planning which would go a long way in facilitating the process of decentralised planning in the country.

The book under review has made a significant contribution in drawing our attention to the present state of district planning in an advanced state like Maharashtra and has drawn attention to the changes that are needed so that district planning does not remain a mere concept but becomes an operational reality.

--P.R. DUBHASHI

**District Development Planning—A Case Study of Two Districts**

TARSEM LAL, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1986, p. 276, Rs. 180.00

India is a large country with wide variations in topography, climate, resource endowments and levels and requirements of development. The macro-level planning obviously cannot take into account effectively these local variations in conditions and requirements of developments. Planning process, therefore, needs to be decentralised within a framework of multi-level planning. The crucial level in this framework for decentralised planning is the district level. This book deals in a comprehensive manner with District Development Planning based on two case studies of Thane district in Maharashtra state and Karnal district in Haryana.

The importance of decentralised planning for the development of our country has been recognised from the beginning of the planning era. The Five-Year Plan documents have variously advocated the decentralised planning at district and block levels. The Planning Commission had also issued guidelines in 1969 for district planning and subsequently in 1979 for block level planning. However, due to lack of the required seriousness of purpose on the part of many state governments, the system of decentralised planning has not yet taken firm roots in many states. Only very few states, like Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh, have taken some definite steps in this direction by evolving and establishing a system of district planning.

With the changes in the strategy of planning from the Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74) onwards in terms of introduction of a large

number of beneficiary oriented and area development programmes for the alleviation of poverty and reducing regional disparities, the need for decentralised planning and decision-making has become all the more a matter of great urgency. In addition to many operational problems, one of the serious deficiencies in the effective management of these programmes has been the lack of integrated area development planning at the district level. In view of this crucial and urgent need for decentralised planning, this book is of topical interest and immense value as it contains a study of Maharashtra and Haryana in respect of arrangements and process of district planning and provides deep insights into the working of the system and gives valuable suggestions for improvement.

The essential pre-requisites for effective decentralised district level planning include political commitment, clear demarcation of scope and content of district planning, devolution of financial resources on the basis of an objective criterion, delegation of the required financial and administrative powers, establishing institutional arrangements and procedures for planning, coordination mechanisms, arrangements for popular participation, and system of monitoring and evaluation. Dr. Tarsem Lal has made an indepth critical examination of all these important issues and has made excellent suggestions for improving the institutional arrangements and process of planning covering all these aspects by drawing on both the strong points and weaknesses of the system as it has been evolved and operating in Maharashtra and Haryana states.

The book contains ten chapters: (1) Introduction, Scope and Methodology, (2) Evolution and Objectives, (3) Scope of District Planning, (4) Planning Process, (5) Resource Planning : Allocation of Grants, (6) Resource Planning: Institutional Finance, (7) Institutionalisation of Development Administration, (8) Collector as the Chief Coordinator, (9) Monitoring and Evaluation, and (10) Some Concluding Observations. Dr. Lal has thus examined all important issues and considerations relating to the philosophy and methodology of local level planning and the administrative arrangements for the same. This book is a condensed version of the recent doctoral thesis of Dr. Lal on "District Development Planning: A Study of two Districts" and is based on field research.

Objective analysis and understanding of the past and existing situation is a necessary condition for improving any system. The suggestions given in the book for improving the system of district planning arise out of such a detailed and indepth analysis. In this process, Dr. Lal has brought to bear this varied experience in administration as an IAS officer.

Dr. Lal rightly points out, "The emerging development scenario is

facing serious environmental and societal challenges, making the task of transformation ticklish. For majority of India's population, the Government means the district administration and as such centralised planning which is in vogue in India has no relevance to the backward areas and the target groups for whom the planning is being undertaken. District planning, except a few oasis, has failed to emerge as a possible alternative to centralised planning on various grounds but it must succeed to serve the majority of the people not only to banish poverty from the country but also to improve the quality of life of those who are across the poverty line and are waiting for better days. To prepare India to enter the twenty-first century with optimism and confidence, there is a need to institutionalise decentralised planning as a system on a priority basis and rejuvenate other development institutions like Panchayati Raj, local bodies, cooperative banks, etc." This book has been written by Dr. Lal with this hope and faith. He has essentially suggested strengthening of the district planning system as evolved and followed in Maharashtra. He has focused on key organisational and administrative issues in local planning and has given valuable suggestions for effective operationalisation of district development planning with a positive and constructive approach. Among other things, Dr. Lal has suggested 12 specific steps which need to be taken in proper sequence for systematic formulation of district plans.

The book thus contains valuable information, penetrating analysis and positive and workable suggestions for effective operationalisation of district level planning which is a crucial and most urgent requirement, particularly in the context of poverty alleviation programmes. It is a commendable contribution both from academic and administrative angles. The book is of topical interest and will be very useful to policy-makers, administrators and academicians. It is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject.

--M.L. SUDAN

**Poverty and Hunger, Issues and Options for Food Security in Developing Countries, A World Bank Policy Study--1986,**  
The World Bank, Washington DC, 1986

It is well known that, on an international level, food is available in plenty and yet 700 million people in the developing world lack necessary food for an active and healthy life. The international concern for food security became evident in 1975 when there were crop failures in major food-producing countries. Commercial



purchases and assistance from the United States, no doubt, came to the rescue of the developed and developing countries but it was realised that such a situation could be used for political ends. It came to be discussed whether food security could be ensured by food self-sufficiency in each country or by having buffer stocks at international level. It also came to be realised that food self-sufficiency and food security are two different things. Food security is linked with the problem of poverty alleviation. Some of the countries drew up programmes for food security but they proved costly. The cost effectiveness of food security should be evaluated before resources are pledged as too costly a scheme would deprive other sectors of investment. This study rightly states: "There is no one optimal solution to the problem of food security any more than there is one solution to the problem of poverty".

Food security requires attack on two fronts : firstly, accelerating the growth rate in developing countries which, however, is a time-consuming process and we cannot wait for sufficient 'trickling down' of its effects; secondly, direct interventions may be necessary which can speed up food security for the groups worst affected without waiting for the general effects of long-run growth. The objective of this study is to identify cost effective ways to increase food security in the short and medium term. Cost effectiveness has been categorised into three categories--economic costs (efficiency losses and delivery cost) budget costs (delivery cost and expenditure from government's budget) and income transfers (government budget and from farmers or others). While categorising food, traded and non-traded goods have been distinguished; in the former, the international trade can, to some extent, take care of the food shortage, particularly in case of calamities like droughts and floods. In order to reduce costs, targeted interventions, as against general interventions, have to be distinguished. Food security ultimately is a problem of lack of purchasing power, which can be relieved by employment programmes and re-distributive policies. The key issues have been classified into three categories: (1) interventions to improve food security mean both costs and benefits; (2) some forms of interventions are most cost effective than others and these cost effective measures should be chosen; and (3) costs and benefits should be calculated in the context of each individual economy.

The Report considers the experience of Egypt, India and some other African countries. The food availability per capita is an inadequate criterion in assessing availability of food for the people. It is the extent of energy deficient diet and the population suffering from it, which is the correct criterion.

India has tried to ensure food security by increasing food produc



tion through support price and building up buffer stocks. Initially it proved successful but now, food production having gone up, the persistence of this mechanism is proving costly. At present, food subsidy is of the order of Rs. 1200 crore, which is likely to go up to Rs. 1800 crore. Such high cost mechanism eats into the meagre resources which could be deployed for investment in other sectors. How could its cost be reduced is a matter for consideration by the planners. In the Indian context, it seems that regional food self-sufficiency may reduce the cost of food security. The failure of food security may be gauged from the fact that 35 per cent of the population is still below the poverty line. Bringing the people above the poverty line is a gigantic task. Supply through fair price shops benefits only the organised sector (urban and rural) and people working in employment programmes. The informal sector does not benefit from this.

Finally I am tempted to agree with the conclusion of the Report:

The often-predicted Malthusian nightmare of population outstripping food production has never materialised. Instead, the world faces a narrower problem; many people do not have enough to eat, despite there being enough food for all. This is not a failure of food production, still less of agricultural technology. It is a failure to provide all people with the opportunity to secure enough food--something that is very hard to do in low income countries. The roots of the predicament range from improper macro-economic policies to the economic and political structures of local societies. The causes of food insecurity are complex and so are its remedies. The problem has been tackled successfully in some countries. This success can--and should--be repeated in many others.

The report (69 pages) is written in a lucid style and raises thought-provoking questions. It is a must for the persons interested in the problem of food security in India and abroad.

--R.S. KHANNA

**Administration of Anti-Poverty Programmes, (A Study of SFDA,)**

C.H.VALARAMULU, Warangal, Kakatiya School of Public Administration, 1984, p. 220, Rs. 75.00

The experiment of Small Farmers Development Agency was first launched in the year 1971 in certain selected districts of India.

The programme was gradually enlarged to encompass marginal farmers and agricultural labourers. The present study is an empirical one and the author has collected vast amount of data, marshalled the facts and come out with a book on the subject.

The author has examined the structural framework in the minutest detail. He is particularly severe on the district administration. He has criticised it for not exercising sufficient control over the implementation of SFDA programmes. Naturally, if the Collector does not take interest, or, cannot find time for a particular priority item of work, how can the objectives and goals of the programme be achieved? The author has been critical to the extent of being cynical when he says, "the gap between promise and performance has been too wide. This leads to the conclusion that the special agency approach to the development of rural poor has not been, like many other development programmes, a success".

While the author has also discussed contribution of Panchayati Raj institutions towards the success of the programmes, he has not discussed the benefits obtained by weaker sections because of the representation of weaker sections in Panchayati Raj bodies in Andhra Pradesh. The role of middlemen has been highlighted. They always appear as a constant stumbling block in all our development programmes. It would have been worthwhile if the study had, perhaps, suggested some remedy on how to overcome the problem of middlemen.

The author appears to have come to a very positive conclusion that the SFDA could not leave any significant impact on the conditions of the rural poor. This view appears to be a bit exaggerated. The study does not take into consideration that one of the major achievements of the SFDA was that it acted as a catalyst for the release of institutional finance in aid of development of small farmers, marginal farmers and agricultural labourers. No doubt, there were inadequacies in this programme which could not, perhaps, be taken care of in the initial stages, but with experience gained the programme has now attained a certain stature and it can be said definitely that the SFDA is easily one of the best managed and the only programme of its kind for poverty alleviation in the Third World.

This is a useful addition to the growing literature on Rural Development.

—S.K. PACHAURI

**Economic Systems**

GIRISH MISHRA, Delhi, Pragati Publications, 1986, p. 344 + viii, Rs. 150.00

**Innocence and Design : The Influence of Economic Ideas on Policy (The 1985 BBC Reith Lectures)**

DAVID HENDERSON, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1986, p. 117 + viii, £ 15.00.

Among Indian scholars as well as in Indian universities studies on economic systems are no longer as obscure and rare as they used to be until sometime ago. Not that the mainstream economics, derived largely from the neo-classical and Keynesian Schools of Thought, has incorporated in its body the implications of the study of the formation, evolution, and functioning of economic systems. Even in matters of analysis of micro and macro units and for policy analysis, systemic approach is largely absent. From the point of view of a country like ours, where the primary concern of economic studies is with problems of development, the tendency to ignore questions of economic systems is all the more indefensible and, if one may say so, even inimical to the use of economics as a fruit-bearing science. This is because the choice of the path and pattern of development and the strategies for the achievement of development goals are, to a considerable extent, influenced by the stage of evolution of the economic system.

In this perspective, one finds that the study by Dr. Girish Mishra on Economic Systems is both timely as well as useful. A study which deals with the concepts, categories, functioning and process of evolution of various systems and discusses many historical as well as futuristic economic systems cannot be rigidly placed under the presently dominant paradigm, which is strongly anchored in the currently dominant economic system. It means a full and adequate discussion of economic systems has to be rooted in many different paradigms: a kind of inter-paradigmatic study. This is not to deny that the Marxian paradigm is about the most developed paradigm for dealing with economic systems, systemic shifts and transitions.

Given these inherent complexities of analysing economic systems, one finds that Dr. Mishra's study covers a really large canvass in which, alongwith the Marxian paradigm, a number of selective and critical references have also been made to studies based on different paradigms. After discussing the concept of mode of production and socio-economic formation in the context of the Materialist Interpretation of History, the author devotes considerable space to a discussion of major pre-capitalist modes of production. The major part of the study, spread over four chapters, is devoted to the study of

the capitalist mode of production, right from its early, pre-industrial phase to the stage of neo-colonialism and collective colonialism spawned by MNCs. From this, the author moves on to devote two chapters to socialist mode of production--the first one is devoted to the theoretical and abstract aspects of the socialist mode of production and, the second one to the question of socialism in practice in which the Soviet and the East European as well as Chinese socialisms are discussed not only in a great deal of detail but also on the basis of the latest controversies on various questions.

The simple manner of presentation and the sharp posing of issues can easily be regarded as two endearing characteristics of the book not only for the graduate and post-graduate students but also for intelligent citizens and administrators who may like to view the economic phenomena around them in the appropriate context of the system of which they form a part. Insofar as an appreciation of the objective situation improves the quality of decision-making, a study of book of this kind should be a rewarding experience for public decision-makers. A chapter on the nature of the Indian economic system would have been an appropriate addition to the book.

A somewhat different but related theme has been discussed by David Henderson in the 1985 BBC Reith Lectures which has been published under the title of **Innocence and Design: The Influence of Economic Ideas on Policy**. This crisp and thought-provoking book deserves the attention of policy-makers as well as professional economists. Recalling the aphorism by Joan Robinson that the purpose of studying economics is to see how not to be cheated by economists, one may say that these lectures can probably be read even by intelligent lay people in order to see how economists, particularly those placed in position of advising governments think about the important issues of the day. Henderson seems to be briskly analysing the history of economic policies down the year which bears witness not only to the influence of economists and economic doctrines, whether defunct or alive, but also to the power of what he chooses to call "Do-it-Yourself Economics" (DIYE) on the basis of his personal experience of working in the economic ministries of the British Government. Henderson comes to the conclusion that many vested interests, basing themselves on convenient propositions, influenced the choices that government made. According to him, the economic ideas do not come from university economics courses or from the present-day economic writings alone, but, also on the basis of ideas and information which is generated within the decision-making system itself. These ideas are simply intuitive and self-generated--a kind of home-spun economics. In the words of Henderson, "those who held them thought that what they were saying was plain commonsense which needed no prompting

or authority." This is an example not of the use of economics in administration, but of its non-use. Thus, as against professional economics, Henderson conjures up another category "Do-it-Yourself Economics". In course of time, he realises that the DIYE permeates not only the Whitehall of the late 1950's but "DIYE has a much broader universal character, across national frontiers and down the centuries". They are unchanging, timeless and often deeply held. They are the economics of Everyman". From a professional angle, these ideas may be called pre-economic.

Henderson goes on to give many examples of how these pre-economic, DIYE ideas emerge and influence decision-making and popular perceptions. He also contrasts these ideas with those of professional economists, whose ideas he presents as those of Mr. Macquedy - Mac Q.E.D.

Since the issues which Henderson raises are rather basic, concerning, on the one hand, the questions of theory of knowledge and, on the other hand, with the influence of economic ideas on policy, this brief review is not the place for an adequate examination of the subject. Suffice it may be to say that by giving many examples from his own personal experience as a professional economist as well as an economic adviser, both at the national as well as international levels, Henderson has made his points rather effectively and persuasively. On reflection, one may find that many of the ideas are somewhat frothy and do not seem to be durable. This is fairly natural, because the phenomenon of popular economic ideas and the actual extent and manner of the use of professional economic ideas in policy-making cannot be explained entirely to the satisfaction of an economist belonging to a particular School of Thought who adopts a particular paradigm of economic analysis and has his own sympathies, biases, predilection and commitments. This is also because of the excessive faith which professional economists tend to put on the utility and validity of their theories and concepts as guides to practical policy-making, ignoring the pulls and pressures of politics, class conflict, national and international antagonism and other complexities. Thus, it might appear to be naive to expect that in real life policy, whether predominantly economic or otherwise, would be able to follow any recipe book instructions evolved with meticulous care by various schools of economists. In this sense, it might be said with some justification that the ascribing title of the study of Innocence to DIYE and of Design to professional economists respectively is somewhat simplistic.

In the course of the discussions, Henderson has expounded and illustrated his main theme with reference to many specific policies. He has also many comments to make on some of the important policy

issues of the present as well as some of the age-old ones like those between laissez-faire, markets and government. He says that the message of laissez-faire is not that the government should be inert or indifferent. On the contrary, his emphasis is 'positive' one, concerned with economic freedom, which enables opportunities to be opened up more widely and thus operate against special privileges. He goes on suggesting that the active involvement of public authorities is often needed if markets are to function competitively without producing unwanted side effects (a simple way of describing external dis-economies). His formulation that "the right balance between intervention and laissez-faire will vary from case to case and is always a matter of judgement" quite vividly brings out that when it comes to substantive choices, Mr. Macquedy is of little help and one has to fall back upon *DIYE*. The essential message is that economic knowledge is no substitute for the interplay of economic interests. It is the latter, which moulds policy use of the former, of course, without making economic ideas totally subservient to vested interests. Thus it is difficult to go with the Keynesian dictum that sooner or later it is ideas and not vested interests which are dangerous for good or evil. It is difficult to agree with this proposition because, in practice, ideas and interest interact on each other. Vested interests give rise to ideas and on the basis of ideas vested interests thrive. The primacy generally belongs to vested interests, based on real, palpable factors. And do ideas not evolve into vested interests?

--KAMAL NAYAN KABRA

**Life in Public Administration: Who Administers/How, Where and With What Does One Administer/How Does One Learn to Administer,**  
Ed. LEO KLINKERS, Amsterdam, Uitgeverij Kobra, 1985, p. 143

Historically, discussions concerning the problematic area of conceptualising administrative reality point to a multitude of approaches, yet, the absence of a body of knowledge and system of explanatory 'theory' with 'scope' and 'precision' and 'reliability' pertaining to the administrative phenomenon remain uncontested in the field of public administration. The administrative 'hypotheses' that have been proposed have not undergone critical scrutiny and empirical validation.

In much of the administrative writings of the past, there has been a tendency to indulge in 'sophisticated' consideration of minute aspects of the administrative phenomenon, rather than attempts to



attain an overall view of the subject by applying a multi- and inter-disciplinary approach to public administration. Commendable exceptions are Luther Gulick, Dwight Waldo and Arne F. Leemans. The book under review is worthy testimony not only to Arne F. Leemans, as the editor and the authors claim, but also to the multi-and inter-disciplinary approach to the study of public administration.

In "Dynamics in Public Administration", Adriaan Bours and Marie Anne Estas provide an overview of Dr. Arne Leemans' thoughts and activities in the field.

We learn of the scope and extent of Dr. Leemans' pre-occupation from local government to sub-national, national, and international concerns; administrative reform, comparative and development administration; theory and practice of public administration; his efforts to promote and gain recognition for the discipline in his home country as well as worldwide. The presentation of Leemans' background is followed by a "List of Publications and Other Contributions by Arne F. Leemans". The book addresses itself to six major questions and these are covered in chapters 2-7: (1) What is administration in the public sector? (2) Who administers? (3) How does one administer? (4) Where does one administer? (5) With what does one administer? and (6) How does one learn to administer?

In "The Problematic Conceptualisation of Modern Public Administration", Ron Verhoef supports a multi-and inter-disciplinary approach to the study of public administration, defines the field of study, and identifies the complex relationship between 'politics' and 'management'; he also identifies the peculiarities of public administration and cautions against the rigid separation between rule-making and rule-adjudicative activities.

The question **What is administration in the public sector?** is well treated considering the problem of conceptualising public administration, with approaches generating discussions that resulted in creating unnecessary dichotomies in the field.

Gerard Timsit (France) and Sabino Cassese (Italy) address the question **who administers?** From their presentations, it is obvious to conclude that the political system is increasingly turning bureaucratic, while the administrative system is becoming more and more political. They both concur that bureaucratic and political power have incredibly become intertwined. **How does one administer?** is the focus of Colm O' Nuallain ("How does one administer?") and Andrew Dunsire ("Why administer?: The Moral Dimension of Administrative Reform"). In both discussions, the values that ought to be brought to administration and administrative reforms are discussed; effectiveness, efficiency, acceptability and accountability are discussed as "end criteria we should prescribe for public policy"

design--and for effective implementation, mobilisation through popular participation. Caution about administrative re-organisation is also offered. The question, *Where Does One Administer?* is dealt with by Juha Vartola, ("From careless Nonchalance Towards Responsiveness") and Frank Delmartino, ("The concept of 'Relevant Space for Decision-Making, as Test Guide for Territorial Reforms'.") Vartola accepts the need for improvement in the administrative system but focuses attention on why administrative improvements have not been attained.

Among other things, he argues that the bureaucracy: (a) has moved from being a ruling instrument to being "integral part of the ruling system"; (b) has become "largely a law up to itself, independent of society. The intrusion of parties and interest systems into administration brings with it social contradictions and potential conflicts"; (c) has developed a "bureaucratic culture as an obstacle to the development of responsiveness". Delmartino argues that three terms--relevance, space and decision-making--should be given their full weight in administrative re-organisation and reform. He writes "Relevance' does not seem thus far to have been the strongest side of reforms carried out ...." He further notes:

Administrative re-organisation thus becomes a dialogue that is conducted in different ways depending on the place and time, and whereby, it is important to specify which actors have a say and in what governmental and social context the process occurs. A few consequences of this are obvious:

The equalisation philosophy in provisions and administrative solutions will be abandoned;

The towns and the countryside differ essentially and thereby permit differences in administrative solutions; and

An administrative organisation is not established once and for all: transitional phases and opportunities for growth can be provided" (p. 92).

In "With What Does One Administer?" Jan Kooiman, ("To Govern Is More Than To Decide") and Ton van der Eyden ("Creative Management in Government") reactivate the discussions on "who governs?" and how who governs does so and the qualities and responsibilities that should go with governing. Kooiman concentrates on inputs and the problems created in solving the increasing input demands in society. Kooiman resuscitates and redirects the application of systems theory and cybernetics to the theory of public administration. Cybernetics, jargons apart, overloads, positive and negative feedbacks. Kooiman



prescribes following conditions for effective governance:

Significant to governing is the fact that there is an object and a subject, implying a governing relationship. The governing object can be called g.o. (governing organ or system), the subject, g.s. (the system to be governed). Certain resources or methods of influence are used in the process of governing and can be called instruments. Certain impulses are needed to bring the instrument(s) into action and to sustain that action (p. 105).

Broadly stated they are : (1) The condition of image, (2) The condition of instruments; and (3) the condition of action. The amalgam of the three conditions defines the possibilities and limitations of certain governing situations.

Ton van der Eyden on the other hand catalogues the ills with governance--what is wrong with government?--and provides a "checklist for top quality service". According to him, following are important elements for top quality government:

Government service should be the best possible;

If private organisations perform well in a particular sector, respective government organisation should perform equally well or should be privatised (specific government functions excluded);

Top quality government service is a necessity of life for the citizens, just as food, housing, etc.;

The difference between mediocre and high performance in government servicing is represented by the human factor, and each civil servant should therefore perform to the best of his or her ability;

Civil servants are not servants of the politicians, but of the public as the real sovereign (citizens sovereignty);

One hundred per cent involvement in top quality government service should be asked but it should be accepted that civil servants may make mistakes;

Politicians are chosen as political representatives once in four years or so, but civil servants are chosen daily by the public on the criterion, "does a citizen sovereign get good service"?;

Each civil servant should periodically make a cost/effectiveness analysis of the (sic) own performance, the target being a positive contribution to the people's well being;

It is a privilege to be a civil servant, to be a member of government, i.e., the best possible human organisation;

Civil servant should behave as responsible men and women, the best

medicine against the bureaucratic disease of shifting responsibility on to another's shoulders;  
 Civil servants should be trained continuously to become experts in optimal government servicing, not only in their specific jobs but in 'government' in general; and  
 Government must become a quality that is associated with optimal service, humane behaviour, professional work and efficiency. (p.113.)

Like Leemans, van der Eyden argues for an inter-disciplinary science of government and advocates the recruitment of able personnel and continuous training for creative management of government.

The case for training public service personnel is poignantly made by Ernest Engelbert ("Managerial Training for the Public Sector") and Klaus Konig ("Political Advice and Administrative Support Planning in the German Chancellery") in answering the question: **How Does One Learn to Administer?** They argue that appropriate qualifications and competencies are *sine qua non* for effective making and managing of public policy.

A number of significant points can be made from the book:

- that the complexity of public sector management--the study and practice together--requires inter-disciplinary/multi-disciplinary approaches for effective results;
- that administration is political and the involvement of civil servant in political decision-making need not be ignored in the study and practice of public administration;
- that values dominate the administrative process and ethical theory needs to be incorporated in public administration theory;
- that the study of public administration cannot be divorced from the practice--study should enrich practice and vice versa; and
- that the drive towards professional development of public administrators needs to be intensified.

Typographical errors aside, this is an excellent primer in the study of public administration.

--KOFI ANKOMAH

**Civil Service Administration in India**

R.K. SAPRU, New Delhi, Deep & Deep Publication, 1985,  
p. 624, Rs. 300.00

Before the World War I, the civil service system played a significant role in enabling the British Government to administer the country. Even though the processes of democratisation and decentralisation started in the British India from 1919 to 1945, its position remained largely eminent despite emergence of the minister and the strengthening of the legislature. Its position became somewhat undefined immediately after India's Independence. But the national government (especially the Home Ministry under Sardar Patel) soon recognised the role civil service was expected to play in providing assistance to the political leadership in the processes of state-building and socio-economic development. It was, therefore, decided by the fathers of the Indian Constitution to provide, within the constitution itself, for recruitment by merit through Public Service Commission as in the past as well as some protection to the civil servants against arbitrary disciplinary action. However, since 1950, it is with the beginning of an era of fast growing momentum of development that the role of civil service has begun to expand and diversify increasingly.

Dr. R.K. Sapru, in his book on Civil Service Administration in India, deals with historical and development context of the civil service in a very lucid and perceptive manner. Keeping in view this national context of the need for maintenance of public order and for development momentum, he discussed the organisation and the role of civil service in the state of Haryana. He gives us a panorama of development activities in the state and then an analytical description of the existing organisational capacity of civil service to cope with the increasingly strenuous and complex responsibilities devolving upon it as a comparatively young state (less than two decades old) of the Indian federation.

He does not confine himself only to the analysis of structure, recruitment, training, career development and staff associations, but also makes constructive suggestions on organisational aspects to reinforce the efficiency and efficacy of the civil service. While doing so, he draws upon the basic concepts of the discipline of public administration over which he seems to have a good grasp. As a matter of fact, one of his strong points seems to correlate practice with theory.

In the chapter on structure of the civil service, he is critical of the prevalence of class-consciousness and inadequate incentives under the existing hierarchy of civil service system into four main

classes. He pleads for scrapping of this system in favour of unified grading structure, as has also been recommended by the Administrative Reforms Commission in the late 60s. It so happened that three of our neighbouring States--Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan--have adopted such a system though its actual working has not been as correct as was expected.

As regards the problem of relationship between specialist and generalist, he rightly points out that as the state moves further and further on the roads to socio-economic development, the specialists need to be assigned a more central role, and not a peripheral one which they play in some of the development departments, such as electricity boards. One finds today that in the Directorate of Education and the Department of Education of the State Government, at the secretariat level, it is not the highly qualified educationists who occupy the key positions; instead, these are filled up by the generalists. A similar trend is visible in several other departments concerned with social or economic activities. Dr. Sapru is rather mild in suggesting improvement in the status of the specialists in the hierarchy. As a matter of fact, one would like to see the specialists or development administrators occupy top positions in the development departments. The ARC had suggested that the generalists should first be provided specialised training and then posted in development wings of the departments for the rest of their career. Similarly, the specialists should be provided sound higher management training to occupy key positions within the development departments as policy-advisers to ministers and as meaningful line-staff, besides bearing expert knowledge on the policies and programmes of the department.

While dealing with training as a means of not only orientation but also for imparting development skills and ethos of the civil service in Haryana, Dr. Sapru pleads for reorganisation of various training programmes through proper planning and development of a really competent staff for this purpose on somewhat more stable basis than has been the case so far.

While discussing career development, he points out that there is hardly any planning for career development for class II, III and IV officials. Though there is a Department of Administrative Reforms within the Haryana Government, there has not been in operation any career development plan. Not only the civil servants get frustrated to a certain extent, but occasionally there is also the problem of misfits in certain administrative positions.

As regards recruitment, the Public Service Commission has not come up to the expected standards of recruitment by merit as envisaged in the Indian Constitution. The public image of the Commission for

integrity and efficiency has not, unfortunately, been bright. Dr. Sapru suggests that the recruitment system needs to be streamlined and the government should take steps to protect the Commission against political pulls and pressures which are deflecting the Commission from high standards of integrity.

His chapter on staff associations is positively enlightening, particularly because not much is known about them outside the four walls of the unions, though they have started playing an important role in promoting or inhibiting good management-employee relationship. Dr. Sapru suggests that while the Union leaders should develop a better sense of responsibility, the state government could follow the Central Government in activating and debureaucratising the existing functioning of staff committees. This, in his opinion, may contribute to a more effective dealing with the staff problems and grievances.

The value of this study could have been enhanced if the author had also included the view-point of legislators and the leaders of the interest groups about the performance of civil service. There are complaints about delays, favouritism and corruption in certain sectors of the civil service performance. If these could have been brought out by eliciting the views of organised groups or citizens dealing with civil service, and through the views of the legislators recorded in the Estimates Committee and Public Accounts Committee, we would have a realistic view of the performance of the civil service as it concerns the welfare of the people.

This is a pioneering work on the subject of civil service in the state of Haryana. In the Seventh Five-Year Plan, the responsibilities of every state government and its chief instrument are going to be still much higher and more complex. For this purpose, efficiency, effectiveness and integrity of civil service demand a good and critical look at its existing system. This study, therefore, is a contribution towards this process. Moreover, in the academic field, attention is beginning to be paid to the study of state government and administration. This publication contributes very substantially to the existing literature on state administration in India. It is, therefore, a useful piece of writing for the benefit of those interested in such studies.

--B.S. KHANNA

**State Executive**

LALLAN BEHARI PANDEY, Delhi, Amar Prakashan, 1985, p.239, Rs. 60.00

Pandey's book focuses on the role and functions of the state executive, that is Governor, Chief Minister/Council of Ministers in the light of the functioning of the Chief Central Executive, that is President, Prime Minister and Central Council of Ministers. The author substantiates his thesis by drawing from the Indian Constitution (including its evolutionary phase), constitution of other countries, debates in the Constituent Assembly of India, and the judgement of some legal constitutional cases.

India has adopted a parliamentary form of government, where it is the party system that gives the cabinet its homogeneity, and it is the position of Prime Minister which grants solidarity to it. The author opines that the Indian system does not adhere, in any way, to the system prevalent in USA, Switzerland and USSR. According to him, it resembles very much the parliamentary system prevalent in Britain and its other self-governing dominions. Regarding India, one view-point is that the nature of the Indian executive is definitely not parliamentary and the President of India is one of the most powerful functionaries. He combines in his office the powers of both formal and legal executive, as he is vested with ordinance making powers, declaration of emergency, and the suspending of fundamental rights and provincial autonomy. Our Constitution concentrates these powers in the Indian President, who is like a king for five years and on whom the only check against abuse is the impotent impeachment. Before the 1976 amendment, the President was not bound by the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers. The other view is that the nature of the Indian Executive is parliamentary, pure and simple and the Constitution establishes a cabinet government both at the Centre and the states on the British model. It may be recalled that Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of the Indian Union, at times tried to exercise his authority and he felt the need for clarification of the powers of the President. But, with the enactment of 42nd constitutional amendment, 1976, the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers is binding on the President. In the retrospect, Pandey observes that had the Irish scheme under the Fourth Republic of France, providing that the President would be legally bound to accept the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers, been accepted, there were no scope for constitutional experts giving conflicting opinions. The President has still the right to be consulted, to encourage and to warn. In abnormal circumstances, the President has to exercise real powers in two fields, viz., appointment of Prime Minister and dissolution of Lok Sabha.

It is maintained that the states under the Indian Union are the creation of Central Government. It is, therefore, natural that the position of the states in the Indian Union is not of a co-equal and coordinate status with the Central Government but of a subordinate status. The executive powers of the state are vested in the Governor and Chief Minister/Council of Ministers exercise authority on behalf of the Governor.

The Governor is appointed by President and holds office during the pleasure of the President. It is believed that the nomination system would discourage the centrifugal tendency. The Governor would work as a link between the Union and the states because he is the constitutional head of the state. In the appointment of governors, the condition that the governor should not belong to the same state has generally been accepted, while the other point that the state government should be consulted in the appointment of governor has not been followed. The author asserts that some method should be found to ensure that the appointment of the Governor shall be made in such a way that he is made accountable to both the Centre and the state. This is necessary because he has to exercise some discretionary powers under the Constitution. Pandey makes some suggestions in this context which need to be examined.

The Governor has a dual role, firstly he acts as constitutional head of the state and as such he exercises his powers on the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers. Secondly, he exercises some powers in his own discretion, especially in the matter of appointment of Chief Minister and the dissolution of Legislative Assembly. Pandey pleads that a distinction has to be made in the use of discretionary powers as to when the governors have to seek instructions from the Central Government and when they should exercise their individual judgement in the interest of the state. A proper balance has to be maintained between the dual role, which the Governor has to perform. As a Chancellor of a university, it is asserted that the Governor must act independently of the advice of the state cabinet, unless it is required by law. The most important function is the appointment of Vice-Chancellors, which at times has been a matter of controversy and dispute between the Governor and the state cabinet.

As an agent of Central Government, the Governor provides the link that fastens the federal state chain, which regulates Union-State relationship. The position of the Governor is of dignity and authority under the Parliamentary system and he is not just a symbol or a figure head.

After 1967, large-scale defections and unprincipled alliances of political parties in forming coalition governments in all the states have made the position of Governor very difficult. Even some opposi



tion parties and governments in states talk of abolition of the institution of governorship. Therefore, there is a need for an all-party convention to discuss the matter threadbare and formulate general guidelines to be followed as far as possible in a given situation.

It is suggested that the Chief Minister should, as far as possible, be a member of the lower house. But of late, a tendency has developed where the leader is nominated by central high command/central leaders of the party. In case of non-congress governments, leaders of defectors from Congress Party at times became Chief Ministers. The nomination of the leader of state legislative party by the Centre shows subordination of state executive to central executive. This has resulted in an unbalanced Centre-State relationship and the state executive has become weak. The author advocates that the state legislative party should be left free to elect its leader.

Regarding the functioning of the Chief Ministers, it is pointed out that except for some old timers, most of the Chief Ministers have remained either *primus inter pares* or an agent of the central party organisation. The author pleads for greater responsibility to the state executive in the functioning of the government and the appointment of the Chief Minister. Further, it is asserted that unless a proper and harmonious balance is attempted to be achieved between Centre and states, there is likely to be a growing demand for constitutional guarantee of the greater autonomy to the states as has been made by some Chief Ministers.

The governor controls the legislative activities through the executive power to summon and prorogue the session of the legislature and to dissolve the state assembly, the power to address and send messages, the power to assent the bills and the power to promulgate ordinances. In the absence of uniform practice, the author pleads for proper understanding between ministry and Governor, otherwise complications and controversies may create difficulties in smooth functioning. Further, a need for necessary amendments in the constitution is felt and a convention may be established that a Governor does not exercise even either by implication the power to veto a bill (withholding assent to a bill). There should be a minimum use of the ordinance making power to the state executive.

In the Indian states, the relationship between executive, the cabinet and the legislation due to defections has affected the smooth working of the parliamentary system. Recently, Parliament enacted the anti-defection Bill. It is hoped that states will follow suit to enact such legislation (if not passed earlier) to attain political maturity and morality and to bring about stability in government.



Regarding relationship between executive and judiciary, it is suggested that the state executive should least interfere with the judicial activity of the state. The power to pardon should not be used for political purpose and it should be exercised to promote justice and not impede the independent and impartial working of the judiciary.

In fine, this book will be of interest to the legislators, students and teachers of political science, public administration, management, constitutional history besides general readers and find wide audience. One may not agree with all the suggestions made in the book, but these need to be examined on their merit. The changed political situation in the country calls for a fresh look on this vital issue and the book will provide sufficient material for a national debate. L.B. Pandey deserves gratitude of the reader for his endeavour. The reviewer hopes that Dr. Pandey will find time to update this book and throw fresh light on this subject in view of the recent developments in the country.

--P.C. BANSAL

#### **Wielding of Authority in Emerging Countries**

Lt. Gen. P.S. BHAGAT, New Delhi, Lancer International, 1986, p. 115 + XIV, Rs. 130.00

Organisationally speaking, the term authority is a synonym of term power. Authority structure of an organisation leads to its hierarchical structure. This structure is supposed to be based on the abilities, aptitudes, skills, education and experiences of the men working in the organisation. It helps them in performing their jobs efficiently and completing their tasks quickly. It also helps the organisation to grow and develop. Even the pigs of George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, after driving away their masters, for the purpose of administering the farm, had to change the commandment pertaining to authority, to read; "All are equal but some are more equal than others!" Authority, therefore, is an essential ingredient of organisational as well as social life of man.

Milgram's experiments, reported in his book (*Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View*, London, Tavistock, 1974), have established that a large mass of people have an in-built dependency syndrome which impels them to seek guidance and direction from authority figures. The role of this syndrome becomes all the more important in case of those persons who for long have been subjected to feudalism, on the one hand, and colonialism, on the other. Their sense of

dependency goes down to the depths of servility. That, in turn, encourages the man in authority to assume undue self-importance and promote his own selfish interests. That, in other words, amounts to exploitation of rank and file.

It is a normal practice in developed countries of the world that before a man is put in a position of authority, he has to prove his worth. Later on also he remains in that position so long as he keeps delivering the goods. But that is not happening in India and in many other emerging countries. Even after almost 40 years of Independence of our country, self-perpetuation of persons who once happened to get into the positions of authority, continues. There are three main reasons for this. First, there is no detailed and tangible criteria to assess their responsibility and accountability; and second, the 'personalised' functioning of our country men comes in the way of streamlining the role of authority in our organisation; and third, high need for affiliation of Indians does not allow them to take stringent action against those who misuse authority or otherwise fail to perform their authority role adequately. The causes of this malady are deep rooted. However, they got aggravated during the British rule of our country. Elaborating this point, General Bhagat writes, "....the real positions of power were denied to Indians. Indeed, it speaks much for the British ways of wielding of authority that with only the trappings and not the substance of authority, the Indian official was kept placated. The art, habit and practice of wielding authority was all but a closed book to Indians for a century or more. It is this authority gap of more than a century, and during the most crucial period in the development of modern practices of authority--mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century--that impairs the working of authority in India. Not only are those who are in authority affected by this authority gap, but the whole society is inhibited by it".

The proper role of authority is to respect the rights of the common man and deliver to him what is his due. But an Indian's perception of authority is to instil awe and fear in the common man, use it for self-aggrandisement and make the common man rationalise his deprivations. Little is being done to change this understanding of the precept of authority among Indians. A new political authority based on democratic principles is being super-imposed on a colonial bureaucratic system. The emerging aspirations and dynamism of a nation with a rich cultural heritage, is tried to be harnessed and channelised through the administrative system which lays too much emphasis on rules, inspections and 'bull'. But the tragedy is that the two systems do not match.

The book under review provides a detailed and indepth study of the

concept and practice of authority in India during the British rule and as it is getting manifested in our behaviour today. It discusses both the political and the socio-cultural circumstances weighing on the exercise of authority in our country. Further, the book does not discuss the exercise of authority in military sphere only; in fact, it devotes a large portion to the discussion of authority as it is manifested in our civil organisations. The thrust of the author's arguments is that the new generation which has started exercising authority today is neither politically nor psychologically hampered by the negative understanding of the concept. This generation, therefore, should be less resistant to change and should be able to run their charge more confidently than the last generation. But it is easy said than done. No doubt the new generation is politically free from the negative understanding of term authority, but psychological factors related to human behaviour are deep-rooted, subtle and all-pervasive. A man's self-respect, conscience, ego and ambition, each has a role to play in making him strive to achieve the best results. To infuse these things in the Indian psyche—which for long has lived on a sense of dependency, servility, fatalism and superstition—is not easy. A vigorous planned effort would have to be made so that our authority system becomes sensitive to the changed circumstances of the country. In the first place, we require many more books like the one written by General Bhagat to be read by the policy-makers of the country. In the second stage, human relations workshops must be conducted to make the participants relate the concept and practice of authority to their individual and group behaviour. And last but not the least, the principles of democracy in which the proper authority system is going to be ultimately rooted, must become a matter of faith with us.

A study of the book under review is recommended to all administrators and students of organisation behaviour.

— SHYAM LAL DAS

## BOOK NOTES

### Parliamentary Control of Public Administration in India

UDAI NARAIN, Allahabad, Chugh Publications, p. 484, Rs. 150.00

Parliamentary Control of Public Administration in India by Uday Narain, makes a comprehensive study of the issues involved. The issues involved on the basis of Parliamentary Reports and other documents. After presenting a broad picture of the administrative system, the author goes on to discuss procedures and systems of Parliamentary control. He thereafter explores the interest and impact of Parliament, the policy, activities and the issues of the government. He also analyses the role of the Parliament in relation to the personnel and financial administration as well as other administrative operations of the government. One of the chapters is devoted to the over view of the system as well as of the problems and thereafter the author arrives at his own conclusions and makes a few suggestions with a view to strengthen and rationalise parliamentary control of Public Administration. The author has made a thorough use of the existing literature on the subject as well as Parliamentary Reports and other official and governmental documents. The author attempts to analyse the problems in the comparative context of the working of the parliamentary system and some other countries particularly, the United Kingdom. Being a research work it is thoroughly documented and provides fairly authentic understanding and the working of the parliamentary system in relation to government in our country. Better editing would have helped to eliminate the printing errors which rather mar the value of the book. While there are many states dealing in different aspects of Parliamentary control, Dr. Uday Narain in his book, which was accepted as thesis for the D. Lit. degree University of Lucknow, provides a more comprehensive approach to the parliamentary control of Public Administration.

--EDITOR

**Gandhian Thought—An Analytical Study**

J.K. MEHTA, New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House, 1985, p. 240,  
Rs. 150.00

The volume under consideration comprises of a number of lectures on the different facets of Gandhian Thought. Prof. J.K. Mehta was an economist of great repute and his work on theoretical economics constitutes a distinct contribution to economics. Even his approach to economic thinking and problems was rooted in our ethos and culture. Gandhian Thought was a subject very dear to Prof. Mehta at a time when many unconventional ideas of Gandhiji were considered as just simple facts. But Prof. Mehta's admiration for Gandhiji never came in his way while making an analytical study of his ideas and thoughts. With his characteristic capacity for discernment and analysis in Gandhian Thought, Prof. Mehta has been in a position to identify the eternal varieties of life and examine them with the compulsions of the present and imperatives of the future. For him, Gandhiji's thoughts seem to have not only contemporary and local relevance but also universal significance. When the eco-development problems are emerging and people talk of ethics in economic life, the Gandhian ethic of austerity becomes an integral part of the economic approach for developing as well as developed nations. There is a growing realisation of need for indepth, objective and dispassionate study of Gandhiji's ideas and Gandhian techniques to solve the problems of life. Prof. Mehta has delivered lectures under the auspices of the Institute of Gandhian Thought and Peace Study, University of Allahabad. They cover Gandhiji's approach to non-violence, truth, religion, satyagrah, democracy, fasting, etc. But his presentation portrays a new approach and his scholarly perception. Though primarily a theoretician and mathematical economist, Prof. Mehta was also a philosopher of Economics. It has been rightly said that his was an effort to go to the root of things and make the people understand them. It was probably, when he tried to work on the philosophy of economics as well as social traditions of the East and West that he made an extensive study of the ideas and ideals of Gandhiji. He was one of the Professors for Economics with a theoretical and philosophical base of Gandhian Thought. Though it is a posthumous publication, it is a work of great scholarship and social sensitivity. The volume will be of great interest to the students of social science and of the right thinking people who try to seek solutions to the problems of daily life in the light of Gandhiji's writings and teachings. Prof. J.K. Mehta's book on Gandhian Thought makes an outstanding contribution to Gandhian Thought.

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**Public Enterprises in India**

JAGDISH PRAKASH, Allahabad, Thinker's Library, p. 392, Rs. 65.00

Public Enterprises in India have a number of problems which are familiar to the students of developmental economics and development studies. The rationale, the nature and the spectrum of public enterprises would naturally depend on socio-economic policies. The planning system in our country assigns a very important place to public enterprises. For economic, social and administrative reasons, public enterprises are under pressure. The problem of accountability of public enterprises has become a very important issue. Hence that of autonomy and control too. The volume under review by Jagdish Prakash makes a study of public enterprises from the perspective of controls with a view to ensure accountability and the achievement of objectives. The problems relating to parliamentary control, ministerial control, and control by audit have been discussed at length. It is the revised version of the thesis earlier submitted for D. Phil. at the University of Allahabad but the book on the whole presents a fairly complete study of the totality of the public enterprises and should be of use to students of Public Administration and others interested in the working of the public enterprises in India. It makes good use of the existing literature on the subject, including official reports and documents.

--EDITOR

**Agrarian Movement in Rajasthan**

PEMA RAM, Jaipur, Panchsheel Prakashan, 1986, p. 356, Rs. 175.00

The volume by Pema Ram under review is welcome as it surveys the various peasant movements in the different princely states which now constitute Rajasthan. The condition of peasantry was much worse because of the oppressive layers of feudalism in the princely state. Unfortunately, not much is known about the various peasant movements in Rajasthan. Though the Bijolia Satyagrah had attracted the attention of Gandhiji and the then British Government. There were other movements of localised nature which are significant from the angle of study of agrarian movements and the evolution of the agrarian system. Author has made imaginative use of documents and reports which are scattered in different parts of the State, and other facts which lay hidden in Government files or contemporary papers. He covers, besides Bijolia Movement, Bhil and Grassia Agitation in Mewar, and other agrarian or peasant movements in the former state of Sirohi,

Bundi, Jaipur, Marwar, Bikaner, Alwar and Bharatpur. His analysis brings out that agrarian movement in Rajasthan was not an isolated affair but was a part and parcel of the struggle of the peasantry, for this movement, in a feudal set-up, braved the cruelties and oppressions of the then rulers of the state and the Jagirdars besides the overall surveillance exercised by the alien rulers. The study also brings out the role of Press in Rajasthan as well as the national papers in taking up the cause of the oppressed peasantry. The leadership was very often provided by the leaders from outside, not necessarily from British India, but from a neighbouring state or a British enclave like Ajmer, since hardly any political activity was allowed by the then princely rulers. The local leadership could itself be effective in the then existing circumstances only when leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Madam Mohan Malviya, and Jawaharlal Nehru became interested in their problems. The caste factor in the peasant movement, which even now continues to play its role in the politics of Rajasthan, also emerged as a major factor in the course of the time.

On the whole, the book provides a composite picture of the agrarian movement in Rajasthan and tries to link up with the peasants' movement the political awakening in the country. Pema Ram has undertaken a painstaking effort in the preparation of this useful and well researched study.

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#### **Socialist Thought in India**

PRAKASH C. SHASTRI, Jaipur, Printwell Publishers, 1985, p. 119, Rs. 85.00

The book is based on the revised extended version of Prakash C. Shastri's M. Phil. dissertation on 'Socialist Thought in India' with special reference to 'Dr. Lohia's Quest for Indigenous Social Reference'. In the first two chapters, after a broad survey of the contemporary Indian scene on planning system and social and political thinking, he discusses at some length in the following two chapters 'Genesis of Indigenous Socialism from Acharya Brahaspati to Mahatma Gandhi'. In these two chapters, he surveys not only literature on developments in socialist thinking in the country but also refers to Lohia's comments and criticism. In a way, these two chapters provide a 'bird's eye view' of the totality of Indian philosophical and social thinking. In the following two chapters, Shastri presents what he calls Lohia's model of indigenous socialism. The



last chapter is a critique on Dr. Lohia's proposed model. Both these chapters provide analytical view of Dr. Lohia's wide range thinking on philosophical and social problems which speaks of the author's extensive interest in the study of the subject.

The author had earlier written a book in Hindi on the evolution of socialist movement in this country. The present work provides a conceptual and philosophical base to his earlier contribution. The author has drawn on many ideas but some of them need greater clarification and analysis. Probably, the size of the presentation was the main constant. The usefulness of the book would have further enhanced by more careful editing. On the whole, Shastri's present academic presentation is an interesting and scholarly one and will add to the much needed analytical approach to socialist thought in India.

--EDITOR



## Role of Political Parties in India \*

I AM greatly honoured to have been asked to deliver the John F. Kennedy Memorial lecture this year. I am particularly happy that I should have this opportunity of paying my tribute, in the form of this lecture, to that charismatic man and great President of the United States who unfortunately was not allowed to fulfil the promise which he so abundantly showed. That promise kindled the hope in vast masses of humanity, certainly not confined to the United States but spread all over the globe, of creating a better, more just and more prosperous life for the people of the whole world. I am probably the Indian who knew him best; I knew him first when he was no more than just one of the hundred members of the United States Senate. Even as a Senator, I had the privilege of working closely with him, particularly on the problems of aid to India, the organisation and garnering of which was, in those earlier days, my special responsibility. In this task, I invariably had his unfailing and invaluable help.

It was at this time that I got to know him well and began to appreciate his sterling qualities. Thus, when he became President of the United States and captured the imagination of the world with his leadership, I was in a better position than most to realise that what he was saying, and that the leadership he was giving was not merely the empty rhetoric of a politician playing to the gallery, but represented the deep-felt feelings and convictions of a man who believed passionately, not only in the desirability but also in the possibility and practicability of creating a better world for the entire human race. The magical effect of his words and actions on all who were taken within his range, together with similar magic woven by Jawaharlal Nehru on Indians of my generation, resulted in those of us who were subjected to both, suffering from what, with the benefit of hindsight, seems today the lunatic illusion that we would, in our own lifetime, fashion a whole new and near-perfect world.

When Jack Kennedy became President and I became the Indian Ambassador accredited to him, many problems both bilateral and multi-lateral, took me to the White House with a frequency with which normally Ambassadors are not favoured. On all of them, he was invariably helpful and cooperative. He went out of his way to help a country for which he had conceived a great affection and the importance of whose future for the direction in which the world developed he appreciated more clearly than has ever been done in the United States either before or after his time. Without his active help, our Second Five-Year Plan would have remained half finished and the Third

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\* 14th John F. Kennedy Memorial Lecture delivered by Shri B.K. Nehru, on June 16, 1986 at the Indo-American Society, Bombay.

would never have started. Nor did he hesitate to come immediately to our aid, when we asked for help, at the time of the Chinese invasion of 1962.

In thinking of subject for this lecture, I toyed with many topics concerning various aspects of Indo-American relations. But I decided finally to eschew them all, for the present state of our relationship with the United States is so unsatisfactory that I thought it would be more appropriate if the less attention I drew to it the better. Instead, I have chosen as my topic a purely internal subject, namely, 'The Role of Political Parties in India', a subject which does not seem to have attracted the attention of thinking Indians to the extent that it deserves. This subject would have interested Jack Kennedy himself for he was an intensely political animal, fascinated by the mechanisms, processes and manipulations of party-politics. It was not unoften that he questioned me closely on the political compulsions on our politicians in an effort to understand the reasons for the otherwise inexplicable anti-American rhetoric in which some ministers of our government at that time often indulged.

It is generally accepted in political theory that a democratic political system cannot be run without political parties. All western democracies, whether parliamentary or presidential, have political parties, though they vary enormously from country to country, in their organisation and functions. Political parties are supposed to be associations of people who have like-minded ideas and ideologies in regard to the policies that a government should follow and the functions it should discharge. These ideas and programmes are embodied, before each election, in what in Britain is called the party manifesto and in America the party platform. It is these respective programmes on which the electorate is supposed to vote. Needless to say that, in practice, many other factors come into play, including the personality of the candidates.

There are four main functions which political parties are supposed to perform. One is to study and research into the problems facing the country and their alternative solutions on the basis of which the party can formulate its policy. The second is continuously to educate the electorate in regard to these problems and convince it of the wisdom of the solutions the party advocates. The third is to turn out the voters on election day and the fourth, in the case of parliamentary democracies, is to keep the executive government in power by ensuring that its members in the legislature vote solidly for all measures proposed by the government even though they may disagree with them. In presidential democracies, this last function is unnecessary. As the executive is irremovable by the legislature, an adverse vote in the House does not endanger it; votes can therefore be cast in accordance with the convictions of each individual member. It is because of this basic difference that there is such a contrast between the organisations, functions and working of political parties in the United States and Europe. In India, the third and fourth functions are important; others hardly exist.

I have heard it, quite often said by those who tend blindly to follow the British example in everything, that the trouble with India is that we have too many political parties. According to them, a democracy can be run efficiently only with two political parties who present the possibility of government's alternative to each other.

The prime example given is that of the United Kingdom, forgetting that even Great Britain has, and has indeed almost always had, and is likely to continue to have, more than two political parties. They also forget that the dominance of two political parties has been made possible by the most unfair part of the post-electoral system which disenfranchises a substantial part of the electorate. We have adopted this system but the whole of Europe has rejected it, in favour of some form of proportional representation.

The other example that is given is that of the United States where there are only Democrats and Republicans and no third party. They, of course, forget that the organisation and functions of the American political parties have no relationship whatsoever with that either of the British or the Indian parties. Both of the USA parties represent a gamut of political opinions varying from extreme right to extreme left. The only general statement that might be possible to define their respective political positions is that, on the whole, the Democrats are possibly a little more liberal than the Republicans. There is no such thing in the United States as a party whip; any attempt to control the voting pattern of the legislators would be violently resisted as a violation of democratic norms and the denial of the fundamental right of the freedom of speech guaranteed by the Constitution. The voting pattern in any measure, therefore, invariably cuts across party lines. It is not unusual, as indeed is happening increasingly at the present moment, that an appreciable number of the legislators belonging nominally to the same party as the President of the United States oppose his proposals for legislation or executive action while a fair number of the other party supports them. There is no such thing as centralised control in either of the political parties while the office of the Chairman of the party is a fairly lowly one, in great contrast to the exalted position which our own party President enjoys. It might, in fact, be said that the United States is, in our terms, a partyless democracy; the party label under which groups of politicians are organised is more for the sake of convenience in organising the legislature and choosing of candidates rather than for the pursuit of particular policies which are in opposition to those of the other party.

The proponents of the two-party system also forget that all European countries, in spite of their small size, have a multiplicity of political parties and that every European government, almost without exception, is a coalition of a number of political parties which nevertheless seems to give to the country concerned a reasonably effective and stable government. It seems also to ensure a certain continuity in the pursuit of policies, both internal and external, in great contrast to the violent swings that the transfer of power in the United Kingdom between a Conservative and a Labour Government almost always causes of which repeated nationalisation and denationalisation is one striking example. When even tiny countries have a number of political parties, it is futile to expect, in as vast and diverse a country as India, that it will ever be possible or even desirable to have only two.

Indian political parties, like the Indian political system itself, are naturally unique, having developed according to the history, the genius and the requirements of the country. Considering the enormous population of India and its diversity, it is natural that, in addi-

tion to the national political parties, there should be regional parties or rather parties confined to one particular state. Each of our states corresponds, by virtue of its size and the bonds of language, history and culture, to what in Europe would be a separate sovereign country. The particular interests of individual states are beginning to be organised into what are known as regional parties of which the two DMKs in Tamil Nadu, the Telugu Desam of Andhra, the National Conference of Kashmir and the various local political parties in the tribal states of North-Eastern India are examples. Indeed, to a certain extent, the CPI(M), although it claims to be a national and indeed an international party, begins in India to correspond to a regional party representing the interests of West Bengal with an offshoot in Kerala. The Akali Dal may one day become a regional party; as of today, it is too closely mixed up with religion to qualify as representing the interests of Punjab. The European Parliament is not organised on the basis of parties representing member states; but there is a tendency nevertheless, when national interests are involved, for all members from the same country to vote together. Similarly, in the United States, instead of forming separate political parties, the Senators and Congressmen from a particular state or region always gather together in what is called a 'caucus' to follow a common line of action whenever a problem arises, affecting the interests of their particular region, irrespective of party loyalty.

The growth of regional parties is often looked at askance as a threat to national unity and the integrity of India. I personally believe that these fears are greatly exaggerated. None of these regional parties is secessionist. The DMK started by being one but it soon realised that it would not be in the interests of Tamil Nadu or Dravidistan to separate itself from mother India and the secessionist plank was dropped from its platform. None of the other regional parties has been secessionist though noises akin to secessionism might occasionally have come out of them in moments of anger and frustration.

The nemesis of all the regional parties lies in the feeling that the interests of the people of the state are not safe in the hands of national parties. National parties are, by virtue of the fact of a population imbalance, dominated by the Hindi speaking people of the North. Decision-making in them is also highly centralised; there are no safeguards in the party mechanism, as there are in the Constitution for the autonomy of the states. Decisions at the national party level, which must necessarily be taken in accordance with the wishes of the majority, give rise to the suspicion in the outlying parts of the country that their interests are neglected and ignored.

The DMK was a reaction against alleged northern-Indian imperialism and Brahminical dominance, as exemplified, for instance, in what was regarded as the forcible imposition of Hindi. The Telugu Desam was a revolt against the denial of state autonomy through the imposition of successive Chief Ministers by outside authority. The dominance of Central authority is resented in those areas of the country which have not been, till comparatively recently, part of the national mainstream. The National Conference of Kashmir is, like many of the local parties of the North-Eastern states, ready to cooperate with the Centre but not willing to merge into a national party. They feel

they are too small, and their problems so little understood outside the state, that they may have no voice in the making of decisions at the national level. They are, therefore, unwilling to surrender, through the party mechanism, the autonomy guaranteed to them by the Constitution and do not regard it in any way anti-national.

A unique feature of Indian political parties is that many of the national parties can trace their origins to the Indian National Congress. The Congress was not a political party but a movement; in political theory, it corresponded to a regional party, the region being India; it attempted to represent all the people of India. It comprised, therefore, all shades of sectional interests and opinions, which had combined together under the banner of that Congress to represent the interests of India as a whole and to work for its freedom. Mahatma Gandhi gave wise advice when he advised the Congress, in 1947, to dissolve itself as it had achieved its goal and to allow the various sectional interests, which had combined under its fold, to form separate political parties. That advice was not followed with the result that today's Congress(I) party (which represents the mainstream of the Indian National Congress) is an overall party somewhat amorphous in its ideology. Its allegiance to the ideas of socialism, secularism and democracy are no monopoly; virtually every political party pays homage to, and accepts these ideas, at least in theory.

Another characteristic of Indian political parties is the tendency to splinter into fragments, not on the basis of ideological differences but because of differences in personality. So devoid of any ideological difference are these various groups that they have to differentiate themselves by the initials of their leaders--whence three different Congress parties--and similar splinters of the Lok Dal and the Akali Dal. Indeed the tendency among politicians to give their political loyalties, not to ideas or ideologies but to particular individuals and leaders, is so great as to make one doubt whether these factions can be justly dignified by being called political parties. It is for this reason also that politicians find it so easy in India to change their party loyalties; such change involves no alteration in their ideas of what is good for the country but merely a change in the leader to whom they give their allegiance.

The cement that binds the members of these factions together under their political leader is not, as in other countries, what that leader proposes to do for the benefit of the country but what benefits that leader can confer on his followers. Political parties are tending, in short, to be based not on ideology but on patronage. Whence it is that every MLA belonging to the ruling party has almost obligatorily to be given a ministership of some kind or the chairmanship of a public sector corporation--new corporations being created if not enough of them exist, totally irrespective of their utility or their cost to the tax payer. If there are still not enough of these, some other avenue of making a profit has to be created. Favourite methods are the grant of quotas to each MLA for the transfers of certain functionaries, such as school teachers, revenue officials, police officers and the like. In some states, they are even given quotas for appointments. The MLA puts into his pocket enormous amounts of money for each transfer or appointment and causes equally enormous damage to the administration and, therefore, to the people



of the state. The MLAs themselves have, in their turn, to dole out favours to their supporters. They work for the MLA not because he represents a particular ideology but because, if he is elected, they hope to get some kind of favour from him, such as a gas licence or a building permit or employment for a relative or some other illegal gain. If the MLA does not oblige, his political workers withdraw their support and give it to some body else in the next election. Indeed, this whole system of political parties has caused politics in India to become an incredibly lucrative career for unqualified and incompetent people instead of being a channel of service to the country as it is supposed to be in a democracy.

Yet another characteristic of our political parties is the extreme centralisation of their organisations. Most of them have had no elections for a very long time; nobody really knows how many members they have; the office bearers on their various committees at various levels are all nominated by the central group which itself owes its authority to nomination by the leader. The most deleterious effect of this highly centralised control is that the people who are given the party tickets to stand for elections from various constituencies are not the leader chosen by the people of the constituency but people imposed almost arbitrarily by an outside authority. In Britain, a prospective candidate works for years in his constituency before the constituency party adopts him as its candidate, by a process of democratic choice within the local party committee. In the United States, the choice of the party candidate is made even more democratically through the system of primary elections in which various candidates of the same party, seeking nomination, have to undergo a preliminary election in which all the registered members of the particular party are allowed to vote; whoever gets the majority of votes becomes automatically the candidate from that constituency of that party without the central party having any kind of say in the selection.

In India, on the other hand, while names certainly originate from the various local committees, they are vetted and changed at various levels, particularly by the state committee, whose list again has to be submitted to central authority, which very often makes changes according to its own choice. The result is that the candidate who is finally adopted as a party candidate from a particular constituency may be unknown to the people of that constituency, may have no knowledge of its people or its problems, have no rapport with them and may indeed be actually disliked by them but he nevertheless gets the electoral votes because of party loyalty. What has developed recently--and I was greatly shocked to discover this--is that corruption has crept into even this selection process; money actually changes hands at various stages to ensure that one's name finally is included in the list from which the Central leaders ultimately choose. Outside interference is not limited to the state and Central Legislatures; the approval of the state party bosses has to be obtained in the selection of candidates to all local bodies from the municipal corporations down to the village panchayats.

Nor does this interference with local autonomy and, therefore, with the democratic process, end with the selection of the candidates; the party leader after the election has to be chosen with the approval and at the behest of the High Command. This means that when

the party is victorious at the elections, the Chief Minister of the state is not necessarily the person in whom the members of the local Assembly have confidence but the nominee of the Central authority. When the central authority also has control over the Central government, as the Congress Party has had for most of the time since Independence, what this amounts to is that the Chief Ministers of the states ruled by the ruling party at the Centre are nominees of the Central government rather than of the people of the states themselves. The consequence is that the autonomy which is given to the states under our federal constitution is virtually taken away through the party mechanism. This interference is not confined to the Congress Party alone; it is merely because it is the Congress that has remained in power for most of the time at the Centre that the complaint is made mostly against that party. The fact is, however, that during the only time when there were non-Congress governments at the Centre and simultaneously in the state, the Janata Party did exactly what the Congress Party had been doing.

The discontent that is now felt in the states at the absence of adequate powers and the combined onslaught against Delhi for more autonomy has grown, in my view, to a very considerable extent, not because the division of power as listed in the Constitution is defective but because the states are not allowed, when the state ruling party is the same as the party at the Centre, to exercise the authority that is constitutionally their due. This central interference through the party mechanism is in no small measure responsible for the growth of regional parties, it is only a regional party which can ensure that the Chief Minister whom the electorate wants will stay in power and rule over it and not somebody who has the ear of Central authority but not necessarily local support. It is also significant that Chief Ministers of regional parties are, as a rule, very much longer lived than those of national parties.

If the main object of any Indian political party is to attain and keep political power for the benefit of the patronage it can dole out to its members, it follows that the party must ensure that every centre of power in the country is brought under its control. As a result of this, there is a continuous onslaught, particularly by the state governments, on all centres of potential power, such as universities, cooperative societies, local bodies, student organisations, state corporations and the like and, above all, on the civil and police services to destroy their autonomy, either by changes in the law or through administrative practice. One object is to ensure, in particular, that all appointments within the organisation and all benefits flowing therefrom accrue to the followers of the political party in power rather than to those who are entitled to them on the merits of the case. The other is to use these organisations to bring maximum pressure on the voters at the election time.

The most harmful effect of this is felt in two most important spheres of activity—education and administration. In most universities, the Vice Chancellor is still appointed by the Chancellor who is usually, by statute, the Governor of the State. This power of the Chancellor is greatly resented by the state governments for he exercises it in favour of people qualified for the appointment irrespective of their party affiliation. If, however, a Vice Chancellor is appointed in opposition to the wishes of the Chief

Minister, life is made impossible for him in a myriad ways principally because of the total financial dependence of the universities on the state governments. In one state, of which I was Governor, the state government had gone the whole hog and altered the University Acts depriving the Chancellor of the power of the appointment of the Vice Chancellor and giving it by law to the state government. The consequence was an even more rapid deterioration in that universities than happened in others in the rest of the country.

Political interference in the services has made it impossible for any law to be enforced against supporters or financiers of the party in power in the state, be they smugglers, bootleggers, extortioners, pimps, gamblers, land grabbers or even murderers. It is notorious too that it is only a small proportion of the large amounts that are usually earmarked by the state and Central governments for welfare programmes, particularly the anti-poverty programmes, reaches those who deserve the help; the rest disappears on the way, being shared by corrupt functionaries and party supporters.

Born of the same desire to ensure that the party does not lose control of any centre of potential power is the confusion that is becoming increasingly apparent between the state and the party. Party functionaries are used often to perform tasks which should be performed only by the members of the executive branch of government. They are given access to official papers, in breach, technically of the Official Secrets Act, and they are entrusted with governmental authority without being either civil servants or ministers, bound by the oath of secrecy. Similarly, the most important office of Governor, which should be the kingpin of relations between the Central and the state governments and which, by its very nature, can be held only by an individual who is totally neutral as between political parties, is being held increasingly by active members of the ruling party at the Centre. They do not, even temporarily, terminate their connection with the party; they sometimes actually take part publicly in party functions and even in party controversies. Likewise, it is a peculiarly Indian phenomenon that Speakers of Assemblies who must, by definition, in all parliamentary systems, be neutral between the Government and the Opposition and, who, therefore, by convention, are expected to distance themselves from their political party, not only continue to be its members but also take active part in its activities.

It is not, therefore, surprising that the actions of Governors or Speakers should be suspect in the eyes of the Opposition. In the case of Speakers, the Opposition complains, often legitimately, that the rules are bent to favour the government. Governors are increasingly regarded as agents of the Centre, subject to the orders of the Central Government. If, therefore, the state government happens to be of a different political party to that of the Centre, Governors are regarded as opponents and even enemies, rather than friends and counsellors, of the state governments. This is in complete negation of the constitutional theory of the position of the Governor. Under the Constitution, he swears, as the constitutional head of the state, to devote himself "to the service and well-being of the people" of the state. He is in no way subordinate to the Centre or subject to the Centre's orders. It is the changed position of the Governor which again has led to an exacerbation of the relation between the



Centre and the states and for the demand of the abolition of that office.

One of the great defects the Indian party system has developed is that, in a conflict between the national and the party interest, it is not seldom that decisions are taken which will help the party to keep its votes or to increase them even though such action may clearly not be in the national interest nor even in accordance with the Constitution. Many such instances can be quoted, but one particular example will suffice. In 1977, the Janata Government insisted on the dissolution of the State Assemblies ruled by the Congress Party in order to ensure that the anti-Congress wave which was, at that time, sweeping the country, should result in their control of the state as well as the Central governments. This action was an obvious and blatant breach of the Constitution but the precedent was followed in its entirety when the Congress Party came back to power in 1980. For the same reason, it will presumably again be followed in future if a similar situation arises, weakening once again the autonomy of the state government guaranteed by the Constitution.

Another characteristic of Indian political parties, as distinguished from the European and American parties, is that there is no public accountability for the manner in which they collect their funds and spend them. In most other democracies, the accounts of political parties are subject to audit; the sources of their funds and the manner in which they are spent have both to be made public. The collection and use of party funds is closely regulated by law and enforced by an authority independent of the executive government; the object of the regulations is to ensure that contributions are not made from black market funds nor are collected in such a fashion as to enable the donor to bring pressure on the government to get favours from it. In many countries, the amount of each individual contribution has to be limited and the amount that can be spent on elections is also not only limited (as it is theoretically in India also) by law but the law is actually enforced to ensure that the limits are not exceeded. Any breach of these regulations is fraught with serious consequences; a recent case in Germany has already caused the resignation of two Cabinet Ministers, who are being subjected to prosecution, and has led to the Chancellor himself being investigated on a charge of perjury. In India, many of our political parties are exceedingly well-financed but nobody knows where the money really comes from nor where it goes. If we are to have clean government, it is essential that the accounts of political parties should be audited; it is a matter of satisfaction that the Prime Minister has promised to introduce such a legislation.

It is obvious from what I have so far said that the party system in India has developed certain major defects which militate against our democratic system in providing good and honest government. Cannot the party system be abolished altogether as, for example, under the Constitution of Nepal? The need of our country, at the present stage of its development and the innumerable problems with which it is faced, is to ensure good administration through as broad consensus as may be attainable on any issue. The present adversary system in which one group of people regard it as their duty to oppose whatever the group in power proposes, irrespective of its merits, causes immense harm.

Unfortunately, it is fairly clear that in a parliamentary system, where the tenure of the office of chief executive is continuously at risk, there is no escape from the legislature being organised on the basis of political parties subject to party discipline and control by the party whip. I have consistently been of the view, as some of you might know, that the corruption and weakness of government caused by a system in which the chief executive is continuously in danger of losing his office demanded that office should be held for a fixed period of years during which the individual holding it should not be removable. If we had a system of that kind, the necessity of fighting elections to the legislature on the basis of political parties would, to that extent, be weakened. Votes in the legislature could then be given, as they are in the United States, on the merits of the legislation before the House. One of the advantages of such a system would then also be that the electorate would be able to choose in casting its vote the best man who in their view is qualified to represent them instead of being virtually obliged to vote for the party symbol even though the man or the woman carrying that symbol might be highly unacceptable in their opinion. What we want today above all is to raise the standards of our political life which cannot happen unless we adopt some system by which we elect good and honest people to the legislatures rather than people who have muscled their way to party favour.

There is, however, no chance of a major constitutional change, such as I suggest, being at the moment acceptable to Parliament or the state legislatures. What becomes relevant, therefore, is the reforms that can and should be made to improve the working of political parties. Here I would list, by way of illustration alone, some only of the many reforms which, if carried out, would help in having a better government:

1. The first is to prohibit by law elections to local bodies being contested on a party basis. The issues which have relevance to national parties, such as foreign, financial or commercial policy or to state parties, such as educational or agricultural policies, are of no relevance at all in the governance of a town or village. The intrusion of extraneous party considerations into municipal affairs clearly hinders good local government.
2. The second is the introduction of audit of the sources of funds of political parties and their expenditure and an enforcement machinery independent of the executive government to enforce the laws governing such contributions and such expenditure.
3. Thirdly, I would ensure, insofar as possible by law, the autonomy of institutions which are meant to be autonomous. The universities, for example, would immediately gain enormously if they were independently endowed instead of having to depend for every penny on the pleasure of governments. If the will is there, this can easily be done without any additional financial burden being incurred by the state. The mechanism is fairly simple--that is creation of an additional non-negotiable and irredeemable debt instrument which can be handed over to the universities so that the total interest on

their holdings (which would not exceed the grants-in-aid now given) would meet their expenses automatically. The services, for example, would benefit enormously if the power of postings, transfers, promotions and suspensions were transferred by law from the hands of the executive government to a Civil Service Board. The criminal laws would be enforced more efficiently if the prosecuting agency were placed beyond the control of the Executive as it is by convention in Britain and the United States and by law in most of continental Europe.

4. The fourth reform I would suggest is that, in the case of appointments, such as those of governors and judges, the discretion, which is now absolute, of the Central Government should be restricted. The object of this restriction would be to ensure that the holders of these very important offices, whose utility lies totally in their impartiality, are not only independent of influence by political parties but are seen and accepted by the people as being so.
5. The fifth reform I would suggest is repeal of the words "other than an office declared... by law not to disqualify its holder" in sub-clause 1(a) of Articles 102 and 191 of the Constitution. It is a cardinal principle of parliamentary government which was accepted in the United Kingdom after long years of battle between the King and the Commons that the holding of an office of profit under the Crown--excluding that of ministers--should disqualify a person from being a member of the legislature. The reason why this principle is so important is that if the King (i.e., the Executive) were free, as he originally was, to buy support within the legislature by giving offices of profit to its members, his power would become permanent as nobody would wish to oppose him. The elected representatives of the people would then not pursue the national interest but would vote as the King directed. The principle that an office of profit under the government should disqualify its holder from being a member of the legislature is equally enshrined in our Constitution in Articles 102 and 191, but the sub-clauses I have mentioned above say that the legislature can decree that the holding of certain offices of profit shall not disqualify. The result has been that both houses of Parliament and every single state legislature has declared innumerable offices of profit not to be such. This enables the party in power to buy the support of the legislators; if this provision were repealed, one source of corruption would be lessened. So would a law limiting the size of the Council of Ministers, a reform often bruted but never consummated.

We are all dissatisfied at the marked deterioration in the standards of our political life. Everybody with a social conscience is horrified at the growth of corruption and the pursuit of self-interest at the cost of the common weal. The object of my long discourse this evening is to draw attention to one element, namely, the party system, which has contributed to this deterioration. The restoration to our public life of the high standards which, till not so long ago, used to prevail, requires many fundamental changes in

our Constitution of which the reform of our system of political parties is one. In this talk tonight, I have attempted to suggest some steps towards that end.

## Role of Vigilance in Public Administration\*

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION in India is all pervasive. Its involvement with the people is total. Although prior to Independence, maintenance of law and order was the primary task of the alien government, its role expanded considerably with the advent of democracy and Independence. The people of India constituted India into a sovereign democratic Republic and assigned to the new state the task of bringing about socialism. In the very preamble of our Constitution, the Republic has been directed to secure to all its citizens social, economic and political justice. Further, in one of the directives (under part IV of the Constitution), it has been laid down that "the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of the national life". It has also been laid down that "the state shall in particular strive to minimise the inequalities in income and endeavour to eliminate inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities, not only among individuals but also amongst groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different vocations".

In pursuance of the above basic goals laid down in our Constitution, the state has, in addition to maintenance of peace and tranquility, taken upon itself the task of planned economic development of the country. In the successive Five-Year Plans, great emphasis has been laid on removal of poverty and unemployment with a view to bringing about a just, social and economic order. To prevent growth of big private houses in the economic field, the public sector has been assigned significant role in key economic sectors. As a result, the commanding heights of the economy are in public hands. Many large public sector undertakings are in the infrastructure sector, like the railways; ports; airways; roads; power generation; transmission and distribution; oil drilling and refining; fertilizer production; steel makings; coal mining; heavy engineering; etc. Important economic instruments, like Banks and Insurance have also been nationalised to facilitate planned development and socially purposeful lending. The state also plays a major role in providing various social services, like education, health, drinking water, urban and rural housing. In addition, it undertakes numerous welfare activities, concerning the weaker sections, like the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. Priority has naturally been given to agricultural development in our planning strategy as bulk of the people are dependent on agriculture and their economic well-being

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\*A talk delivered by Shri U.C. Agarwal, Central Vigilance Commissioner to the Members of the Association of Indian Diplomats on March 10, 1986 at New Delhi.

depends on higher agricultural productivity. Small and marginal farmers, agricultural labourers and rural artisans have been covered under various rural development programmes and projects. In sum, the spread of governmental activities is very large. The state is omnipotent and omnipresent. By enlarging its sphere in the economic arena, the state has tried to ensure that there is no concentration of wealth in a few hands and that the benefits of economic growth are shared equitably by all sections of the people. The founding fathers of our Constitution had a great sense of history when they assigned primacy of place to socialism. They must have realised that to ensure peace, harmony and stability of our society, all members of the Indian family must have equitable share in its growth, development and prosperity. They knew that injustice and economic inequalities in the past had led to social and political upheavals in many countries which had to face bloody revolutions, like the French, the Russian, and the Chinese revolutions. It was, therefore, an act of wisdom and foresight on their part to base the structure of our democratic Republic on the hard and durable foundation of socialism.

For such an economic, social and political arrangement, the state had naturally to play a great role in the life of the people. Public administration had to carry out these new and challenging tasks. Considering the variety and magnitude of the tasks, the size of the public administration machinery and its personnel had of necessity to be gigantic.

Under the new dispensation, all sections of the people come in regular contact with administration at different levels, i.e., local, state and central for their day-to-day work. The main concern of the local bodies is in the areas of health, sanitation, education, water supply, electricity and housing. Practically, all citizens living within the area of any local body, be it a notified area, council, a municipality or a corporation, have dealings with its administration for one item of work or the other. The work may relate to approval of housing plans, getting water or electricity connections, assessment or payment of local taxes, etc. At the state level also, people have dealings with the state administration in the areas of education, health, communication, assessment and payment of various state taxes, getting licences and permits of all kinds. The farmers come in contact with the district, sub-divisional, tehsil and block administrations to get various facilities and state assistance meant for them. These may be in the areas of agricultural extension services, irrigation facilities, timely supply of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and cooperative credits, different kinds of emergency relief at times of natural calamities, like floods, cyclones, drought, fire accidents, epidemics, etc. All sections of the people do at times need police help to protect their life or property. At the central level, the people have dealings with the central administrative machinery, directly under government or employed by its several important public sector undertakings, like the Railways, Post and Telegraphs, Banks, Insurance, etc. Most of other central activities in the areas of industrial licensing, import and export, trade, customs, excise, income-tax, etc., bring different categories of people in contact with the concerned administrative machinery.

Although the above mentioned expanded role of the local bodies, state and Central administrations was meant for the economic



development and welfare of the people, unfortunately, people in general do not have this happy feeling. Their experience with public administration is generally quite the opposite and their views about administration are by and large adverse. There is a widespread feeling that administrative machinery is not only slow moving and inefficient but also largely corrupt, indifferent and callous. The personnel employed in public administration, by and large, are neither motivated nor committed to bring about any social or economic advancement of the common man which was the main purpose in assigning a bigger role to administration in the lives of the people. In no area of administration, people feel that they can get even the legitimate things done in the normal course. To make the over-expanded, lethargic and corrupt machine move, either someone influential has to put in a word or somebody's palm has to be greased. There is no smooth sailing anywhere and people have to pay 'speed money' and run from pillar to post to get any work done in any local, state or Central Government offices. The common talk, these days, in any gathering veers round the near open and well entrenched corruption prevailing in practically all public offices. Different and clever modus operandi is adopted by different public functionaries to get their pound of flesh. There are known fixers and commission agents to show the way in the dense and dark bureaucratic jungle and it is difficult for any traveller to find his way alone without their hired assistance. People narrate their own sad experiences as to how they had to pay illegal gratifications to get either an electric connection or a gas connection or water connection or for railway reservation through some middlemen. Similar is the tale of woe for getting a telephone connection in a town or a city, or tube-well connection in a village.

Hardly anyone says that his work was done without harassment or without payment of illegal money or without any one's assistance. Similarly, one comes to hear of many instances of sub-standard stores being purchased or good items of inventory being clandestinely sold as scraps to make illegal personal gain. It is almost routine to hear about large-scale leakages of sales tax, income-tax, customs and excise revenues with the connivance of some departmental people. Some corrupt persons incharge of assessment and collection of taxes or duties get away after obtaining substantial shares for themselves, individually or collectively, thereby depriving the public exchequer of its full revenues. There are many reported cases of illegal selling of timber from state forests, coal from nationalised coal mines, power from state power distribution system, cement and steel from public sector factories or stock yards. There are also talks that huge quantities of unwanted stores are purchased and later allowed to be wasted or pilfered. Government hospitals suffer from lack of essential medicines, as often there may be either paper purchases or illegal leakages or callous wastage. Public transport system is also burdened with huge losses, to a large extent due to leakages of revenue, pilferage of stores, spares and lubricants and bogus purchases. Bank and insurance frauds are no longer uncommon. In sum, there is wide-spread feeling, even if partly untrue or somewhat exaggerated, that public money is often callously wasted and public property clandestinely misappropriated on a large scale by or with the connivance of the employees for personal gain. It is the

common belief that due to poor or dishonest management of public sector undertakings in the core areas, like power generation, coal-mining, steel making or rail and road transportation, the production costs are unreasonably high and productivity unduly low. Consequently, prices have to be raised every now and then to make up the losses, yet losses go on mounting due to unchecked malpractices and corruption. It is like storing water in a leaking vessel; one may keep on filling the vessel from time to time and yet it keeps on emptying itself due to the many leaking points. The prevailing malpractices all-round, leakages of revenue, clandestine misappropriation, pilferage, or wastage of public property and assets is undoubtedly putting a heavy burden on the honest workers and honest tax-payers. Generally, people are having a very poor opinion about the health and integrity of our administrative machinery. Even the intellectuals and the ideologists are increasingly coming round to the feeling that with such an inefficient and largely dishonest machinery, there may be little hope of bringing about any rapid economic development, leave alone ushering in of socialism in the foreseeable future. People have, in fact, started questioning the wisdom of further expanding the role of public administration in the fields of social and economic development. The ever mounting cost of administration, in brief, is considered to be a burden round the neck of the people without much matching gain. One is rather disappointed to see that state involvement in many economic and social fields is becoming both costly and counter productive. There are clear signs of diminishing returns from the investments already made. The lesson is coming home that one should swallow only as much as one can properly chew and digest. One wonders if it is not time to apply the reverse gear to stop further deterioration of administrative standards, integrity and values.

There are numerous causes for this fall in the standards of integrity and efficiency of our public administration. A few important ones are as follows: Firstly, the general social climate has become highly materialistic and no scruples or ethical values worry the people in going ahead. The spread of materialistic culture has become so widespread that all is considered to be fair in making money. No means appear to be questionable. The emphasis appears to be more on 'making' rather than 'earning' money. There are increasing number of cases of vulgar display of wealth by the socially high ups in their style of living, housing and social functions. Since government employees are part of this new society, they could not remain guardians of traditional virtues, unaffected by the excessive materialistic culture. Many of them too, without inhibition, indulge in money making by foul means whenever suitable opportunities come their way. There are, of course, plenty of avenues and opportunities for this due to the wide ranging involvement of government in regulatory, welfare and economic activities as narrated earlier. Secondly, the temptation for corruption is aggravated on account of inadequate remuneration of government and public sector employees at all levels. The salary scales and other perquisites have not kept pace with the price rise and inflation. Naturally, when there is, on the one hand, poor remuneration but, on the other hand, ample opportunities for extra income through corruption, growing number of government servants tend to succumb to temptation. This is further facilitated by



the absence of adequate external vigilance or much social stigma. To begin with, corruption may start in a small way among some people only but it keeps on increasing like cancer and after a while becomes deep-rooted, widespread and incurable. It also develops great immunities and resists easy detection or cure. Being highly contagious, it is able to spread with comparative ease to more and more people working together in any office or factory. At this stage, there is little shame in making extra money. In fact, when it has become widespread and common, the competition drifts to raising its rates and levels by adopting novel methods. Commission agents also appear on the scene to get a share. They also prevent direct exposure of the bribe-takers and bring some order in fixing workable rates in the free market of corruption. Fixed rates of bribery become known cost factors for any one to decide whether to avail of any Government benefit, facility, permit or contract, in fact, practically for all kinds of dealings in public offices. Thirdly, in a democratic set-up, corrupt elements in public services try and find persons of power and influence, inside or outside government to shield and protect them. The internal code of conduct and rules of discipline of government employees get seriously impaired due to outside interference in personnel management; undesirable pulls and pressures are brought about in matters of postings, transfers and promotions. These, no doubt, disturb the internal chain of command and control. There is little fear of higher ups for any misconduct or hope of protection from them in cases of unjust treatment. Consequently, a feeling develops among public servants that good work hardly gets rewarded and bad conduct seldom gets punished if there is some god-father to protect. When there is an unhappy situation of this kind, anti-corruption law or vigilance agencies, like the CBI and the Central Vigilance Commission, find it difficult to make visible impact on prevention of corruption in public administration. Effective vigilance requires the existence of an effective chain of command to enforce discipline and good conduct among public servants. Effective chain of command is possible if there is an in-built arrangement to reward good work and punish misconduct without any outside interference, pulls or pressures.

There was a time when corruption and malpractices were confined to few people at the lower levels, and in a few departments only. Unfortunately, with the spread of governmental activities, fall in the real wages of government employees, outside interference in administration and consequent dilution of the chain of command and general decline in moral values, one cannot say with confidence now, that there are many or any area of public administration which are free from malpractices or corruption. The disease has spread with varying degrees of intensity, practically to all levels and to all departments of government and its public sector enterprises. However, in spite of this prevailing gloom, fortunately it is also a fact that there are still a large number of people at all levels and in all departments and in the public sector, who still perform their duties with sincerity, dedication and honesty. In spite of the general decline in values, their conduct remains beyond reproach and they provide hope and light in the darkness. With such people around, certainly all is not yet lost. Even though the percentage of honest people in the vast public administration machinery may not be as

large as one would like, yet they are able to make the system move, however, slowly. It is one of the important functions of the vigilance machinery in administration and the Vigilance Commission to protect such honest individuals against false allegations, arbitrary action and harassment by the interested parties. It is unfortunate that the number of false and motivated complaints is so large that the task of catching the really guilty ones becomes very difficult. It is not uncommon to find the corrupt public servants mounting campaigns against the honest ones if they happen to come in their way of money making. They also easily enlist the support and cooperation of outside beneficiaries to harass and harm the honest public servants. One has, therefore, to exercise due care and caution before investigating complaints of corruption or misconduct coming from irresponsible quarters. The general reputation of the concerned public servant and his record of service has to be taken due note of before he is subjected to any enquiry. It is for this reason that anonymous complaints, where the complainant does not disclose his identity are generally not to be acted upon unless there are easily verifiable facts.

Even though the people have learnt to live with corruption, as they feel helpless and find no alternative, it is not in the long-term interest of our society and the state to tolerate the existence of this fatal disease. Corruption and malpractices in government machinery and the public sector undertakings will defeat the very purpose of our planning and seriously retard the economic progress of the people. The task of bringing about a just, social and economic order desired by the illustrious founding fathers of our Constitution will be frustrated. The greater danger is that we may slip into a situation where might will be right and there will be no effective laws to regulate and enforce good conduct amongst public functionaries. We will revert to the law of the jungle, making life short, nasty and brutish. Such chaos may ultimately end in fearful social and political disorder and turmoil. If things are not checked quickly, people may get fed up with the present public administration machinery and may destroy it. No state institution, once it ceases to be useful, and becomes a source of exploitation or harassment, howsoever, seemingly powerful it may be, can survive the wrath of the people. Such an institution is bound to be cast aside, like any waste material, by the currents of history. This has happened in the past to many social and political institutions in many countries, where these institutions became useless parasites. We must, therefore, foresee these gloomy prospects and take urgent corrective measures to make our administration both efficient and clean and must not allow it to become a burden on the people. Happily, of late, this awareness has come and some corrective measures have been initiated to effectively deal with the problem of corruption in administration. These measures relate to areas of preventive, detective and punitive vigilance. Action plan, in these three areas, is briefly as given below :

#### **Preventive Vigilance**

- (a) Simplification of rules and procedures;
- (b) Reducing the area of discretion and patronage;
- (c) De-regulation, where possible, to reduce the points of cor-

- ruption and harassment to the public;
- (d) Introduction of public information and assistance counters in departments and places having public dealings;
- (e) Setting up of redressal of public grievances machinery in each ministry;
- (f) Systematic and surprise inspections by senior officers;
- (g) Monitoring disposal of cases with a view to checking delays;
- (h) Curbing outside interference in administration and personnel management; and
- (i) Improving wages and service conditions of public servants.

#### **Surveillance and Detection**

- (a) Greater surveillance and intelligence in corruption prone areas, particularly at public contact points by strengthening the vigilance machinery, where necessary;
- (b) Closer watch on officials of doubtful integrity by vigilance machinery;
- (c) On a selective basis, moveable/immovable assets of persons of doubtful integrity to be checked and verified periodically;
- (d) As a follow-up action of (c) above, traps and raids to be organised, where necessary.

#### **Deterrent Punitive Action**

- (a) Investigation of cases to be speeded up according to a time-bound schedule;
- (b) Procedure for disciplinary action to be improved for speedier finalisation of cases and deterrent punishment awarded;
- (c) Provision of summary trial by courts in cases of corruption and provision for deterrent punishment;
- (d) Legislative measures for confiscation of ill-gotten wealth;
- (e) Provision for premature retirement of persons of doubtful integrity to be enforced more rigorously to weed out corrupt elements;
- (f) Close monitoring of all anti-corruption measures; and
- (g) Wide publicity of punishment awarded to guilty persons.

Greater emphasis is being laid on preventive vigilance as admittedly prevention is better than cure. This is a more positive approach to vigilance in the sense that root-causes of malpractices and corruption need to be identified in different areas of administration and appropriate preventive action taken by way of improvement of the system itself so that such malpractices do not occur. The scope for mischief needs to be completely eliminated or at least considerably reduced. The existing rules, procedures and practices are being reviewed by each ministry in order to see that ambiguities are removed and unnecessary paper requirements are done away with. Wherever possible, procedures and practices are to be simplified and due publicity given for the benefit of the people in general. The whole intention is to ensure that people do not have to run to government offices for every little work. To the maximum extent possible the need for personal contact with the government machinery has to be reduced. In certain areas, use of computers would also eliminate scope for corruption, like reservation of seats in the railways and airlines. Banking and insurance services may also go in for greater

computer use to be able to supply quicker information and render more efficient customer service.

As mentioned earlier, one single important factor responsible for corruption is the involvement of government on a very large scale in the areas of socio-economic development. Many of these governmental activities may not be proving as useful or beneficial as was the expectation. A review of such governmental activities need to be initiated to see what items of work could be given up without any serious departure from the main goals of socio-economic development. If this task is seriously undertaken, it may at least prevent further expansion of government machinery if not its curtailment. Will it not be better to do less work more efficiently and honestly with beneficial results rather than take up too much of multifarious work and do it perfunctorily, causing waste of public money and harm and annoyance to the people? A more pragmatic approach to the role of the state and spread of governmental activities is, therefore, called for as a long-term measure for prevention of corruption. We have got to derive lessons from our own experiences that there are after all limits to useful economic and welfare work by governmental machinery. It need not poke its nose in every thing for the simple reason that more it tries to do, more it becomes counter-productive. All the schemes that may glitter on paper, may not turn to be gold in the hands of government. In the process, the instruments of administration may also get spoiled and alienated from the people losing their faith and confidence. In plain language, plans of attaining our socialistic aspirations through an expanded government machinery need to be viewed more realistically.

Another important cause of corruption in public services, as stated before, is the poor remuneration of public servants of all categories. The Fourth Pay Commission is presently considering this question and may suggest suitable improvements in the pay scales and other service conditions, including retirement benefits and pension of government employees so that temptation for corruption due to inadequate wages is reduced.\* Revised pay-scales, etc., of government servants can later be suitably adopted for public sector employees. Inadequate wages is again due to employment of a very large army of people and hence the incapacity to pay them well. The number of Central Government employees alone of all categories would be about 5 million. To pay them on the average Rs. 100 p.m. extra would cost the public exchequer about Rs. 600 crore a year. This figure would be staggering if we take into account the Central and state public sector employees as also state and local body employees. Any wage increase of one category has necessarily to be matched by similar increases of other categories. Then there are several lakh of civil and defence pensioners to be taken care of. All these do suggest the need for a more critical review of the expansion of public administration in different fields. We must cut our coat according to the cloth available.

Another important factor leading to corruption in the government machinery is the gradual decline in discipline among all categories of employees. It is hoped that outside interference in administra-

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\*The Pay Commission has since submitted its report.

tion and personnel management will be removed in accordance with the new strategy and the chain of command restored. This will make the internal and external vigilance agencies more effective for preventive as well as punitive action. It may be pretty difficult to bring any order or inculcate any values in a large indisciplined workforce. Catching and punishing a few, here and there, may not have much desired impact. It is, therefore, very necessary to restore internal discipline by giving requisite power and authority at different levels of administration. There has to be both fear and sense of responsibility in doing one's work sincerely and honestly. In a large governmental organisation, corruption cannot be effectively curbed by any single centralised agency. This task has to be carried out by equally effective departmental agencies at different levels. Their effectiveness will depend on eliminating outside interference.

Another long-term measure to deal with corruption in administration, which lies outside the administrative field, is to take suitable measures to discourage and condemn vulgar display of private wealth and ostentatious living by any one. Needless to say that the top echelons of society and government, public servants and public men, leaders of society, business and industry, have to set examples of simple living and high thinking. By personal example of good conduct, they could bring about a change in the prevailing value system for the better. Higher they are, greater is their responsibility to keep the moral environment cleaner. General social environment does affect functioning of public services as well.

Again, since politics and administration are inter-linked and inter-twined, it will be difficult to make a visible dent on prevention of corruption among public servants without enforcing adherence to correct values among public men, i.e., all those who hold any post or public office or are in a position to exercise any influence on public functionaries. For this, our law for prevention of corruption may have to be given a fresh look so as to expand its scope and strengthen its penal provisions. Any abuse of public office or influence for private gain has to be publicly condemned and penalised. Ill-gotten wealth should also be confiscated fully after due enquiry.

For immediate action, some aspects of preventive vigilance need to be highlighted. These are setting up of effective machinery for redressal of public grievances and effective monitoring or disposal of cases at different levels by senior officers. Often cases are delayed with a view to harassing and extracting money from the persons concerned. Regular and effective monitoring by senior officers as well as periodical inspections and surprise checks are called for. Normal inspections of lower field formations and offices by senior officers have greatly suffered due to good deal of waste of their time in less productive work and in running around. There is also a growing craze for media attention and publicity among public servants. Consequently, routine work, which does not attract TV or press coverage, is generally neglected. There is also a tendency to indulge in window dressing and cheap publicity rather than do silent hard work. This publicity mania among all public servants must be frowned upon. Public servants craving press publicity often turn out to be stunts and nine-day wonders. Anonymity is the best virtue of a

truly honest and efficient public servant.

Long tenures in different supervisory posts are also necessary for planned action. Sensitive holders of posts/seats at the cutting edge level need, however, to be rotated at comparatively shorter intervals.

The above mentioned administrative measures need to be urgently taken to improve the cleanliness and efficiency of the administrative machine. Some measures have already been initiated in these directions by different Central ministries. However, a good deal more remains to be done for better results. In brief, the strategy being followed for prevention of corruption in public services may be summarised as below

1. Reduce its scope by:
  - (a) review of governmental activities to eliminate unnecessary work;
  - (b) simplification of rules, procedures and practices and general system improvements; and
  - (c) better supervision, inspections and monitoring.
2. Reduce temptation to corruption by upgradation of pay-scales and service conditions.
3. Better policing and vigilance to :
  - (a) exercise greater check on corruption prone areas and individuals;
  - (b) identify hard-core corrupt elements; and
  - (c) take exemplary punitive action against corrupt elements by removal and dismissal from service.

Needless to say that corruption among public servants, in fact, in case of holders of any public office, should be considered as a social crime and should be more severely dealt with than any ordinary crime. The problem of corruption is, indeed, very grave and calls for urgent remedial action on all fronts. Both short-term and long-term measures in the preventive, detective and punitive areas need urgent attention to check further spread of corruption in our administration. One must recognise that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely and, therefore, eternal vigilance on the conduct of all public men and officials exercising any state power through any of its organs, is essential to keep them on the right path. Good conduct of all others has a bearing on the good conduct of government and public sector employees, since all work together for the main purpose of bringing about a just, social, economic and political order for the benefit of the people of India.



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VOL. XXXII

JULY-SEPTEMBER 1986

NO. 3

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Subscription { Inland—Annual : Rs. 60.00, Single Copy : Rs. 20.00  
Special No. (for Non-Subscribers): Rs. 50.00  
Abroad—Annual: £10.00 or \$25.00. Single Copy: £3.00 or \$7.00

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## Special Number ON Education Policy and Implementation

### CONTENTS

#### Editorial

#### Articles

New National Policy on Education

RAJIV GANDHI

Page

vii

Education Policy for India ✓

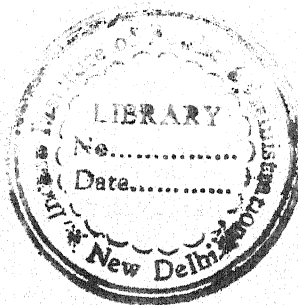
✓ K.C. PANT

461

New Education Policy

P.V. NARASIMHA RAO

468





	Page
✓ Strategy for Change	
KIREET JOSHI	473
Selected Issues for Implementing New Education Policy	
BRAHM PRAKASH AND YASH AGGARWAL	476
Making of the Twentyfirst Century Indian	
MALATI J. SHENDGE	499
Education for Developing Social Capabilities ✓	
G.D. SHARMA AND SHAKTI R. AHMED	514
Implementation of the New Education Policy-1986	
J. VEERA RAGHAVAN	521
Some Aspects of Planning in Education: Its Pedagogical Dimensions	
T.V. KUNNUNKAL, S.J.	535
Planning and Management at the Institutional Level: Effective Monitoring of Education System	
NITISH DE	542
Educational Finance in India: Progress, Problems and Perspectives	
J.L. AZAD	563
✓ Educational Finances in India	
JANDHYALA B.G. TILAK	581
✓ New Education Policy and the Tribal People	
B.D. SHARMA	590

## Adult Education in India: Programme of Action

INDER PRABHA SHARMA

599

## Role of the Media in Distance Teaching

G. RAM REDDY

615

## National Testing Service

AMRIK SINGH

635

## Training of IES

R.P. SINGH

641

## University Objectives in Changing World

O.N. CHATURVEDI

646

Power Structure in India's University System:  
Reflections of an Insider

IQBAL NARAIN

658

## Recruitment of Teachers: Problems and Remedies

HARBANS PATHAK

681

## Training of Teachers and the New Education Policy

A.K. JALALUDDIN

687

## Assessment of Performance in Education

CHITRA NAIK

697

Private Enterprise in Education: A Study of the  
Social Background of Students in Private  
Vis-a-Vis Government Colleges

AMBARAO T. UPLAONKER

710

	Page
Financial Management Issues in Education in Seventh Plan	
C.B. PADMANABHAN	726
Application of Social Psychology to Classroom Life	
VIMALA VEERARAGHAVAN	743
Implementation of Education Policy: A Critique on Sex-Based Disparity	
R.N. THAKUR	751
<b>Documents</b>	
National Policy on Education	778
Programme of Action: NPE(1986)--Extracts	801
<b>Education Policy: A Select Bibliography</b>	
SUNITA GULATI	826

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## EDITORIAL

SHAPING OF education policy is one of the paramount concerns of all developing countries. In the fast changing world, even the developed countries seek change and modification, revision and renewal of their policies and programmes relating to education. Every change in policy has to consider the experience of the past, situation as prevailed in the present and the hopes entertained for the future. Education policy is not a once-for-all-times affair. It is something growing, something evolving. Only for operationalising, it has to be given a recognisable form. As education is a change-agent, a scientific education policy has potential for change within its own framework. In the society as a whole, it acts as an instrument of social transformation. Hence, the nature of the intended social transformation gets intimately linked with the aims of education in general.

/ The paradox of human resource development in India is that though it has always been conceived as a top priority item, both before and after Independence, yet, despite four decades of developmental thrust, this crucial area of concern has continued to suffer for a variety of reasons the ever-increasing blight of neglect. Manifestations of this grievous neglect, not easily discernible earlier, are now writ large on national psyche in the form of crisis of character in our economy, polity and society. / It is both heartening and reassuring that the Prime Minister has initiated a move through the new education policy for reform and restructuring of the education system. It has to be kept in view that the policy to have significance must ensure that we get over the conundrum that while policy is good, its implementation is poor. Policy and its implementation are the two sides of the same coin. The adequacy of institution-building and its

requisite capability to meeting the policy ends constitute the backbone of any effective policy.

Dedicated to the theme of "Education Policy and Implementation", this year's special number of the *Indian Journal of Public Administration* opens with speeches of the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, and Shri K.C. Pant and Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, delivered at distinguished public forums and which individually and collectively help to depict the texture and the contours of as well as the thinking and the vision that pervade the present effort to remodel the education system for future. The pronouncements of the Prime Minister, expounding the rationale and parameters of the education policy, delineate scenario of hopes and expectations, genuine fears and misgivings, the quantum of effort and the nature of commitment called for at different levels. The integrated nature of education policy and interweaving of relationships, required to accomplish the desired goals, find authentic expression. The official version facilitates to inform the people in general as well as the concerned parties about the new vistas of education policy.

Kireet Joshi briefly, but succinctly, analyses the assumptions behind the national policy and spells out the ideas embodying 'the strategy of change' as envisioned in the document on *Programme of Action* that followed the National Policy on Education. Since a policy paper is no more than a pious statement of intentions, it has to be backed up by action arranged in a logical and well-conceived sequence, for the seemingly slumbering beast of non-implementation has devoured many a policy papers and keeps lurking around greedily for prey when a laudable cause by its very charm is prone to create an atmosphere of euphoria and complacency. However, a commendable feature of the present policy pronouncement is that it has been quickly followed up after a wide-ranging debate and consultation with a *Programme of Action* to realise the objectives of the new policy. Continuing vigilance and self-assessment can be the only safeguard of any meaningful action programme.

Brahm Prakash and Yash Aggarwal, therefore, analyse what they call the 'selected issues for implementation of NPE' focussing on some critical areas, like enrolment in schools, proportion of boys-girls and the ratio of teacher and stu

dents in schools, measures necessary to stem further deterioration of quality of education, etc. Certainly, these are crucial areas which require greater understanding, initiative, drive and sustained effort. As a matter of fact, it is necessary for knowledgeable persons and experts to locate more of such key issues and operational points in different areas for the new education policy will manifest itself in an immense number of projects, programmes, schemes, agencies, institutions, and so on.

The serious malaise which afflicts our education system is deep-rooted and pervasive. The historical process and forces governing it as well as the nature of society have had their own impact, for both good and bad. Malati J. Shendge takes a broad sweep, critically examines some of the basic premises and pleads for reviving single-teacher institution in villages and remote areas. Her suggestions may have considerable merit in the context of the need for universalisation of primary education which is seriously constrained by paucity of resources. She has chosen a rather futuristic title, i.e., 'Making of the Twentyfirst Century Indian', indicative of the thrust of her argument. But it is necessary to draw lessons from the previous experience of single-teacher schools in differing circumstances and see how it can be more satisfying in future.

Efforts in the field of education have to be viewed in the overall context of investments in developing social capabilities. G.D. Sharma and Shakti R. Ahmed, therefore, examine the approach of the new policy and programme from the angle of contents, processes and structures that comprise an education system. They rightly underscore the need for evolving a cycle of planning, implementation, monitoring, review and feedback in order to make best use of our scarce resources. But it is easily said, readily conceded, promptly forgotten and seldom done. The keen awareness of the elements of administrative performance has to permeate the policy-makers as well as the field staff if result-mindedness is to have any meaning. This has to be not in terms of the broad expression of aspirations but must be backed by meticulous and imaginative striving.

J. Veera Raghavan spells out the important facets of the operationalisation and implementation of the new policy,



including the organisational structure as well as the specifics in relation to different aspects of programmatic effort as visualised by the policy-makers and the Ministry. In a perceptive and analytical manner, he tries to explore the complexity of issues and the cobweb of relations which an adequate understanding and consequently successful implementation strategy or programme of education policy will encounter. Veera Raghavan's presentation must receive wider consideration of individuals and authorities in the field.

The new policy rightly aims at reshaping the role of education as being both developmental and integrative. This poses a major challenge regarding re-orientation of teachers - the tools of realising the objectives of the new policy. T.V. Kunnunkal, therefore, discusses the pedagogical dimensions of planning in this regard. The issues that he has raised are important not only from the view-point of enhancing capability of system but also of its credibility and ethics as well as of its dignity and acceptability. Accountability, as a concept, is not irrelevant in the realm of education.

For any time-bound programme, monitoring and evaluation are most essential for obtaining optimum results from investment of precious resources, for which management techniques come handy. But application of these techniques in educational institutions has not been thought of seriously despite periodical lip homage for obvious reasons. The role of managerial techniques is seldom appreciated. The behavioural inputs are difficult to measure. However, Nitish De has ventured to develop an insightful package for this purpose which merits careful attention and examination.

The present number carries three articles on the financial aspects of education in the country. J.L. Azad, C.B. Padmanabhan and J.B.G. Tilak, between them span the broader aspects of financing education and management issues that will have to be tackled during the Seventh Plan. The financing of education bristles with problems and complexities. It is not the financial allotment for the totality of education which alone is of paramount importance. Allocation of resources within the system at different levels and different purposes from the angle of purposive and integrated development of education runs very often into difficulties due to

all kinds of pulls and pressures. The mobilisation of resources from all possible sources for education is hardly resorted to as it means more effort and at times political constraints. Priorities are not either worked out or followed. Financing of education has also regional, local and Union-States implications. But it is self-evident that a sound system of financing of education, imaginatively designed, will have to be a continuing process if the implementation of the policy is to proceed without hesitations and halts, fits and starts.

It has been generally accepted that illiteracy and lack of opportunities for education are fundamental reasons of backwardness of a people or a group of people. Therefore, the new policy visualises education as a key factor to bring about equality amidst plethora of imbalances. Tribals and women are perhaps the worst affected sections of our population from the angles of equality and equity in education. B.D. Sharma, with his wide experience and empathy for the tribal population, focuses on the specific problems of tribals in this area which need to be solved with meticulous care if education, both as the essential ingredient of as well as tool of tribal development, has to fructify and serve its purpose. This is a social imperative, which the society can ignore at its peril. Allied, though slightly different in nature, is the problem of arranging for the education of Scheduled Castes in a way that the benefits flow to the needy, while the prevailing distinctions do not get perpetuated. R.N. Thakur examines the level of male-female disparity that has existed and still persists regarding opportunities for education. As is obvious, the implementation strategies will have to be made very flexible, more particularly for the tribals, so that necessary adaptations according to local requirements may be possible to meet varying needs. Similarly, the problems of women education will also require both perception and commitment, which have not been abundant so far. Indeed, it would be a very challenging task.

Another area requiring a realistic treatment and a fresh approach is that of adult education. Inder Prabha Sharma discusses weaknesses of the existing national programme of adult education and examines the needs of the programme in the light of the new education policy. Adult education has

had a chequered history and has had its ups and downs in our country. Very often, the approach has been publicity-oriented, being centred on number and targets. Even the implications of the changing nuances of the meaning of the concept of adult education have been rarely explained or understood. It is an area where, with governmental support, voluntary agencies can play an effective role. But it either becomes a refuge for deception or gets politicalised. There is need for rethinking as to how the movement of adult education can be guided and monitored to achieve the desired results, as an instrument of social awareness in democracy.

We have four articles mainly relating to problems in the area of higher education, which is so important for a developing nation to maintain its place in a rapidly changing and intensely competitive, if not ruthless, international community. Iqbal Narain provides a useful and first-hand account and analysis regarding the dynamics of actual functioning of the university system. The reflections on 'power structure in India's university system' by an 'insider' bring out the issues like the dichotomy between authority and responsibility, unionisation at levels in the campus, the academic policies, role of political parties, power-sharing, institutional structures, etc., which deserve thoughtful consideration and corrective action as otherwise they are sliding down the hill of parochialism, wastefulness and non-performance. Here, one is also faced with the question as to how seriously we take reports about Universities, Central or State, righteously announced, painstakingly made though ponderously submitted but promptly consigned to the limbo of oblivion.

In his contribution, O.N. Chaturvedi focuses on objectives of a university in the present environment of changing world and suggests suitable modifications in the existing set of objectives. He also identifies some of the pathological features, raises questions of standards of conduct as well as the quality of staff and thereafter sums up the six objectives which he feels will help to meet the situation. Every country and every age tries to work out its own works 'idea of a university'. With increasing democratisation of our political life, it becomes essential that the privilege of this exercise becomes more broad based, if education, as the road to knowledge and hence power, is not to remain the

prerogative of the elite.

G. Ram Reddy introduces us to the horizons and possibilities of the universalisation of educational opportunities through the use of modern media as is being attempted in open universities in some countries. After Andhra Pradesh, many State Governments are exploring the possibility of establishing open universities. The Union Government has already set up one with a wide mandate and wider possibilities. In his article on 'the role of media in distance teaching', Ram Reddy outlines the main features of an open university, describes the media which technology has made available and discusses the criteria which ought to determine our choice. The technique of distance education has equally vital implications for school or primary education. But it is important to recognise that it requires a lot of preparatory work. Unfortunately, it is treated by peers in the comparable traditional areas as something 'secondary' or 'inferior'. This psychology then obviously percolates to the people who do not want to be 'fobbed off' with 'inferior stuff' when their children have to face the challenges of the next century. This is a dilemma which has to be honestly resolved.

The decline in quality of education, particularly of higher education, is a common lament and is generally true. Amrik Singh's main concern is the maintenance of standard and quality in education in the existing university systems. He proposes creation of a 'National Testing Service' to ensure rigorous maintenance of quality, lack of which is seriously corroding the credibility of our universities today. It will also impart training about conduct of exams, setting of papers, evaluation of answer books, etc. In the light of the task of the new education policy, Amrik Singh, with his long experience of university education, opines that there is no other alternative. Apart from the usual talk of the desirability of innovation, differential approaches, experimentation and above all the much prized autonomy of universities, one hopes the system does not create 'two worlds' one looked upon as superior to the other, in an already fragmented and privileged educational system. Moreover, the agency for testing and its working are such as do not detract from the responsibility and effort of the normal testing or examining authorities, and, in the long run,

inspire confidence among the people. The claims of quality with democratic aspirations for availability of equal opportunities, and not only access, can only be reconciled if there is clarity of thought and integrity in action.

Setting up of a separate cadre of educational administrators as an all-India service in the wake of the recommendations of the State Reorganisation Commission (SRC) was tried in the country a few times earlier. It is also known that the Indian Education Service of the former political dispensation of the British was wound up due to a variety of reasons. Need for such a cadre has surfaced again in the context of the new education policy. A fairly indepth study taking into account the past experience and misgivings will have to be done. R.P. Singh, therefore, discusses some of the important factors that should weigh in the training of the new cadre and the problems that are likely to be encountered in their career management. The problems of training and career management do require an imaginative approach, if frustrations later on as well as antagonism of many vested agencies in the present have to be avoided. A superior cadre will also mean higher responsibilities and greater obligations. We cannot be oblivious of this obvious fact. The I.E.S. ipso facto will not do the magic trick as regards the qualitative transformation of the total academic scene.

In another article on training, A.K. Jalaluddin disusses the training needs of teachers in the context of the new education policy. Here, again, we have had a number of experiments as regards teachers' training at different levels and of different categories. Nomenclatures of degrees and diplomas have changed. New methodologies have been tried to raise standards. New training institutions have been set up over the years. Even efforts and organisational arrangements at regional levels have been mounted. But, somehow, both the quantitative coverage as well as the qualitative impact are wanting. Training has hardly been able to instil the much-needed motivation for work as well as for self-development. Research to reinforce training has been initiated but still there is hardly any noticeable improvement. The role of apex institutions - like State Institutes of Education, NIEPA and especially NCERT - becomes, therefore, very important and has to be critically assessed as regards their previous record and future capabilities.

Assessment of teaching-learning performance in schools is very important in the moulding of future generations. In the light of new education policy, Chitra Naik reflects on norms and criteria and approach and strategy for evolving a sound system of assessment. It is a difficult area of psychological complexity as well as of behavioural insights and of managerial perspectives. Chitra Naik has analysed the issues not only with incisiveness and enthusiasm but also in the wider societal context. The depth and orientation of her analysis merit attention of our policy-makers as well as of educational administrators and pedagogues.

The training of teachers and assessment of performance are inextricably linked with the quality of recruitment and the scientific methodology employed for the purpose. Harbans Pathak raises a few questions in this area which are concerned with not only recruitment of teachers at junior levels but also colleges and universities. Some basic elements and requirements of propriety will be common, though the approach and areas of selection will have to be different. Unfortunately, this field also has not been beyond controversy and criticism. Parochial considerations and patronage very often reign supreme. Even corruption is alleged. Whatever the reasons, people have begun to believe that even in the sacrosanct academic campus, fairness, merit and integrity are, at a discount. One may not fully agree with his rather critical assessment that "the current method of recruitment of teachers in this country puts the premium on ignorance, apathy, factionalism, spuriousness and inertia. His learning is a foil to originality, a substitute for knowledge. He wraps himself up in his web and prefers generalities and sees only the glimmering shadows of ideas reflected from the minds of the others." But the matter is vital to any attempt at educational reform and for enhancing the credibility of the system and, therefore, needs more thought and continuing consideration.

The issue includes two articles on comparatively restricted but significant and interesting themes related to education. In the first one, Ambarao T. Uplaonker, in his empirical study (conducted in Gulbarga city on 1300 pre-university students), probes the difference in the character and outlook (whether sectarian or egalitarian) of students coming out of institutions managed by private bodies and government.

This has obviously deeper implications for society and the problem, therefore, requires further exploration. Vimala Veera Raghavan discusses the application of social psychology to classrooms. The article assumes significance when we want the formal structures of education to be liberalised and increasing interactive approach in classroom to be promoted so that the teacher is able to contribute his best to the taught and the taught can, to the maximum extent possible, be not only a passive recipient of but active participant in the learning/teaching experience.

It is gratifying to note that the **Economic Policy**, the **Programme for Action** and the first status paper which initiated the debate on matters relating to reformulation of education policy have taken note of the recommendations of earlier commissions, particularly Radhakrishnan and Kothari Commissions, among many other committees and commissions. Many State governments have also appointed their own committees and commissions for different purposes and on different occasions. Before formulation of the new education policy, a number of conferences and meetings were organised to which even experts from other countries were invited. A number of discussion papers were prepared and seminars held. We hope that, besides the three basic documents, the government may consider the desirability of publishing select and relevant material as a series for future use. Education policy, while providing a starting point, is something of a moving equilibrium. It can never be a finished product having exhausted all possibilities of change for the better.

Our attempt in this special number is not to be exhaustive, but to be comprehensive enough to see that, apart from information about basic documentation, the contributions do pinpoint and highlight the important features and issues. In an attempt to organise a symposia, some overlap of views and ideas become unavoidable. We are conscious of some of the gaps. The voluminousness of the issue, the problems of printing by a deadline and the escalating costs have, on one side, been the constraint while, on the other hand, the response that is expected of bigwigs associated with education or its administration at different levels has not been very keen. It is not surprising that many of them do not want to express themselves either in a laudatory or a critical vein as the policy has just been adopted. But we only



want an honest assessment of the approach and of the possibilities in the background of prior national experience, international developments and changing academic perspectives. Similarly, the response from the States and Union Territories, despite best of our efforts, about attempts at educational reforms and changes have been limited. We are holding back for the next issue the information received in this regard from three States and one Union Territory with the hope that others will still provide information. In any case, we believe that it is in no way indicative of any lack of interest on this important theme. We are, however, grateful to our valuable contributors, who have discussed the issues freely and frankly. That is why we do find that a broad picture of the new education policy and its implementation does emerge to facilitate further dialogue on the relevant issues. We hope to continue this debate in the next issue of our Journal. We have included, for information of our distinguished readers, some material and documents pertaining to education policy. It will be our endeavour to make available more documentation to help us understand issues in a comparative perspective also. The issue carries a select bibliography for which we are thankful to Smt. Sunita Gulati of the IIPA Library. For putting in long hours of intelligent effort, we do express our appreciation of the Assistant Editor and his other colleagues.

Education policy does not exist in isolation and its implementation is crucial to our future. It provides a broad canopy for educational remodelling. Education has wider aims, some of them were spelt out so well by Cardinal Newman long back. For us, education is a tool of nation-building and national integration. It is an instrument of socio-economic, scientific and technological development, and modernisation consistent with our own traditions and national ethos. Education is intimately related to national manpower planning and human resource development. We are acutely aware as to how important vocationalisation is for us in view of unemployment problem and for positive utilisation of human resource. But effective strategies have to be worked out. It is time we stop breast-beating about colonial heritage of education and attend to the present and look to the future. The larger aims will simply remain mere words and pious platitudes unless they are expressed in the form of implementable schemes with adequate financial as well as



administrative support and monitoring mechanism. Education is now a concurrent subject and its full implications have to be worked out. A consensus between the Union and the States is necessary for successful implementation of education policy, whether it be the policy of reservations or opening of new universities. Competitive politics in this area will be dysfunctional. Since education is the only effective tool of socio-economic planning and total national development, hence agreement on fundamentals does become vital.

It is also clear that massive organisational effort of varied kinds will be necessary. Macro and micro approaches will be called for. Structures, systems, and methodologies of teaching as well as of educational administration and management are indicated. How can we provide for a lot of local and regional initiative without sacrificing basic approaches? Regimented uniformity is not possible. But amor-phousness in the name of autonomy and innovations can be equally disastrous. How can we harmonise the search for excellence in education with the existing regional or group imbalances and democratic imperatives of equality and social justice? The question of values within the academic profession is as relevant as the need for moral education for children. It is sad to see that for months, there is no teaching in colleges and universities as the teaching staff is engaged in agitational politics and the young students get cynical. The marks scandal, the widespread copying, the conduct of teachers, Vice-Chancellors and Chancellors all contribute today to the decay of the system. Something tangible is called for. Self-regulation in education is a product of our national tradition. In our variegated history, we have nomenclature for all kinds of today's Ministers except for Minister of Education as education was deemed to have an internal discipline of its own. Politicisation of students and teachers for political ends of short-term advantages can spell doom for our expectations from education policy.

We have a number of prestigious institutions, like the University Grants Commission; National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration; National Council of Educational Research and Training; Indian Council of Social Science Research; Indian Council of Historical Research; National Book Trust and many other academies at the Central

level. Effort is being made to set up their counterparts at the state level. There is need to have a fresh look at their charter and working. Not glamorous but sustained work is expected of them. They have to be manned by people with academic ability, professional competence and intellectual integrity. They have to respond with perception to problems of education as arise and help to solve them with knowledge, firmness, and courage of conviction. They cannot operate as self-expanding kingdoms. Coordination, both vertical and much more horizontal, is called for in the field of education. Autonomy and accountability go together. The linkages in education have to be identified. Education is not something fragmented. Education is divided as primary, secondary, higher, university, etc., for functional purposes. All stages are equally important and so are the persons working in them. But primary education tends to become peripheral as more articulate groups monopolise public attention and support. Hence, a cohesive and integral view of the educational process becomes imperative. Education policy and the document on Programme of Action underscores at different places the need for integrative interaction. The institutions of higher learning and research in different fields, especially scientific and technological, have to play a supportive role besides their own principal role in their specific areas. What will be the invisible guiding hand to provide for this?

Education policy unfolds a new panorama of hopes and possibilities for educational planning and implementation. It has a wide spectrum to cover and cater to planning, administration and management, financing, and structure-systems of education. There are segments and specific fields, like education of weaker sections, and women, rural education, nursery and pre-primary education, universalisation of primary education, vocational and technical education, training of teachers, etc., apart from the usual basic and primary, secondary and higher education. At each stage, many difficulties arise due to faulty understanding or implementation of language policy. Computerisation and scientific aids in various walks of life will only have meaningful purpose if they are not just to remain status symbols but become integral to our education and thus the way of life. All problems have to be taken in our stride and solved with imagination and commitment. We have not to lose sight of

the long-term goals and the processes as well as requisites and conditions of implementation. Education policy is a call for a future without illusions but infused with faith and enthusiasm, reinforced by endeavour.

We do hope that this special number devoted to a theme of contemporary concern and enduring national significance will be of some interest and use to our enlightened readers whose support has always been a source of encouragement.

--EDITOR.

# New National Policy on Education

RAJIV GANDHI

[We are giving here texts of three important speeches of the Prime Minister on the subject which portray the spirit and vision of the future that characterise the New Policy.

We are grateful to the Press Information Bureau; Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education; and National Council of Educational Research and Training for the texts of the speeches.

--EDITOR]

I\*

DURING THE past months I have talked a lot about what I find are deficiencies and shortcomings in our education system. But before I go into these in more detail, I think it is necessary to see what we have achieved, what are the positive aspects of the education system as it is today. If we go back to 1947 and try to find how many people had come through our education system and had made a mark in the world--whether it was on the cultural side or scientific side or political side--the education system was responsible for producing very few of them. Most people, who excelled, had been educated abroad, and had a very specialised education. Now if we compare that with today, we just have to go to any laboratory in the world where

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\*Text of inaugural address delivered by the Prime Minister at the Conference of Education Ministers of the States and Union Territories at New Delhi on August 29, 1985.

they might be doing the most advanced scientific research or technological development, we have to go to any hospital to see doctors; no matter where you go in the world, you find Indians in the top posts--Indians who have come through this very educational system. So it has achieved; most certainly it has achieved.

A question then is why are we questioning the whole system if it has achieved this and if it has been able to produce people who rise to the highest levels. The question is not so much of the past, it is more of the future. The world is progressing tremendously rapidly. The only thing that can keep India abreast of this progress is a solid grounding in education for all our people. This is basically the question that has been tackled in the paper that has been put in front of the nation a few days ago. How are we going to prepare the nation to meet the challenges of the next century and to meet the challenges of the latest and newest technology as it comes?

Development, no matter how we try to look at it from what angle, from what perspective, it has to mean absorption of the most modern techniques at the most basic levels in our society. We cannot cut ourselves off from the rest of the world and carry on in a Bullock--cart age--not just because we want to advance and we want to have fancy gadgets and fancy things--but because it is just too expensive to do so. We cannot afford old technology that costs us very much more. And when we look at the cost of our old technology, it is not just a matter of seeing how many people are employed and how many are not employed but what is the productivity for a given investment. When we are talking of investment, we are not talking of government money, we are talking of money that belongs to the poorest people in the country. Every paisa that is wasted due to inefficiency is a paisa that deprives anti-poverty programmes. This is what we must understand. That is why I talk of modern technology, of using modern technology, using it efficiently, for the benefit of the people who are worse off in our country.

This paper is really a paper to provoke a debate. It is not a paper which is an end in itself. We want to provoke you, we want to hear your views. More than that, we want to hear the views of everyone in the country, because this is a subject which will affect every single person. And we must have a proper national debate on this in the media, in the academic circles, on radio, TV, in journals and everywhere. It must be debated openly. All views must come forward, uninhibited, so that we can see, read, understand and then, when the final paper is to be made, we must consider every thing that has come forward in the intervening period and hopefully we produce a document which will lead India to the forefront of technologies, to the forefront of development.

Education has a long gestation period, which is another reason why we must act very very quickly and get the system going preferably from 1986 onwards. When we talk of education, we are really talking of our people. For too long, we have considered our population as a problem and as a liability. It is time to change this, change our population into an asset and strength. This can only be done by human development and education is the core of human development. When we talk of education, we must keep in mind the broader perspective, not just what falls within the purview of the education system as we talk of at the moment, which takes us through a predetermined course and ejects us out into the wide world. A 20-21 years old today comes out with a very dubious piece of paper which says that he has qualified, but nobody in the country seems to believe that piece of paper. The education system is much more than that. The education system when it is conceived must also consider further education. Education throughout our working career--although not necessarily discussed here--must be kept in mind. Is it adequate that some body joining the administrative service or the foreign service goes through an initial training period and then we jettison him out and never call him back for another proper training? Is it good enough that a policeman is never called back for a refresher course on new techniques, on new methods and on problems that his colleagues might have faced in other areas which would help him to overcome those problems? It is the same with all our services.

We have to make our younger generation think. (Unfortunately, the education system, as it is today, stops anyone from thinking. You prevent people from asking questions; you drill in a set syllabus and you ask him to reproduce that during the exams.) This is not good enough. The system must be such that young boys and girls are provoked into asking questions; they are provoked into making the teacher explain things they do not understand instead of just memorising it. It will not only be good for the children, it will be good for the teachers also because they will have to answer questions. A system will develop, new ideas will come not only in the education system but right across. I find that we tend to build walls between different generations. A senior bureaucrat will not consult the junior bureaucrat. A senior policeman will not talk to a junior policeman. A teacher will not talk to a student. You talk down to them. This has to change. These are basic things which don't need money to change. It is an attitude. It is a way of thinking.

The education system must build the character of the nation. Nationalism must be strengthened. Our heritage and our culture must be imbibed. Today even our history is not taught in our schools.

Apart from higher education, we have also been talking about voca-

tional education. To really give vocational education a push and a thrust, we have to produce or build a demand for people with vocational education. It is no use giving vocational education if there is no demand for people with such education in the open market. Again, this brings me to a much wider perspective. And the new education system, when you think about it, must be seen in this perspective. We must first build a picture of what we want India to be like fifteen years or twenty years from now. What will the industry be like? What will agriculture be like? What will our service industries be like? What will all the other departments in the country be like? From that we must work back and build an education system which will serve those needs. If we are to give vocational education, if we are to make better motor mechanics or better carpenters or better builders or whatever, there must be demand in the market. There must be understanding why it is better. Only then will it work. So all these linkages must be built, must be thought about now.

It is not only linkages after education; there are also linkages that must be built-in into the system, between the various departments that are handling education. We have the agricultural universities under Ministry of Agriculture. We have ITIs under Labour. We have law colleges under the Law Ministry. We have electronics under Ministry of Electronics and there are other three or four ministries like this. This is apart from what the Centre does and what the states do. So there must be proper understanding between each of these systems and if we look at a specialised college or institution, it must not be with such a narrow vision that a full education is not given to students coming through those units. It is not good enough to train somebody in an agricultural college and limit him to a very narrow perspective. The basic requirement of education which is building the character of the individual, which is preparing him to face the world when he leaves the institution. This must not be lost just because an institution is highly specialised in a particular field.

You have raised the question of finances. I have been discussing this point with the Planning Commission, and I am very glad to tell you that we have managed to squeeze out 1500 crore over and above what was allocated originally for human resources development. A very large chunk of this, I am sure, will go to education.

When we look at our education system, when we look at the challenges that are ahead in just sheer numbers, it is mind-boggling and frightening. And we have to see how we can mobilise best. A primary question is, can government bear the sole responsibility of the full education system whether for the rich or for the poor. This question

needs thought. In the next century, at the rate which our population is growing, we could well have 500 million illiterate persons in the country. We cannot afford to do that. That is why this thrust on education. Education again has to be a primary tool in stabilising our gains—gains from our freedom struggle, gains from our development programmes. It must not be such that it destabilises. This too is a point that you must keep in mind.

We have looked at this document from various aspects. Some are covered in more detail, others have not been gone into in adequate depth. Vocational education is one such sphere. We have not been successful in our system of vocationalising education. We must learn from those who have. If we find that model does not suit our system, we must develop a new model. It is not good enough to keep treading the same path. Where we know we are not making progress we must change our attitudes, accept the challenges and progress on a new route. We have to see how trained manpower can be used best for bringing about changes. Today, we employ almost uneducated illiterate people to run our major industries, power stations and public sector units. Will this be feasible tomorrow? Will a power station, which will be put up in the next 5 or 10 years, be run in the same way? Or will it have a very large amount of electronic equipment? Will it be computer controlled? Will it be micro-processor controlled and will that same person be able to run that? How are we going to educate our labour classes to be able to run our industries in 1990 or in the 2000s. This is what we must think of, when we think of vocational education. It is not just making a carpenter a better carpenter. It has to go much deeper than that. What is going to be the role of an average worker towards the end of the century? How will we prepare children for that role today?

We too have the problem of brain-drain. But we should not worry about the brain-drain. We should worry about producing the best brains in the country. And I know, India definitely has amongst its people the best brains in the world. We must concentrate on creating conditions in the country where these brains will work. And we must accept the fact that a certain number of these brains will go abroad, get experience and come back for our benefit. Training and education do not end when you leave colleges. It is a continuing process. You keep learning as you keep working and even if we get a scientist or an engineer or a doctor back to our country when he is 50 or 60, we have not really lost. We will be richer with the experience that he has gained in his work outside India. He will bring that back for the benefit of our country. We must build and develop the brains in India to work all over the world, not just in India. At the same time, we must see that we do not lose much on this and that adequate



numbers are working in India, are coming back to India. I have seen during the last few years, there is a tremendous involvement of Indians abroad with India. They want to come back, and I am sure, they will come back. We must not look at this as a loss. We must look at it not as a brain-drain, but as a brain-bank which is collecting interest, just waiting for us to withdraw the amount and to use it again in India.

One other concept, which has got lost in our drive for mass-education, has been that of excellence. We seem to have forgotten that there was such a thing. Everything is reduced to mediocrity, may be even lower than that. This must be changed. This is something that you must tackle here and in the next few months. We have developed a scheme of model schools--points of excellence--which we hope we will be able to put up in each district during the next five years. But this is only as a challenge to the rest of the system so that it might strive to reach their standards. You must see how the whole system can be made to live itself up. Without excellence, there can be no positive results.

Examinations are another very sore point with everyone, most of all with students. They have unfortunately become almost a farce. If almost every body gets a distinction, is there a difference between a distinction and the third grade? Is it enough to just live with the system as it is today? When we think of examinations, again we think of the system. What we have to think of is not just the system that we are developing for today. What we bring out in the Paper in 1986, after debates and discussions, must be such that it is not bound by time. It must be such that it can develop with changes as they happen in India and as they happen abroad. It must be flexible, it must be open-minded; it must have that vision in it. The two basic questions for an education system are : one, does it realise the value that India stands for--secular, democratic, social-istic society? Does it stand for and build values of non-violence, and Satya into our people? These are the sort of questions that need answers. And then does it go down to the lowest level or are there barriers for certain social groups or economic groups? Does it reach down to every woman, girl, scheduled tribes, scheduled castes and other weaker sections? Does it give them the full opportunity to develop their intellect? This is what you must think of. Will it help in social stability or will it provoke social unrest? The problems of equal opportunity must be faced head on by us. Social tensions must be soothed and not provoked by the education system.

One of our biggest limitations to economic progress is the rate of growth of our population. Again, where education has spread, specially amongst women, the birth rate has come down tremendously. So

education goes much deeper than that. As equally fundamental issue is the development of value system in our society and the development of an intellectual framework that will allow us to find our own solutions.

We talk of self-reliance. But what does self-reliance mean to-day? Mostly, it means that we manufacture under licence, something which somebody else has developed. I am not trying to deride those scientists, those technologists who have developed Indian technology and we have some of the best, specially in those fields where technology has not been made available to us. We are close to the frontiers of development. But by and large, our self-reliance has been limited to manufacturing what other people are developing. It has also been limited in thinking, in thinking of solutions, in applying our own remedies to our own problems.

The education system must go beyond these barriers. It must be able to develop the Indian mind, get it out of the colonial cast, make it much more outward thinking, make it more aggressive on intellectual questions. We must make it so, so that the solutions are found in India and not abroad. These are basically the issues that I wanted to talk about.

There are other nuts and bolts questions. I won't go into these in depth because I fear that I have taken more time than what I should have. There is the question of how much should higher education be regulated. How many people should go in and how many should not? Should professional education be subsidised? The beneficiaries are in public sectors and private sectors who can afford to pay for that. At what stage should the branching off to vocationalisation take place, matching between cost and content, needs and the absorptive capacity of the community? How are we going to utilise the mass media and the other media for educating and building our younger generation? There are other questions: The nature and extent of depoliticisation; how earnestly we should look into the Reports of the Teachers' Commissions; reforms in the governance of universities for better performance and more accountability; reorganisation of undergraduate, graduate programmes on a modular basis where the student has the option of combining theoretical knowledge with communication skills; how can a student mix his theoretical courses with vocational courses? And the question of the 10+2+3. How has it worked? Has it done as we had wished it would do? If there are shortcomings, have we failed in doing something that needed to be done? Have there been shortcomings in the methods of implementation? I have just said that we have put a lot of money aside but the fact is that even that may not be enough. Better utilisation of the funds that are available is worth seeing and looking into as is the quality of school buildings,

quality of facilities that are available. There are two very definite views. We can choose that we will give only basic education and it can be given under the mango tree. It will not change the content of what is being given. There is also the view that when a school is complete in every aspect--a good clean building, good toilets, bathrooms, good facilities--then that becomes the core of development and modernisation in that village. It gives incentive for the whole village to start actually moving ahead. Of course, we cannot afford to have such schools in every village. But we have to compromise somewhere in between the two. We cannot pretend that just supplying teachers and mango trees will be enough to educate our young.

Perhaps the most difficult question to tackle is that of the Centre-state relations with regard to education. It is necessary to look into this aspect further to see how education is to be developed and how Central funds and state funds can be best utilised for a better education?

Perhaps the most important aspect is the teacher. On how good the teacher is, depends how good the pupil will be. As some one put it, a mediocre teacher tells (most of our teachers tend to tell); a good teacher explains; a superior teacher demonstrates; and an exceptional teacher inspires. We must inspire to develop these teachers. This is what we have to work for. We are going to concentrate on schools. I think before we even step into that, we must concentrate even harder on teacher training, teacher upgrading, teacher refresher courses and further teacher education. Lastly, I hope that you will all participate in this debate over the next few months, and aggressively participate, because that is what will throw up the ideas that we are looking for. As the Rigveda said, "Let us move together, let us speak together, let us come together for learning for common goals."

## II\*

LET ME welcome you to this meeting specially because we have been talking so much about our new education policy. After a lot of deliberations, a lot of inputs, we have put together a paper which is not yet the policy because the policy will have to be condensed out of this paper, to be more concise and giving a specific direction.

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\*Text of Prime Minister's address at the meeting of National Development Council held at New Delhi on April 29, 1986.

Perhaps, the first point that we have tried to bring home in this paper is that, education is very much a part of the development process. It can not be separated from development. They are not two separate things. Education in a sense leads to development. Perhaps more than that, with development the demand for education goes up very fast.

The education system, as it exists today, involves the states, the Centre and the people, which means that whatever we put together here or put out from here must be such that all the three are involved fully in its implementation. If any group is left out, then we will not be able to take care of implementation in the manner that we would like to do. Having education in the Concurrent List gives us the joint responsibility of seeing that education is really the best that we can give to our people within the constraints that we have.

The objectives of education basically are freedom of the individual, a fulfilment in his life, equality amongst all our people, excellence of each individual, individual and collective self-reliance, and perhaps most of all, national cohesion. We should develop facilities for education in a manner which would make education more productive, so that it breaks down our social, regional and linguistic barriers. That does not mean that we try to kill any regional culture or regional language. We will develop each language, each culture, but we must not let that build walls between our various cultures and between our various people.

Education must make our people the masters of technology and not its slaves. We must not ape or imitate. We must understand, modify and use knowledge for our benefit and for the country's benefit. Education must fight injustice, intolerance and superstition. It is for these reasons that one of the suggestions that we have made in this paper is to have a national core curriculum around which local subjects and issues--cultural, linguistic and others--can be added. But the core will see that the direction is the same whether you are in the northern, southern, western, eastern or in any part of India. We will have a standardised package which will be available to everyone who goes to school, which means that the basic direction for national cohesion will be set in that core. National cohesion, not just in terms of integration but in a much broader context of the full span of education. Education should be such that it builds the inner strength of our people. It should bring our ancient heritage to the new generation. It should make available our aesthetic treasures to the young generation. Again, that must not be limited to what is available in one region or in one state. It must bring in our heritage from all over the country. Our Indian heritage, our Indian treasures and our Indian culture, must be brought home equally

to the local culture, the local language and the local heritage.

Education permeates every aspect of life. It must be such that it brings the best out of our past, takes the best of the present, but keeps in mind the future direction that we want to give to the country in terms of political, economic and cultural development. The fact is that almost no country in the world is really satisfied with its education system, and the process of improvement and modification is continuously on.

Education used to be the acquiring of accumulated knowledge in the sense that it taught the people what had already been known. Of course, in a sense that should be done today as well. But today we must go beyond that. It is not enough just to teach the children the knowledge, the skills, the values, that we have inherited. We must, in the education system, give them an orientation for the future, make them think of the future, not think in the past. This is going to be a very difficult task for us to do in our education system. But unless we are able to do this, we will not be able to get the thrust in the developmental process, in our integration process, that is really required. Future-oriented education does not mean an entirely science and technology oriented education, although science and technology must be a part of it. It is a much broader concept. What we are looking for is to inculcate a broad perspective in our younger generation, so that they look towards the development and strengthening of our country.

Ideas on education are not new. During our freedom movement, during our renaissance period, we have had substantial ideas from great people, from the lives of Swami Vivekananda, Gandhiji, Tagore and more recently Dr. Zakir Hussain. And after Independence, many commissions have been set up to see what we can do about the education system.

The idea today is not to eliminate or destroy the system that has been in practice. The attempt is to modify and guide the system in particular and specific directions and to try and stop the drift.

The thrust in all this is to eliminate inequalities, to liberate talents and to achieve a national self-fulfilment. That is why we have felt that a new thrust is required—a new thrust because education cannot be taken to be leading to a mere material, economic gain or progress. We have too often related development with economic development and missed the broader aspects of culture of our society and what truly constitutes development. If we continue this way, we are likely to find ourselves in danger of losing our cultural heritage, in danger of losing our Indianness, which is something that none of us would like to see it happen.

Economic development does not mean superiority in every sense of

the word. It would not be right to look at statistics and say that a particular country has a higher per capita income, so it is better than us. 'Better' is a much broader concept and 'better' involves how we think, how we feel. It really involves our whole culture and it goes back to heritage. We must not limit ourselves to just the economic thrust. Education must be a much broader concept. Our traditional intelligence or 'gyan' cannot be disregarded. The wisdom that we have inherited must not be put aside. Even if you go to the most remote and most backward areas, you find that the people may be illiterate, they may be lacking literacy, but you cannot in any sense say that they do not have wisdom, they do not have intelligence. They have them. What is lacking is only literacy. What is lacking is institutionalised learning. So, this is something that we must build together. We cannot bring in the institutionalised learning at the cost of destroying the intelligence and the wisdom that are already in our people. We must preserve them and together with them bring in institutionalised learning, bring in literacy, which will help our people from being gullible, and being exploited. It liberates them from servitude. Literacy is a tool that helps them to get out of these shackles. Literacy will give our society strength, a certain resistance to exploitation.

One of the problems with our education system, which we have inherited from the British times, is that the thrust was basically to produce clerical jobs. During the British period, the result of the system was positively to inhibit thinking and start pushing papers around. We have unfortunately continued this, without seriously attempting to change the situation. And this has led to the imbalances, the dissatisfaction and frustration amongst the educated youth that we are seeing today.

If we go back to Macaulay's minute on education, we see that it was targeted basically at certain types of schooling. It divorced our people from real life and it divorced our people from the national needs, whether at that time or today. The villages--the rural areas--were ignored. It was an urban-oriented education. In fact the villages were treated almost as drainage areas for the towns and urban areas. Excessive importance was given to degrees. The educated, even if they get their education in the villages, become lost to the villagers. We have in our rural areas what may be described as a 'tight-pant culture'. It just really removes or leaves out the youth from the village and makes him a displaced person in his own home. It makes him a misfit in his own home, makes him a misfit in the towns and really causes frustration in the youth which we cannot hold for very long.

The new policy is an attempt to re-link learning with life as it

is in India, whether in the rural areas or in the urban areas or in the tribal areas, whether in the hills or in the mountains or in the forests. It must be such that it gives opportunity for employment in those very areas. Today, we have vast numbers of youth, perhaps even older people, who have been educated in rural areas but go out. I can talk about my own constituency where there are thousands of people, who have had good education, but we cannot find even one of them in the rural areas. They are all in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta or Madras. They are all in urban areas. None of them goes back to the rural areas so that the benefit of their education can really go down to the villagers. The benefit invariably comes to the urban areas because people with education leave the rural areas and go to the urban areas. We must try and reverse this tendency.

An attempt will be made through formal education, through vocational education and through non-formal education to reach and teach everyone who is reachable. At the same time, we must have a system which will reach out to everyone—each individual who is teachable. For this, we will have to employ every other method that is available to us. We have restricted our thinking in many spheres. Education, after all, is basically a communication method, for communicating knowledge, communicating ways of thinking, communicating perspectives, communicating values from one generation to the next, and preparing the next generation to face the challenges that it will be called upon to undertake.

Communication methods cannot be restricted to what they were 40 or 50 years ago. Traditional Indian education was very individual-oriented. It was a very personal relationship between the teacher or 'Guru' and the 'Sishya'. From that we have come to a mass production system where this relationship has got totally lost. The methods of transmission, which were used on a 1:1 basis or 1:3 or 1:4 basis, are no more valid when we are talking of, may be, one teacher and 100 or 200 students in a class. We must use every method that is available, modify those methods to our conditions and our needs, and not ape or imitate what is done in the West or anywhere in the world. We do not want to produce a younger generation which is an imitation of a younger generation in any other country. We want our own younger generation to be an Indian younger generation, and not any other younger generation. This can only come about if every method is used.

This policy will look further, when we go down into actually implementing it, and producing a programme of implementation. That is another point which I should have said right at the beginning, viz., that we should not forget that this is basically a policy paper, and not a programme or schedule of implementation. This is



not a plan of implementation. That will have to follow from this. This just gives directions. We should keep this in mind during our discussions.

The new education policy will be for all Indians. It must be egalitarian. It must give equal access. Equal access needs to be defined. I will not say that we give equal access to every single child at every level of intelligence or proficiency into the same type of school, but an attempt must be made to give access to the best type of education to the most intelligent children, no matter from which section of society they come, whether they come from the weakest or the most backward section or otherwise, they must be able to get access to the best education. We have failed in doing this up till now. We have given them access to a school, but access to the good schools has been possible only to those who have money and finance. We must try and change this, not just because we want to be fair. We want to be fair and egalitarian, but there is also a material aspect in this. If India is to develop faster, if India is to harness all its resources, its resources cannot be limited to the rich or the middle class in the country. Perhaps its richest resources are people, and found amongst the poorest in the most backward areas in the country. We must locate these resources in human beings, and develop them for the best benefit of our country.

Education cannot be just a one-way system. The teacher tells the child that this is right thing to do and the child almost learns it by heart and comes out of examination feeling that this is the right thing without understanding, appreciating or visualising what he or she has learnt. That does not produce a person who can really visualise India of the future, who can visualise how to do things. It produces a very automated sort of person, and we must try and change it.

No teacher should give an impression that he knows everything. The best teacher is not one that merely passes on certain knowledge to the child. The best teacher is someone who, besides passing on that knowledge, ignites sparks in the mind of child, developing a thought-provoking process in each child, which really brings out the best in the child, and makes the child really flower. Unfortunately, we do not have too many such teachers especially in our government schools.

No matter what we attempt in the educational policy, we cannot succeed if the teacher, who is the key in any educational process, is not brought up and given attention that the teacher truly deserves, brought up in terms of training and social standing in the area. Perhaps the measure of our development is the position we give to the teacher in our society. The reverse is also true. The position that



we give to our teacher, will be the level that we will be able to raise. But apart from that, we have to see that the attitudes of the teachers are correct, the moral values that the teacher will impart are correct, that the responses of the teachers to changing circumstances are right. Innovation and creativity in the teacher must be built into the training process. All this come about only if we pay adequate attention to the teacher training process and we see that the best people come out and become teachers, and it is not the last resort of employment for people who have looked everywhere else.

The education policy must be such that it looks towards solving our national problems. Today, the biggest thrust must be for national integration and unity. While developing regional culture, while not killing regional tendencies, we have to see that they do not develop in a manner that destroys or weakens our national identity. We have to see that religious revivalism is not allowed to use our education process as a tool for fundamentalism. We have to see that our education process reduces violence in society. It should challenge the concept of materialism or consumerism which is being thrust on us by the media, by the world around us. The pressure is tremendous and this must be fought of by the education system. It has to cultivate secularism, socialism, democracy and nationalism, and nurture the correct moral values. We have to use education and science to serve our rural masses, improve their nutrition, improve their health, most of all provide them opportunities for betterment of life. It must restrict migration to urban areas. We also find that wherever education has come, it has reduced the family size. In a way, it has done a better job of population control than any other methods that we have tried to propagate. Our economic growth must be more than our population growth if stability is to be maintained and the best method of checking our population growth is the education of our people, more specially the education of women.

Our education system cannot be limited just to literacy and degrees and higher education. It must look at vocational training, bringing in the skills relevant to daily life to the type of work the individual will have to do or the type of work which is accessible to him. It may be a simple vocational training in certain areas. Our system must be such that it does not push people into demanding white-collar employment but gives them initiative towards self-employment, a spirit of self-help, which is really what is required in a country of the size of India. This cannot be done with examinations alone, but by having methods of testing the true worth of each child, of measuring the relevant skills in each individual. We must think of how to delink degrees from jobs, especially for government employment, which is perhaps the most important and bulky area. We should

bring out a specific action plan, which will delink degrees from jobs, will reduce the pressure to set up colleges which give degrees of dubious values and dubious standards, but which will really bring the best people to work in government, the best people to serve the country.

We must also have a system of non-formal or distant education. This must not be confused with vocational education. This would be a system of coaching those people who fail to make the formal system or drop out of the formal system and give them a sort of back-up education and bring them up again to the standard and have adequate linkage points with the formal system of education, so that they can cross back to the formal system if they feel competent enough or if they feel that they have learnt enough and can face up to the challenge.

We have to make our society a society that learns continuously. Education is not finished when we leave school or college. It is a process which continues throughout life. Unless we convert our society into a learning society, India will not be able to develop and face the challenges that the coming years have in store. We will have to have a system where individuals augment their personal capabilities and their role in society throughout their lives. To do this, we must make a basic threshold education available to all--whether it is through the formal system, the non-formal system, the vocational system or through other institutions, such as the open universities, various methods of distance education and refresher courses to bring people up in the course of their careers, libraries, reading rooms, a system of mass media, all of which would enable the re-education or the upgrading of each individual.

There are certain sections of our society where education has not reached in the manner we would perhaps like it to have reached. They are the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and certain other weaker sections. But if we were to identify one section which is the most deprived from the point of education, it is the women, it is girls. Whether it is the upper classes or the middle classes, or whether it is the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes or other weaker sections or the minorities, invariably the girls get very much less education and they have the highest drop-out rate. It is a special challenge for us to see how we can get more girls into schools and retain them there. We have already made education free up to the secondary level for girls. But it has not reduced the drop-out rate. We must think of measures which will help in the motivation not so much of the girls, which is no doubt important, but of parents and of society, specially in the rural areas. We must see that rural parents give importance to girls' education. The practi-

cal problems in each home and village which prevent girls from going to school must be tackled, such as the question of the distance that girls have to cover to go to school and the question of co-education. We will have to mobilise community leaders. We will have to mobilise voluntary organisations, and motivate them to get girls into schools and to keep girls in schools. It has been said that teaching a man means you have trained one person for a particular job, but when you teach a woman you teach the whole family and you reach out much further.

Special attention must similarly be given to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes because they too face similar problems. They do not have the economic strength to allow the children to spend that much time in school. This is where non-formal systems will come in, where schedules and programmes can be tailored to allow children to learn when it is convenient for them and at the speed it is convenient for them.

The goal of universal elementary education can be achieved only if there is participation of the community. We have, during the past years, edged out community participation in our educational system. I do not think it is necessary at this stage to go into why it has happened. Unless we apply corrections and unless we get community involvement, the weaknesses, specially at the primary school level, will be very difficult to remove.

In the past, philanthropists played a substantial role in our education system. There is a need, once again, to secure a similar involvement of our citizens in the education system. We have to look at methods of motivating such involvement.

Again, education cannot be limited to literacy. It must be much broader and go into building the character and personality of the child. It must concern itself with cultural heritage, sports, fine arts, etc. These are areas which are traditionally neglected but which are vital for development of an individual. We have to mobilise the best resources in human terms. We have to identify the best children, the most intelligent children. We have to identify the fields in which we feel they will be able to develop best and give them an opportunity to develop those characteristics. We have suggested the 'Navodaya Vidyalaya' for this purpose. It is a scheme of schools which are much better than the schools which are traditionally available at district or village levels. Far from being elitist, this scheme, we feel, is perhaps the first major egalitarian step that has been taken in bringing good education to the poorest and the weakest sections. It is a quest for equality and for quality--the best schools for the best children, no matter what their background--economic, cultural or social.

We will have to develop a new pattern of organisation to run the education system. It is not adequate to have people who are general administrators. Education is a very specialised subject and we have to look at the management of our whole system from teachers' training, norms of performance, accountability, the individuals who are involved in the administration of the education system, and the relationship between the Centre and the states. We must evolve a new partnership in the development of the education system.

The system must be targeted to reduce poverty and to shape the new society that we envisage. It must be insulated from politics, from parochialism, from casteism, from communalism, from fundamentalism. It must be kept free from indiscipline and agitations. And we must give more autonomy to the educational institutions. These institutions must inculcate a scientific temper in our people. The scientific temper does not mean developing a few very highly specialised individual scientists. We have already done this. The scientific temper must permeate down to the average Indian. It will help us find the best people to develop in the fields of science and technology.

We have to see how far we want to subsidise higher and professional education. The scale at which we now do it is totally disproportionate when we look at the primary education and higher education. People must pay reasonable proportion of the actual cost involved. At the same time, we must see that the weaker sections are helped and are not isolated because of economic reasons.

What we need from this policy, once we have hammered it out in the NDC and the Parliament, is a purposeful, time-bound action programme and a complete commitment to the implementation of the programme. Resources are bound to be a problem. The Kothari Commission suggested 6 per cent. We had dropped to well below 3 per cent. In the Seventh Plan, we have tried to push it up once again back close to 3 per cent. This must be progressively increased. Perhaps the Planning Commission feels that the human resource is not a resource for development. It must do basic rethinking. The Planning Commission should realise that the basis of any development is not dams and power stations and industries, but the people who are going to build those dams and run those industries. Unless this awareness permeates the Planning Commission, they are never going to give us enough money. Perhaps, they will think about this and give enough attention not just to steel, bricks, concrete and cement, but also to the human beings who are to take advantage of all that. Perhaps, when they draw up the Eighth Plan, they will increase the resources to a much higher figure from 3 per cent and will go much closer to the 6 per cent goal. Before we actually get to the Eighth Plan, perhaps we can

push the Planning Commission and the Finance Ministry to try and squeeze out something more in the intervening period.

We could also try to see whether we can squeeze out certain resources from programmes where we have committed them. A small example we have thought of is of allotting NREP or RLEGP funds on a priority basis to primary school buildings. We can say that in a village where there is no primary school building, we will give first priority, under NREP or RLEGP to primary school building under these programmes. We could look further to see what other programmes can be so fitted in. Without upsetting the basic thrust of those programmes, we can use them for some aspect of education.

Here, again, we will need a lot of cooperation and discussion with the states, so that we can hammer out the right directions. Basically, we must realise that if we do not pay for what we get, we are going to get what we pay for. This is the time when we must really think about building our biggest resource, and our biggest resource today is our people. Today the population may appear our biggest liability, because we are not using it, we are not developing it. But we must change this liability and make it our biggest strength and our biggest resource. This can only come about with a major thrust on education.

Probably more important than just the financial requirements of education, and the quantitative requirements, are the qualitative requirements, and the relevance of education to daily life, to our development, to our future. And this is where the UGC, NCERT, NIEPA and the state councils come in a big way. They must see that quality and direction are correct. They must see that quality and direction are built into the system and permeate all levels of the system.

This is the first time that we have really tackled the national education system at this high level. After the policy comes out, the most important aspect is going to be the action programme, and the implementation of the action programme. I would suggest that we call an NDC meeting approximately a year from now, sometime in the middle of 1987, to review the progress that we have made, following from this meeting, and really have a stock-taking of what we have achieved in terms of progress, in terms of direction, in terms of improvement in quality.

Let me thank you once again for participating in this process of evolving the education policy right from the beginning when we produced the initial paper and in all the discussions with the states, with the various other organisations involved, with voluntary organisations, students, teachers and others leading up to the meetings during the last two or three days and then the National Development Council meeting today.

I thank every one who has participated, and we do hope that the paper that will come out after this meeting will give direction to the enthusiasm that has been built up on this matter in the country during the past year.

Lastly, on the modalities of the meeting. We have all received the printed speeches. If every one agrees--as we have now almost made it a practice--we shall put them on record. We might have discussions on various specific issues of the policy so that we can get a meaningful understanding on any points that are causing problems.

### III\*

IT GIVES me great pleasure today to be with you, more especially so because during the last election we had made education one of our primary planks and in this year, which coincides with your silver jubilee year, we have brought out the New Education Policy.

NCERT's insights, perceptions, and findings have contributed very greatly to the making of the new policy. The new policy, perhaps, gives the highest tribute to your work during the past 25 years in building India's education base.

Modern education in India began with the colonial era. The vacuum that we had at that time was filled by an education system designed for the colonial system, for an alien administration, with the main object of perpetuating foreign rule in India. It was not designed to build India as a nation. It was not designed to make Indians individuals and better Indians. We inherited the system. We tried to continue with it, adapt it but we found that after a point it was not suitable, it has not served our needs, and we are required to do some fundamental rethinking on the basic system of education that we need for ourselves.

Our achievements under the traditional system have not been small. We have achieved a very great spread in literacy. Primary education has been available to millions, and higher education to levels which were undreamt of 35 or 40 years ago. There has been a tremendous quantitative expansion in the education that was available to our people. Yet we were not able to develop the human being. We were not able to concentrate on the human resources that are so abundant in India. The new education policy will attempt a qualitative cor-

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\*Text of inaugural address delivered by the Prime Minister at the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the National Council of Educational Research & Training at New Delhi on September 11, 1986.

rection. It will attempt to build our biggest resource—our human resource—to make the biggest asset that our country can have instead of considering it as we do today out of our biggest liabilities. This changeover must take place and the education policy has to be the basis for this change. The new policy will inject basic values through education into the national mainstream. India's civilisation from antiquity is renowned for its continuity as well—continuity through political turmoil to upheaval, through foreign invasions, during wars, during internal discords, periods of natural disaster and economic collapse. Other civilisations have not been able to stand these pressures and weather these storms but India's civilisation has continued unscathed by the difficulties that it has had to face. Ours have remained vibrant and alive throughout our history. How has this happened? Why has our civilisation been one of the few to survive continuously while others have risen and tumbled. Perhaps, we have a unique ability to absorb, to assimilate and to synthesise the new inputs that come to us from outside. Our characteristics—that of an eclectic spirit, a catholicity of heart and mind and openness, the tolerance, a quest for harmony—have been much deeper and broader than other civilisations have managed to build. We have survived the turbulence of time and the vicissitudes of history. Out of centuries of interaction has emerged a modern Indian nation. Our strength and dynamism is in our secularism and in our diversity. We must once again immerse our young minds into these values.

The base of economic emancipation, the explosive growth of the middle class in our country and the revolution of rising expectations has led to a transition in our traditional values. We have been bombarded by a media, guided very largely by new materialistic outside values, which has not been able to disturb the traditional strength of India's civilisation and India's society. It has compromised with our traditional values to thrust materialism. It is this that we must fight with our educational policy in building the new foundation for the development of our nation.

Materialism can give a temporary satisfaction but it cannot give a stability, equanimity and durability in our society. Through a materialistic growth, we can only expect dangers of a very pervasive dissatisfaction which will come in our society. Factories, dams, electricity, other development works are useless if the quality of human being deteriorated. Knowledge can be no substitute for wisdom. Therefore, we have set up a new department in government called the Human Resource Development Department. Perhaps, many of the problems in developing this area have stemmed from the very political processes that we have had. Traditionally it has always been looked down upon for a minister to be in charge of a what we termed as a non-



economic ministry. I thought that we should have our senior most minister in charge of what I feel is going to be the basis of the development and strengthening of our country. I would like, today, to congratulate Narasimha Raoji on the tremendous work that he has done in this ministry. Under his guidance, we have brought together a number of related subjects but all going down basically to developing the human being. Under this guidance, we look forward to building a new human being, a new awakening in our people.

The results are not going to be immediate. They are not even going to be visible tomorrow or day after tomorrow. It is definitely going to take at least one generation, if not more to see the results of what we are starting today. But we must keep this in mind that any neglect now will not be forgiven by the generations that are to come.

Education must be a development of the mind, the development of the personality, the development of the individual. Then must come the skills and income earning capabilities. The reason is that if we are able to develop the human beings, then we are able to develop the individuals and the skills, the capability, and the earning capacity will come automatically.

Education must promote values of a modern nation and also bring back the ethos of our nation that persisted, throughout its history, with a special attention to the freedom struggle and the thoughts and ideas that developed during the tumultuous time in our development process. If we look at our national life today, if we look at the goals and objects, if we look at the methods that we use for solving various problems, and if we look at our policies, they invariably take us back to our freedom struggle. The non-violence of our freedom struggle has given us the principle of non-alignment in our foreign policy. It has given a new direction, not just for India but to most of the world's nations. It has given a new thought, a new idea to the world to look forward to bring peace, to bring progress, not just for the developing nations, but also to keep the power blocks apart from fighting each other and to help diffuse tensions before they are able to develop.

Our anti-poverty programmes, our basic thrust on the removal of poverty comes from that one famous sentence of Gandhiji "to wipe every tear from every eye".

For peaceful co-existence with all nations in the world, more especially with our neighbours, we look back to Panditji, when he said: "We look upon the world with clear and friendly eyes". Today, we do not seek to develop something brand new for the country. We seek to capture what has been the essence of Indianness for 5,000 years and it is this that we hope we will be able to pass on to the



coming generation.

The generation that is passing out is perhaps, the last generation that has been directly connected with our freedom struggle. My generation was influenced by our parents who were part of the freedom struggle and some of that has been rubbed over us. But the present generation, who are the children of the children of the freedom struggle, are going to have great difficulty in capturing any of that if we are not able to hand it over to them if we are not able to produce a system which gives them this historical experience. We must not let it languish. We must re-vivify it. We must give it colour. We must once more bring that ethos into the younger generation. A major step that you have taken up in this direction is your new publication *India's Struggle for Independence: Visual and Documents*, which we have just presented to two of our senior most freedom fighters.

Our national system of education must benefit all students, wherever they live. It must be accessible, no matter what their income levels are. Our present education system has entrenched social disparity. What is projected as a system to bring about equality, is, in fact, the system that perpetuates disparity. Education for the poor is much worse than the education that is available to the rich. There is no comparison between the two. Education varies from region to region. The disparities between the states, sometimes even within the state and between districts is tremendous. This has to be bridged. One of the first steps that we have taken to achieve this is to bring about a core curricula which will ensure primarily a sense of Indianness and equality in standards, a mutual recognition in the class-room and work place of a national ethic or a pursuit of excellence. Regional variations built around the common core will help to adapt the content and methods from the core curriculum for local conditions, for local traditions and for local attitudes and aptitudes. Our impulses, our motivation, our aspirations must be Indian yet the myths, the songs, the poems, the prose that we carry in our minds must be of all the different languages that make up our country. Our second instrument in bringing about this equality in education are the Navodaya Vidyalayas. They are for equality, they are for excellence, and they are for national integration. They, for the first time, will provide equal opportunity to learn and to reach a better institution. It will not be regulated by the capacity to pay. Under the Navodaya Vidyalaya, we will have a top school, a top-class school, in every district, for best children from that state and from outside that state. The charge that has been laid that these are elitist institutions is a total canard. Elitist are the institutions that we have today and it is in trying to break this elitism that we

are bringing these Navodaya Vidyalayas in.

We are giving an opportunity, not with respect to capacity to pay, but for the first time, with respect to capacity to learn, with respect to excellence, and this cannot be called elitist. We are not lowering education standards to the lowest common denominator but raising it to the highest common factor. The present system is elitist; the new system will break this elitism.

We have talked of India's emergence as a modern nation, as a new state. Panditji has told us about modernisation of India that the only right approach to solve world problems and to our national problems is by adopting scientific approach, that is to say, by adopting the spirit of science and the method of science. Technology for some reason is seen as a bad word in Indian society. I see technology, the level at which we use technology in our daily lives, as an indicator of the development status of our country. And if we look at technology through history, through the history of any country, we see that it is only when we lack technology, when we are behind other countries in technology that we are not able to survive. Why did India get conquered a number of times; how were the British able to control a large country like India. If you go down to the roots of it, it is only because they had better technology than we had at that time. We could not cope with the technology that we were faced with. Even today that has not changed. If we are not able to be leaders in technology, we will always be under pressure; we will never be able to stand on our own feet. To stand on our own feet, there is only one way to go ahead, i.e., to be advanced in science and technology, and be at the forefront. India has that capability. We cannot allow a mood of mediocrity to prevent us from getting to that position, a mood of pulling each other down cannot be allowed to be pervasive.

Modern education is the inculcation of a scientific spirit. In other words, developing an interest in science, in scientific thinking, in scientific methods, not necessarily in fundamental research, but in our daily lives, in our daily thinking. It is cultivation of a logical mind. It is development of a process of argument and discussions. It is removing of inconsistencies and superstitions.

No wild surmises, emotions, support, and precedents, however allowed or inviolate, should be able to block our minds or prevent us from viewing things with an open mind and with a readiness to accept what we might logically see in scientific deduction and thinking. At the same time, while having a scientific way of thinking, we cannot let go the thrill of the spirit of imagination or the joy of the revelation. As William Blake had said, "To see a world in a grain of sand, and a heaven in a wild flower, hold infinity in the

palm of your hand, and eternity in an hour." Surely these two concepts, these two cultures--the culture of science and the culture of humanity are not separate. They are a part of our total development and we need to have an integrated view which we have inherited from Indian traditions, we have to revive this tradition in our modern education.

We have made tremendous progress towards modern universal elementary education. But we have been limited by government responsibility for this whole sector. When government takes responsibility for something, as crucial as elementary education, there are certain pitfalls. We can set up buildings, we can set up institutions--sometimes we are not even very good at that--but when it comes to actual implementation, social action becomes equally necessary. In the Eighth Plan, we will attempt to bring the outlay back upto six per cent as we have envisaged. But no matter what we do, it will not help if children cannot be kept in schools, if the drop-out rates do not come down, if we can't get girls into schools, if we can't get the disadvantaged and disabilities of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes removed. These must come about with the social movement which must go together in government action. We have to bring the teacher back to the position that the teacher had in the olden times--a position of respect, a position of status. For this, we need a twin action--make education a national endeavour, and use the best technologies that are available to take education out to the remotest and most hard to reach areas of our country. National endeavour must turn into the mass movement. During the last year, we had generated a tremendous enthusiasm with the New Education Policy. It must not end here. It must continue. It must continue with the implementation process, and it must then continue further to see that people come into schools, they take interest in educating the younger generation, our children.

Voluntary agencies must have a special role in this and all sections of the people must be involved in this process. The decision on whether a boy is to go to school or he is to go out and work to earn a living is a decision which is taken in the family. Whether a girl is to get educated or whether she is to stay home to look after the infant or her baby sisters and brothers is a decision that the mother will take. But we have to see that the decision is not such that it mortgages the future of the child for an immediate employment or an immediate convenience or gain. These decisions are made in the home, at the doorstep. It is very difficult for government to reach out that far to influence these decisions. Other agencies, voluntary bodies must be involved in bringing about this awareness. We need a social pressure to reduce drop-outs to build and keep alive that old

'Guru-Shishya Parampara' that existed in our country.

Girls must take advantage of the free education. Teachers must recover the esteem that they have lost. They must come back at the highest social status that they used to have in olden times.

Also required will be new modes of education - non-formal modes; life-long education is also the necessity. Perhaps, India is the only country, which feels that once you have come out from school or college, you do not need to be educated any further. This then leads to that attitude of mediocrity, that I had referred to earlier. We must break this. NCERT should evolve a comprehensive and flexible system to cope with these challenges. A variety of modes and channels which will reach out to every section, use new communication technologies, TV, radio, and other media which is available, to support and enrich the formal and non-formal systems that we are building. But perhaps, most of all, to upgrade the teacher-skills and the quality of our teachers. The most contentious area of our system has been that of textbooks, and perhaps even more so the little guidebooks that are sold independently of those textbooks. I myself have had experience with my children where the interpretations are...well, all I can say is that the person who has done that knows different English to the one that I have learnt. The language, the meanings that are read, are totally alien to the language that they are written in. And we really have to go into this in great depth. At the same time, I must congratulate NCERT on the work that they have done on text books, but we can not leave that as a limited area at which we look at. The area that is endangering the young is much wider than that limited area which NCERT is looking at, and we must somehow bring about quality in those areas, and standardisation. In quality of our textbooks, not just the content is important. The presentation, the design, the layout, the type of print, we have to see that they are neat and tidy and not smudged and untidy because the attitude that the child will develop in his developing years will be what he sees in these books. If the books are of poor quality, shabby, and shoddy, that is the sort of mind which we will produce, and of course it reflects on the minds that have worked on those text-books. A mind that produces a shoddy textbook is an untidy and shoddy mind, and we should not have them at the root of our whole survival process as a nation.

The curious mind of the child must be adapted and engaged and then taught, and inquisitiveness must be inculcated into children. And this can only happen if enough attention is paid to the aids, the teaching aids that are given to children, whether they are textbooks or other aids. And they must be sacrosanct. Errors, quality problems cannot be allowed to come into these areas.

Lastly, perhaps, the most important is the teacher, and the quality of the teacher is the root of the quality of education that he can give. Teacher-training must be the root of developing our education system. You have undertaken a tremendous task in the past year and I must congratulate you for that. But again teacher-training is not something that ends with one shot in the arm. It must be a continuous process, not just every few years. I would recommend that we should have a system which gives every teacher a refresher atleast once a year, bring them upto date with our thinking, with modern development, with the world as it has moved, of course it may take some time to develop such a system but it has to be developed and it must be developed as soon as possible.

The growth in the educational infrastructure has outpaced the growth in the quality of the teacher and the quality of the training that a teacher gets. George Bernard Shaw had said, "Those who can, do, those who can't, teach". Tragically, it is true for many of our teachers. It is not their fault. Their training is perfunctory, and the result is the downward spiral in our whole system. We need the highest priority given to teacher-training to their development for in-service training, for refresher course, for skill upgradation. Only if we are able to do this, will get the teacher back to that position of status, that position of esteem, that we must have if our education system is to develop like we want to develop.

# Education Policy for India\*

K.C. PANT

I WOULD like to express my happiness that Education Ministers of practically all the states and Union territories have responded to my invitation to this Conference. I am looking forward to two days of fruitful discussion with them.

Shri Rajiv Gandhi has instilled a new hope in the country and he symbolises its determination to equip itself for the challenges of the 21st century. He is not content with strategies of mere survival. He has not hesitated to question age-old assumptions, which may have been valid at one time but have lost their relevance to the present day, and even more so for tomorrow. In charting out the country's course for the future, his emphasis is on clearly defined goals and their timely realisation. This approach is reflected in his determination to bring about radical changes in education. In articulating his concern for educational reorganisation, the Prime Minister is expressing his dissatisfaction with the educational system which is shared by the whole country.

At the root of the Prime Minister's concern for education is his realisation that the future of our country depends on the development of its human resource. (As Gunnar Myrdal pointed out in *Asian Drama*, no country can progress without investment in its people.) A question is often asked : how was it possible for countries of Europe and for Japan, which were decimated during the World War II, to rise to become great economic powers in such a short period of time? All authorities ascribe this to the strength of their human resource, discipline and hard work. We have to build that kind of resource in our country to stride towards the next century.

(Education is both an ingredient and an instrument of human resource development. All men and women and, even more so, every child

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\*Text of speech delivered in the Conference of State Education Ministers on August 29, 1985 at New Delhi.

of our country has to be provided facilities for development of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values which promote development. Apart from education, human resource development has to do with physical fitness, nutrition and family planning. But progress on these fronts is again dependent on the spread of education.

Our country is at a crucial and complex juncture. We are living through several centuries at the same time. Some people are living lives of primitive subsistence, and there are vast sections of women who silently suffer lives of drudgery in an unchanging pattern of life which is accepted as tradition. At the other extreme, we also have technologists, scientists and managers who can compete with the best in the world, thousands of young men and women who are working with dedication to improve the lot of the poor in the rural areas and in urban slums, and artists and craftsmen who have received acclaim in all parts of the world.

A reorganisation of the educational system has to take account of this complexity of our present-day situation. We have to have excellence without elitism, a system of reward for merit and hard work without the vast body of the average students being denigrated to dysfunctional and unrewarding institutions, and an environment in which life long learning becomes a cherished goal within the reach of the whole society.

The formulation of a new education policy is a formidable task. The exercises for the policy which was adopted in 1968 started with the establishment of the Education Commission in 1964 under the Chairmanship of Prof. D.S. Kothari. The country today does not have the time to proceed at the pace of the sixties. We feel that sufficient data, researches and reports are available to us for raising the various issues relating to educational reorganisation. Moreover, several exercises regarding educational planning were undertaken in the context of the preparation of the Seventh Plan. A number of scholars and staff members working in research and training institutions attached to the Education Ministry, actively collaborated in the exercises which preceded publication of the "Challenge of Education", the document which is before all of you. This document has been prepared to provoke and facilitate a purposeful debate. It does not give the final views of the government but raises issues as clearly and candidly as possible.

We have tried to take stock of the fact that many of the measures recommended in the National Policy Resolution, 1968, have remained unimplemented. We have gone into the reasons for this. Apart from insufficiency of resources, the main reason was excessive caution, or diffidence in restructuring the educational system. That is why this document draws pointed attention to the constraints to radical

reshaping of the educational system. We have referred to the factors which facilitate or inhibit educational restructuring, to social, political and economic factors, to legal as well as environmental constraints of the total system, of which education is but a sub-system. To rise above these constraints and to overcome them is, perhaps, the most important challenge of education. In addition, in this document we have raised several issues, like widening of access to education, relating education to employment, strengthening the existing institutional structure, increasing the scope of people's participation, continuing effort at development of institutions of excellence, etc.

Challenge of Education has been released for widespread dissemination to invite comments from all sections of people. The process of consultation with state governments has already begun with this Conference. We intend to continue to involve the state governments actively. This document has been translated into Hindi and steps have been initiated to have it translated into the various regional languages. We ourselves, and hopefully the state governments as well, would hold consultations with political parties; mass organisation of workers, women, teachers, youth and students; with non-governmental organisations, including voluntary agencies, organisations of professional and of ex-servicemen; and with educational, cultural, scientific and research institutions. In addition, employers, people in the media and individuals--both parents of children in schools and parents who have not been sending their children to schools--are intended to be consulted. Full use would be made of newspapers, journals, radio and television to extend our reach to as many people as possible. We are hopeful that in the next 2-3 months it would be possible to arrive at a national consensus in respect of the main issues. Before we finalise the document, we would again hold consultations with Education Ministers of the states as well as with other members of the Central Advisory Board of Education. Finally, the Policy document is to be discussed and adopted in Parliament.

The issues raised in this document are directly related to our perception of the kind of society we want to build and the challenges such a society would face in the next century. Basically, our societal goals have been spelt out in the Constitution. We want to move towards a society in which the democratic spirit gives dignity to our institutions and permeates the minds of our people in which religion does not create barriers to harmonious social interaction, and which fosters equality between man and man as well as between men and women. To this may be added the universal values of all times: truth, freedom, universal brotherhood, self-discipline and hardwork. It would, obviously, have to be a literate learning society.



✓ Broadly speaking, the purpose of educational reconstruction embodied in this document can be viewed from five perspectives.

(1) There is, first of all, repeated emphasis on reduction of inequality of educational opportunity. We cannot talk about fair opportunity to all, when a vast majority of our people cannot read or write, and when a majority of the children below 14 years of age drop out of schools before they complete even five years of education. Foremost importance has, therefore, been assigned to widening access to education. This has formidable implications, because it would involve more than one-and-a-half times expansion of education at the primary stage and more than three times expansion at the middle state. The number of illiterate persons in the 15-35 age-group alone is over 10 crore and extension of literacy and functional education to them is not merely an educational task, but is also a political and social responsibility of the whole country. Widening of educational opportunity also presupposes organisation of non-formal education programmes for children, youth and adults. Although exact figures are not available, it is estimated that the number of working children may be nearly 4 crore and the only way to extend elementary education to them is through part-time courses. Another dimension of extension of educational facilities is the use of electronic media on a big scale: television in particular has vast educational potential, which shall have to be harnessed with wisdom and skill. It needs to be underscored in this context that equal opportunity does not mean lowering of standards to the average level. We shall have to provide for institutions of excellence which offer scope for the gifted to move at their special pace.

(2) The second broad parameter in this document relates to an effort to make education relevant to the country's development needs and expectations of the parents. This is intended to be achieved by giving an employment and vocational orientation to the entire education system. Like other big tasks before education, this is also a most difficult objective to strive for. In spite of all the difficulties, there is no alternative to introducing vocational skills in the form of manual work right from the elementary stage and to diversify a substantial number of children to employment-oriented vocational courses either after Class VIII or Class X. In fact, possibilities of vocational courses should be available even after a person completes higher secondary or degree courses. Another possibility mooted in this document in this connection is the delinking of jobs from degrees. The debate on this subject would become much more fruitful when we receive the report of the committee headed by Shri G. Parthasarathy.

(3) The third broad issue which permeates this document is better

utilisation of the existing educational infrastructure and improvement of the quality of education. As is well known, we have nearly 7 lakh educational institutions--from primary school to universities and IITs. The country has invested enormous resources in creating this infrastructure. Due to insufficient attention by the local community, scarcity of resources, and obsolescence of equipment, this infrastructure is not fully functional. On top of this, the teachers, due to poor training, insufficient supervision and lack of motivation, seldom put in their best. Making the existing system work better is itself a herculean challenge. An effort will have to be made to improve the infrastructure to the desired level and to bring about a distinct improvement in teaching-learning arrangements. Reform of the examination system, it is hoped, would greatly contribute to the pedagogic process. One of the issues which has squarely been raised in this document is depoliticalisation of education, particularly of the teachers. This would call for prompt attention to teachers' grievances, creation of an administrative system in which teachers can work with dignity and self-respect, ensuring that unnecessary interference does not take place in educational matters, etc. One of the points raised is whether teachers elected to state legislatures and Parliament should not be required to take long leave or resign from their jobs.

① The fourth point, which also relates to all other issues, is modernisation and strengthening of the content of science and technology in education. The curriculum continues to be dated in spite of the changes that have been made in it from time to time. There is excessive emphasis on the teaching of content and very little on learning, particularly learning to continue to learn. The curriculum and the text-books tend to be packages of information, rather than facilitators for learning about methods of gathering information. For all practical purposes, at the school level, science is taught as a subject in the classroom, rather than through processes and phenomena demonstrated laboratories and the environment. Technology is alien for our students--they seldom have a chance to interact with technological apparatus. Programmes and institutions in technical education also call for large-scale modernisation. A revamping of the educational system will require a search for new techniques of learning, new aids to understanding and refurbishing of the institutions.

② The last thing about the overall framework within which this document has been prepared relates to creation of a national system of education. The important feature of a national system of education is creation of an ethos in which a common Indian identity is reinforced. The reference in this document to a national core curriculum is based on this unquestionable assumption. Such a curriculum en-

visages two elements : firstly, a minimum level of competencies in certain skills, including linguistic ability, computational skills, physical fitness, some manual skills, etc.; and secondly, a core content which is essential for nurturing a national identity--this would include learning about our composite historical and cultural heritage, our inspiring freedom movement and its leaders, issues in contemporary social relationships, population education, etc. Another important aspect of the national system has to be an insistence in the instructional processes on women's equality. An emphasis has also been laid in this document on active participation of the community and to an effort to make educational institutions accountable to the community. In this context, and in view of Education being a Concurrent Subject, we also have to be clear about the role the Central Government should be called upon to play in the strengthening of the national system of education.

Whatever be the text of the New Education Policy, I have no doubt that we shall have to give equal importance to its implementation strategies. It will be our effort to ensure that necessary operationalisation details are also worked out along with preparation of the policy document.

Educational reforms have failed to materialise in the past also because sufficient financial resources did not become available. There is a direct correlation between investment of resources and educational performance--as can be seen in Kerala, on the one hand, and Rajasthan and Bihar, on the other. Countries like Japan, USA and the Soviet Union spend over 6 per cent of their GNP on education. Considering their huge GNP, this amounts to a very high rate of expenditure per learner. The 1968 Policy Resolution had commended investment of 6 per cent of GNP on Education, as against a little less than 3 per cent being invested in 1966. Unfortunately, we are still in the vicinity of 3 per cent. The share of expenditure in Plan resources has gone down from over 7 per cent in the First Plan, and 6.9 per cent in the Third Plan to 2.6 per cent in the Sixth Plan; the indications being that in the Seventh Plan also the share of education would remain at about the same level. In concrete terms, although per capita expenditure on primary school students has shown a slight increase, at the secondary and higher education levels this has actually come down. This is an alarming situation and has got to be remedied. It is obvious that we would not be able to do all we want or even all that is necessary unless funds become available, and efforts in this regard will have to be made by the Central and state governments, local bodies, non-government organisations, and indeed by all people. At this crucial juncture, what will count will be the firmness of our national resolve to bring about radical changes in

the educational system. No other person in the country except the Prime Minister can lead the nation to an educational revolution which may cause far-reaching changes in the social, cultural and economic set-up. The political leadership in the states has also to face the challenges presented before them and guide us in our work. The Prime Minister has already given a call for educational reform; it is for all of us to rise to the occasion and join in this challenge and opportunity.

## New Education Policy

P.V. NARASIMHA RAO

IT GIVES me great pleasure to say a few words in introduction of the document on the New Education Policy. My task has been made easier by the illuminating remarks of the Prime Minister, who has placed the exercises for the formulation of a New Policy for Education in an overall perspective of society, the scenario of the future.

In many ways, for everyone concerned with education, this is a momentous occasion. This is one of the few occasions when the National Development Council--the highest body for interaction between the Centre and the states on issues of economic and social planning--is meeting, not to consider the plan as a whole, but to discuss one specific aspect of development. This is an indication of the perception of the Prime Minister, and of others at the helm of affairs in various parts of the country, about the centrality of education in determining the quality of life, the values and capabilities of our people and in shaping the future to which the nation committed itself while formulating the Constitution of India.

While the assurance of the Prime Minister that educational development will not be allowed to be circumscribed by paucity of resources is a matter of great satisfaction, it also makes me acutely conscious of the responsibility cast upon us in the Ministry of Human Resource Development here and our colleagues in the states to meet the challenge of transforming the present system of education into a dynamic process geared to the development of physical, intellectual, moral and aesthetic potentials of individuals and the physical, material and socio-cultural requirements of a society in the throes of a continuing-technological revolution. One could hardly imagine a more tangled web of objectives, obstacles opportunities and objective conditions.

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\*Text of speech delivered in the meeting of the National Development Council on April 29, 1986 at New Delhi.

There has been an unprecedented debate during the last several months on education policy. We had made systematic effort to associate the state governments with the thinking which went behind the effort to formulate the New Education Policy. Practically, all state governments organised seminars and meetings at state, divisional and district levels, some even at the block levels. Apart from officials and educationists, political leaders, people's representatives, trade unionists and representatives of Parents and Teachers' Associations were associated in these seminars. Issues pertaining to vocational education, examination reforms and resource mobilisation were discussed in sub-committees comprising some state education ministers and others concerned with these matters.

We organised special conferences of Members of the Legislative Councils representing the teachers and graduates' constituencies and another one of the Heads of Panchayati Raj institutions. The all-India organisations of teachers, at the university and primary levels, organised conferences in the states and at the national level. We associated their leaders in the meetings held to crystallise the various issues. Several meetings were also organised with senior officials of the ministry and the representatives of the national organisations of students. In addition to these direct consultations, we received several thousands of letters and memoranda--some of them were veritable books--from various organisations and individuals. All these were sent to the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, which abstracted and classified them. They brought out 14 volumes containing summaries of these responses. In other words, the call given by Rajivji immediately after assuming the office of Prime Minister for a New Educational Policy has now become a nationwide popular demand and we are responding to it through the document which is before us.

What we have placed before you is the presentation on the New Education Policy. It contains what, in substance, we would like to see included in the education policy. However, the final draft of the policy would be prepared after taking into consideration the conclusions of this Council as well as the advice tendered by the Central Advisory Board on Education. The policy will be finalised after it has been considered in both the Houses of Parliament in the next few days.

The Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) has recently been reconstituted and its functions enlarged to include periodic review of the education policy. In the CABE meeting during the last two days, the Ministers of Education, educationists and experts from various disciplines discussed in detail the various aspects of the education policy. The broad approach adopted in this document was

endorsed by most of the speakers. The need of universalisation of primary education, eradication of illiteracy, reduction of disparities, reform of the examination system, substantial improvements in higher and technical education were commended by the Board. It would have been surprising if there was a complete unanimity among all the members on all issues.

What was emphasised by the members of CABE was the need for a radical restructuring of the education system, for adequate allocation of resources and measures for effective implementation.

I have no doubt that the postulates presented in this document will be considered with the sense of history which it warrants. For what we decide now will determine the future of the coming generations. What education should be and what kind of individual and society it should strive to fashion is really and truly a national concern. We must derive our mandate from our perception of the destiny of the country and determine as to what is to be done from such a perspective. In fact, to do our duty to the nation, in laying down policy objectives, we have to view everything with an objectivity commensurate with the sanctity of the task before us.

Education and learning have been valued in our country since the dawn of civilisation. The ancient tradition has been enriched over the centuries by interaction with different people and different civilisations. At the time, when the British colonial power established hegemony over this country, we had a vibrant system of education. The British did their best to upset and uproot the traditional system and to impose upon the people the western modes and models. The task before us is to learn from what is worthwhile in our tradition, imbibe the values and culture of new sciences and technologies and to have a new harmonisation which would be uniquely Indian. In his inaugural Azad Memorial Lecture, late Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had said:

We must look to the future and work for it purposively and with faith and vigour, at the same time we must keep our past inheritance and derive sustenance from it. Change is essential, but continuity is also necessary. The future has to be built on the foundations laid in the past and the present. To deny the past and break with it completely is to uproot ourselves and, sapless, dry up. We are plunging into the world of science and technology and trying to organise our knowledge in such a way that commands more of the forces of Nature, and we are held back not only by our poverty and under-development, but also by some inherited ideas and customs. There is no future for us without science and technology. At the same time that future will be shallow and empty

and without any real meaning, if we ignore or forget our past.

This statement of Jawaharlalji more or less sums up what we have had in mind in the formulation of this policy.

The concept of a learning society has received particular attention in the 'presentation' before you, because the pace of progress of our nation will depend upon our creating the motivation and also the opportunity for everyone to continue to grow throughout life. Unless such an environment is created, through formal and non-formal education, we will never succeed in universalising elementary education, eliminating illiteracy and counteracting parochialism and superstition and establishing a cohesive and development-oriented society. This would obviously need a National Curricular Framework with a 'core' to look after the qualitative and integrative aspect of education, along with a sizable component of state and local input and initiative. What is important is that a sense of belonging permeates at all levels, in ever-widening concentric circles of consciousness and motivation, each merging in the next, with no occasion to conflict or contradict. I would like to state, with all the emphasis at my command, that the National Curricular Framework is not intended to be uniform or inflexible. What we are proposing is a system in which common national values are imbibed by all learners, with ample scope for variations depending on the regional and local cultural milieu, requirements of the environment and the needs of the learners.

The presentation stresses the need for giving a holistic direction to education. I realise that this is easier said than done. To give practical shape to this concept, the contents as well as the process of education will have to be reoriented and reorganised. This cannot be done in a day. For this, the design of teacher education will have to be restructured and the teachers already in service will be reoriented to learn about the new approach to the teaching-learning process.

You must have noticed that we have stated in unmistakable terms that the objectives of the new policy will not gather any momentum if a sense of seriousness is not introduced straightaway in the ongoing processes of education. We are determined to see that all those involved in education will develop a new work ethos and a new culture of intellectual rigour.

I do not wish to take your time in describing all the features of the presentation. It would suffice to say that we have attempted to lay unqualified stress on universalisation of elementary education and on eradication of illiteracy and to provide a framework of higher and technical education which would enable the country to assimilate



and develop the emerging technologies and prepare appropriate manpower for quickening the pace and dispersing the benefits of those technologies.

For quite some time, education has either been taken for granted or treated with indifference. Worst of all, it has received an excessive measure of cynicism until the Prime Minister gave it a shake up. Even then, implementing agencies are not yet fully galvanised, psychologically and organisationally. They are in the process though, they are inclined to believe their eyes and ears more than ever before. It is our intention to press ahead with the new climate of hope and determination and to utilise the new policy as a spring-board for action. We propose to present very soon a detailed document on the strategy of implementation which will, inter alia, spell out as to who will do what and lay down not only a clear-cut order of priorities but also the sequential framework for implementation. We realise that policy implementation will present far greater challenges than policy formulation. Actually, as an earnest of our commitment to policy implementation, we have already taken preparatory action to initiate a massive programme for training five lakh teachers, launch a mass programme of adult education and initiate the preparation of syllabi and teaching materials for the core of the National Curricular Framework.

As far as resources are concerned, I am confident that we will not lack these as long as we can come up with viable and demonstrably effective schemes and a credible plan of action for their implementation. I feel that we have experienced scarcity of resources not only because of overall constraints but also because the essential relation between education and national well-being was not clearly and constantly visible and palpable. We will have to re-establish this relation which would make for greater credibility of the system. Then, I am confident, the nation will happily invest in the one activity which has an all-pervasive impact on all aspects of national life.

# Strategy for Change

KIREET JOSHI

THE POSSIBILITY of an acceleration of man's quest of himself and of the universe is the first premise of education. What is man? What is the nature of the universe? And what is the secret formula of the equation of man with the universe? These are the central questions that education fosters, and it carries forward the accumulated answers from age to age. But how can they be fostered and by what means can the answers be carried forward at the highest possible speed? These constitute the very heart of the problem of the educational process.

The task of the contemporary educationist is rendered particularly difficult by the extraordinary conditions of his times. It has been argued that one of the urgent needs of our education is to appreciate the significance of certain combinations of tendencies and circumstances that are developing in the world today, and to allow them to determine the necessary changes in the objectives and contents of education.

There are three important tendencies and combinations which we need to take into account. First, there is unprecedented explosion of information. Secondly, there is a great quest all over the world for the synthesis of knowledge and culture. And, thirdly, there is an evolutionary crisis, which demands a thorough revolution of education in which the aim would be to cultivate, sharpen and transform the faculties and powers of personality leading towards an unprecedented perfection that would enhance man's capacity to collaborate consciously with the upward march of evolution.

There are also powerful trends of revolutionary methods of education. These trends attack severely the main pillars of our ordinary educational methodology. They urge recognition of individual differentiation, necessitating variation in psychological treatment, presentation of materials of study and criteria of judgement of performance.

New trends are packed with force and power. They need to be

assimilated so that our educational system can change in the right direction. However, the burden of the past hangs heavily upon our schools, colleges and universities, and our educational system opposes strongly the pressure of the new trends. At the same time, judging from the recent development in the country which has led to the formulation of a new policy of education, we can affirm that there is a deep yearning to discover or to invent the key to the needed change. It is realised more and more decisively that the children and youth of India have to be prepared to face the challenges of the coming decades. It is also noteworthy that in the enlightened quarters of this country, it is increasingly acknowledged that if we are to fulfil our educational responsibilities, the whole of India should be recreated as a new school, with a new environment and a new force of inspiration.

This realisation seems to be present, consciously or unconsciously, in the entire thrust and drift of the new educational policy. There are four assumptions of the policy which are explicitly stated. The policy declares that in our national perception, education is essentially for all, and that this is fundamental to our all-round development, material and spiritual. Secondly, the policy recognises the need of a national system of education. Thirdly, it acknowledges child centred approach. And fourthly, it declares the need for innovations in all aspects of education.

If we examine the policy closely, we find that it adopts a delicate balance of change and continuity. Its purpose is not to destroy but to construct; it does not propose any negative dislocation. What is proposed is, first, strengthening the infrastructures, next, re-orientation, and third, radical departures from the old. The Operation Blackboard underlines the programme of strengthening the lowest base of our educational system. Similar proposals of strengthening the infrastructures are to be found in relation to secondary and tertiary education. The examples are to be found in the proposals of the core curriculum, education for equity, pre-primary education, vocationalisation, integration of education and culture, and value education. Examples of radical departure are to be found in the concept and programme of non-formal education, distance learning, delinking degrees from jobs, management of education, and examination reform.

Happily, the declaration of the policy has been followed by the presentation of Programme of Action. This is not the place to go into the details of the programmes which have been spelt out. But it is evident that the Programme is well-conceived and ably presented. There are, however, three questions which we can raise in order to understand the main thrust of the strategy for change. The first

question is related to the objective that the policy states before us. The quintessence of this objective can be stated in three phrases: all-round development of personality, skill-orientation and value orientation, and looking ahead towards the future. The second question is related to the main lever by means of which the educational system can be lifted from its present condition of inertia and resistance. Here, the answer is that a fundamental change in examination system would produce a chain of reactions which would impel changes in the contents of education, methods of education, and in the attitudes of teachers and students towards their respective tasks. The third question is related to the management of the change. And here the answer is that an emphasis is laid on micro-planning, long-term planning, decentralisation and insistence on the principle of accountability in relation to objectives and norms. The Central Advisory Board of Education has been given a new role; Indian Education Service has been proposed; District Boards of Education and local level agencies have been emphasised; and non-governmental and voluntary effort has been stressed.

In brief, the strategy of change has been clearly spelt out, and what is needed is persistent resolve to carry out the **Programme of Action**. It is heartening that the national policy inspires happy optimism. As it declares, "The future shape of education in India is too complex to envision with precision. Yet, given our tradition which has almost always put a high premium on intellectual and spiritual attainment, we are bound to succeed in achieving our objectives."

## Selected Issues for Implementing New Education Policy

BRAHM PRAKASH AND YASH AGGARWAL

INDIA INHERITED a pattern of education which was an integral part of colonial system.<sup>1</sup> It was characterised by low levels of development and persistence of disparities in its social as well as economic structure. Soon after Independence, the country was, therefore, faced with the challenge of transforming the received socio-economic structure in such a manner that it may serve as a basis for self-reliant development of the country. Growth with social justice was adopted as the basis for development planning in India. It did not take long for the policy planners to recognise the bi-directional linkages between education and development. Education was viewed as a crucial input into various sectors of the economy. It was in this context that soon after the attainment of Independence, the task of restructuring the educational system was initiated.)

(The existing system of education was not only quantitatively small but was also qualitatively inadequate and dysfunctional.<sup>2</sup> It was not possible to meet the growing needs of educated manpower without restructuring education. Bringing about reforms in this sector was, therefore, considered, to be the first priority. Many different education commissions/expert groups were set up. The need for a literate population and universal education for all children in the age-group 6-14 years was also recognised as a crucial input for nation building and has been given due consideration right from the inception of planned development in the country.

However, the efforts to reorient the educational system to fulfil the aspirations of masses for education as well as to meet the growing demand for the educated manpower in the labour market were found to be less than satisfactory. The experience gained during the first decade of planned development necessitated some major reforms in the education sector as a whole. Consequently, the Education Commission was set up in 1964 to advise the government. The recommendations of the Education Commission formed the basis for formulating a National Policy on Education which was formally adopted by Parliament in 1968.

The programmes of educational development pursued subsequently ———ing the various Five-Year Plans were geared to fulfil the various objectives of the 1968 policy.

As a result, there has been a manifold increase in the spatial spread as well as the coverage of different social groups. Many steps have also been taken to improve the quality of education. Examination reforms and restructuring of curriculum at different levels of education have been attempted. In spite of many problems that our education system is facing India has now a sizable pool of scientific and technical manpower in the world.

During the Sixth Five-Year Plan period, it was realised that many goals of the 1968 policy have remained unachieved. The system of education was not responding adequately to the rapid changes that were taking place in the field of technology and organisation of economic activities. In the case of educational sector, the intra- and inter-regional disparities between different social groups have also continued to persist. In view of this, neither a mere continuation of the old programmes nor a minor tinkering with the system here and there would change its monolithic character. It is in this background that a critical appraisal of the system was made in a status paper entitled "Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective" before formulating the new policy.<sup>3</sup> This document formed the basis of a nationwide debate which culminated in the formulation of the National Policy on Education (NPE, 1986). It has now been duly approved by Parliament.<sup>4</sup> As a follow up, as a Plan of Action based on the recommendations of 23 Task Forces especially appointed for this purpose has been drawn.<sup>5</sup> The implementation of the new education policy is now being accorded the highest priority.

This article seeks to focus on some of the selected issues which are considered critical for the implementation of the NPE.<sup>6</sup>

## EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT SINCE INDEPENDENCE

In this section, we discuss some empirical aspects of the educational system in the country. To begin with, a brief description of the growth of educational institutions, enrolments, teachers and expenditure has been undertaken. Keeping in view the need for brevity of description, we have used decadal and/or quinquennial data for analysis. The period under analysis has been from the beginning of the plan period in India, i.e., 1950-51 to the on-going Seventh Five-Year Plan (1985-90).

### Institutions

During the period 1950 to 1983, there has been a 2.5 fold increase

in the number of educational institutions in the country. However, the different types of institutes have been growing at different rates. More importantly, the rates of growth of institutions have been varying during the different periods. The data about educational institutions are provided in Table 1 and the following general observation can be made about them:

- (i) The growth rates of institutions of different types during the period 1950-83 are: primary schools (2.7%); middle schools (7.0%); secondary schools (6.6%) and undergraduate and graduate colleges (6.3%). However, the comparison among the growth rates needs to be undertaken while keeping in view the varying size of their base values (see Table 1).
- (ii) All types of educational institutions registered rapid increase in the first decade of development (1950-60), but their growth rate declined during the subsequent decades. The only exception to this being the growth of colleges which, due to lag effect, actually registered more increase during the second decade (1960-70) before registering the decline similar to the one elsewhere.
- (iii) The decadal deceleration in the rate of growth of educational institutions was quite comparable among primary schools, secondary schools and colleges but it was more steep in the case of middle schools. This could partly be on account of more middle schools being opened as a part of secondary schools. The data presented here does not take care of this aspect.
- (iv) For the fourth decade, the data is available only for first three years and it indicates the growth rate of different types of educational institutions as: primary schools (1.6%); middle schools (2.7%); secondary schools (4.7%); and colleges (3.1%). Except for primary schools, all other types of educational institutions have registered higher growth rates in the early years of the eighties than in the immediate previous decade.

In addition to the above, there are other educational institutions like colleges for professional education and universities which have also registered, during 1950-83, increases of 5.1 and 4.5 per cent per annum respectively.

#### **Enrolments**

The data on level-wise enrolment have been given in Table 2. It is interesting to observe that like educational institutions, a

Table 1 GROWTH OF RECOGNISED EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS  
SINCE 1951

Institutions	Years				
	1950-51	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81	1983-84
1. Primary	209671	330399	408378	485538	509143
2. Middle	13596	49663	90621	116447	126345
3. High/Hr. Secondary	7288	17257	36738	51594	59266
4. College for General Education (Degree and Post-graduate standard)	498	1043	2598	3425	3757
5. Colleges for Professional Education*	155	696	2398	727 <sup>†</sup>	813 <sup>†</sup>
6. Universities	27	45	82	110	117

\*Includes Engineering, Technology, Architecture, Medicine, Agriculture and Forestry, Veterinary Science and Teacher Training Institutes.

<sup>†</sup>Includes only Engineering, Technology, Medicine and Teacher Training.

SOURCE: Ministry of Education & Culture, A Handbook of Educational and Allied Statistics, 1980.

Ministry of Education, A Handbook of Educational and Allied Statistics, 1983.

Ministry of Education, Selected Educational Statistics, 1980-81.

Ministry of Education, Selected Educational Statistics, 1983-84.



Table 2 SEX-WISE ENROLMENT BY STAGES/CLASSES SINCE 1951

Institutions	1951						1961						1971						1981-82						1984					
	M			F			M			F			M			F			M			F			M			F		
	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M
1. Primary	138	54	192	236	114	350	357	213	570	446	281	727	493	318	811	133	66	199	165	85	250	104	44	148						
2. Middle	26	5	31	51	16	67	94	39	133																					
3. Higher/Hr.																														
Secondary	11	2	13	23	5	33	49	17	66																					
4. Colleges for General Education (Graduate and Post-graduate)	+	+	1	3	+	3	10	4	14	16	6	22	18	8	26															
5. Colleges for Professional Education*	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	+	2	2	+	2 <sup>#</sup>	2	+	2 <sup>#</sup>															

+ Less than a lakh.

\* Includes engineering, technology, architecture, medicine, agriculture, veterinary science and teacher training institutes.

# Includes engineering, technology, architecture, teacher training and medicine only.

SOURCE: Ministry of Education, Selected Educational Statistics, 1980.

Ministry of Education, A Handbook of Educational and Allied Statistics 1981-82.

Ministry of Education, Selected Educational Statistics, 1983-84.

significant increase has also been observed in enrolment patterns during 1951-84 period. The following observations can be made from the data:

- (i) The overall growth rate of enrolment varied from 4.5 per cent per annum in the case of primary level to 6.5 per cent in the middle, 7.6 per cent in the secondary and 10.4 per cent at the higher education level.
- (ii) The decadal enrolment growth rates have declined everywhere after the initial spurt in the first decade. The exception to this being the enrolment in the secondary and higher education levels which, due to lag effect, peaked during the 1961-71 period before registering a decline.
- (iii) In terms of decadal variation, the maximum deceleration took place at the two extreme levels of education, i.e., primary and higher education.
- (iv) The rates of growth for the fourth decade present an interesting picture. The data for the first three years indicate that enrolments at all levels have registered an improvement over the previous decade. However, the maximum increase has been registered at the secondary level followed by enrolment at the middle level.

However, for a better understanding of the enrolment pattern, disaggregated data and sex-wise enrolment needs to be examined and these are provided in Table 2. The following additional observation can be made on this basis

The pattern of enrolment vis-a-vis girl students remain similar except for the fact that, at almost all the levels, the growth rate of girls' enrolment is higher than that of the boys. However, keeping in view the fact that the absolute magnitude of girls' enrolment case is small, it does not add up to large increments in absolute terms. Actually, as we will see later, the gender gap in enrolment at elementary level has been increasing. It needs to be noted that enrolments have been looking up during the eighties as compared to its performance in the seventies.

Probably a word could be added here about the performance of statutorily defined weaker sections of society, i.e., scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. They initially began with severe handicap, but the spread of education has been taking place quite rapidly. The data have been provided in Table 3 for elementary stage of education (i.e., primary plus middle). It is not difficult to conclude that the gap in terms of coverage of these groups with respect to others is still very wide and unless more effective programmes are

launched, the gap may continue to persist in the near future. This is particularly true for scheduled tribe population in general and for woman candidates at large.

Table 3 SEX-WISE ENROLMENT OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND  
SCHEDULED TRIBE SINCE 1971

Particulars	(in lakhs)		
	Years		
	1970-71	1980-81	1983-84
<b>Scheduled Castes</b>			
Male	56	88	103
Female	23	44	55
Total	79	132	158
<b>Scheduled Tribes</b>			
Male	22	37	45
Female	9	17	23
Total	31	54	68
Grand Total	110	186	226

SOURCE: Ministry of Education, Trends of Educational Development of SCs and STs in India.

Ministry of Education, Education and Allied Statistics, 1980-81.

Ministry of Education, Selected Educational Statistics, 1983-84.

#### Teachers

In terms of the magnitudes of teachers, substantial progress has been registered during the period under review (1950-84) and the data are presented in Table 4. The increase in the number of teachers has taken place across all levels of education. In the primary sector itself, their number grew from about 5.4 lakh to about 14.2 lakh (a

growth of 3.0 per cent per annum). However, since the beginning of the eighties there is a slowing down of the growth (1.3 per cent). It may be recalled that this is in spite of the fact that enrolments have been picking up during the period.

Table 4 DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS BY TYPE OF SCHOOLS SINCE 1951

(000s)

Institutions	Years				
	1950-51	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81	1983-84
<b>Primary</b>					
Total	538	742	1060	1363	1415
Male	456	615	835	1020	1047
Female	82	127	225	343	368
<b>Middle</b>					
Total	86	345	638	831	879
Male	73	262	463	570	603
Female	13	83	175	261	276
<b>High/Hr. Secondary</b>					
Total	127	296	629	901	1032
Male	107	234	474	650	726
Female	20	62	155	251	206

SOURCE: Ministry of Education, A Handbook of Educational and Allied Statistics, 1983.

Ministry of Education, Selected Educational Statistics, 1983-84.

During the period 1950-83, the teachers at the middle level have increased by more than 10 times. Their number in 1983-84 was 8.8 lakh. Notwithstanding this ten fold increase, deceleration in their growth is also visible during 1980-84 period (1.9 per cent as com

pared to overall growth rate of 7.3 per cent). The secondary school teachers also registered an increase of 6.6 per cent for the entire duration. Even though their growth rate in the eighties, i.e., 4.6 per cent, was less than the average for the entire duration, it was nevertheless better than their growth in the seventies (3.7 per cent).

To some extent, the lower growth rates of teachers for primary and middle level can be attributed to their large absolute base values. But when one recalls that the enrolments in these levels have been picking up since the eighties and that pupil-teacher ratio are already high, the slower growth in number of teachers needs to be examined. If one recalls that the growth in the secondary teachers is modest as compared to the increase in enrolments at that level, the need for an indepth analysis is evident.

### Expenditure

The data on expenditure on education have been presented in Table 5. It indicates that the amount of expenditure on education has been gradually rising with the expansion of education. It rose from Rs. 114 crore in 1950-51 to Rs. 3500 crore in 1979-80 and was more than Rs. 6000 crore in the year 1984-85. However, as a proportion of GNP, it has increased from a mere 1.2 per cent to about 4 per cent.

It has been observed that the increase in educational expenditure is uneven for different levels of education and across different states of the country. The uneven incidence of growth in expenditure is also visible from the fact that both per capita and per pupil expenditure have increased differently during the period under review. Some states spend only 13 per cent of their budget on education whereas some others spend up to 45 per cent on education.<sup>7</sup>

Plan-wise allocations to education have been provided in Table 6. It is clear that with every successive Five Year Plan, the plan expenditure has registered an increase. It increased from Rs. 153 crore in the First Plan to Rs. 6383 crore in the Seventh Plan. Within Plans, the allocations to different levels of education have also been undergoing changes. Elementary education was allocated 56 per cent of the total allocation in the First Plan. Its share has been subsequently fluctuating around one-third of the total allocation. Similarly, technical education, which has been generally receiving 12-13 per cent in most of the Plans, received higher allocation in the Second Plan, Third Plan, and the Plan holiday period.<sup>8</sup>

Another important aspect to be noted is that the overall allocation to education in the different plans have been declining from 7.86 per cent in the First Plan to all-time low in the Sixth Plan (2.59 per cent). Similarly, plan allocations, as a proportion of

Table 5 EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN INDIA

Year	Total (Rs. in crores)	Proportion of GNP (%)	Per Capita (Rs.)	Per Pupil (Rs.)
1950-51	114	1.2	3.2	35.6
1951-52	125	1.3	3.4	38.3
1952-53	138	1.5	3.8	40.3
1953-54	148	1.5	3.9	40.9
1954-55	165	1.8	4.3	41.8
1955-56	190	2.0	4.8	42.7
1956-57	206	1.8	5.1	44.3
1957-58	241	2.1	5.9	48.0
1958-59	266	2.1	6.4	49.1
1959-60	300	2.3	7.0	51.1
1960-61	344	2.5	7.9	53.7
1961-62	396	2.7	8.9	54.1
1962-63	442	2.8	9.7	57.3
1963-64	484	2.7	10.4	60.0
1964-65	535	2.5	11.3	62.6
1965-66	622	2.8	12.8	70.0
1966-67	698	2.8	14.1	99.6
1967-68	811	2.7	15.7	111.7
1968-69	898	3.0	17.3	120.2
1969-70	1010	3.0	19.1	132.0
1970-71	1118	3.1	20.7	141.7
1971-72	1285	3.3	23.2	157.9
1972-73	1373	3.2	24.3	159.8
1973-74	1450	2.7	25.0	-
1974-75	1807	2.9	30.5	200.6
1975-76	2105	3.2	34.7	230.1
1976-77	2304	3.2	37.9	231.1
1977-78	2719	3.4	42.9	284.4
1978-79	2960	3.4	45.7	292.5
1979-80	3500	3.9	52.8	337.5

SOURCE: Ministry of Education, Education and Allied Statistics  
1983.

Table 6 INTRA-SECTORAL RESOURCE ALLOCATION IN EDUCATION  
IN INDIA IN THE FIVE-YEAR PLANS

(Rs. in millions)

Educational level	Expenditure					Outlay		
	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan	Plan Holiday	Fourth Plan	Fifth Plan	Sixth Plan	Seventh Plan <sup>†</sup>
Elementary*	85 (56)	95 (35)	201 (34)	75 (24)	239 (30)	317 (35)	906 (36)	1830 (29)
Secondary	20 (13)	51 (19)	103 (18)	53 (16)	140 (18)	156 (17)	398 (16)	#
University	14 (9)	48 (18)	87 (15)	77 (24)	195 (25)	205 (22)	486 (19)	#
Other General**	14 (9)	30 (10)	73 (12)	37 (11)	106 (14)	127 (14)	457 (18)	#
Total General	133 (87)	224 (82)	464 (79)	241 (75)	680 (87)	805 (88)	2247 (89)	#
Technical	20 (13)	49 (18)	125 (21)	81 (25)	106 (13)	107 (12)	278 (11)	682 (11)
Grand Total	153 (100)	273 (100)	589 (100)	322 (100)	786 (100)	912 (100)	2524 (100)	6383 (100)
% to total plan outlay	7.86	5.83	6.87	4.86	5.04	3.27	2.59	3.55

\*Includes pre-school education.

\*\*Includes teacher education, social education (youth services), cultural programmes, etc.

†Draft.

#Break-up is not available.

SOURCE: A Handbook of Education and Allied Statistics and Draft Seventh Five Year Plan.

total educational expenditure, have been gradually declining as non-plan expenditure has been accumulating. To some extent, this declining proportion reflects on the limited ability of Plan expenditure to alter the received state of educational development.

#### SOME ISSUES IN EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

Having provided some idea about the growth of educational system in the preceding section, we shall now analyse the enrolment patterns in terms of its temporal and spatial context on the one hand, and relationship with to some socio-economic indicators on the other. Such an analysis assumes relevance because of unequal outreach of educational infrastructure (hence its utilisation) across space. An attempt has been made to highlight some of those issues which are critical for educational planning.

##### Low Levels of Enrolments

Universalisation of Elementary Education (UEE) has been accorded highest priority as it is one of the essential requisites of human resource development. The achievement of this objective should result not only in the coverage of all children up to the age of 14 years but also their retention. However, the available evidence indicates that universal coverage of children even up to the age of 11 years (primary level of education) has not taken place. The problems of universalising education at middle level becomes even more complex as most of the students do not even complete primary stage. The relative growth of enrolments for different sectors of school education is shown in Fig. 1. With a view to highlighting the problem of inadequate coverage, especially at primary level, the corresponding profile of population in 6-11 year age-group has also been presented. The following observations may be made about the behaviour of enrolments:

- (i) In spite of the fact that the enrolments at the primary level have been showing an increasing trend, the absolute number of uncovered children in the relevant age-group is not declining. During the sixties, the absolute gap between the age specific population (6-11 years) and the enrolments at primary level was narrowing down (Fig. 1). However, during the seventies the position changed and the gap has continued to persist. In fact, the actual addition to backlog would be much more as the enrolments referred to here are gross and not net enrolment. Coupled with our earlier observations about the slowing down of growth rate of enrolments, it



appears that in terms of the outreach of education, we have reached a critical stage.

- (ii) In the case of middle education, a comparison with primary enrolments would be more meaningful. The analysis of enrolment data reveals that the proportion of children transiting from primary to middle level has been increasing. This inter-stage transition was 16.28 per cent in 1950-51; 19.15 per cent in 1960-61; 23.34 per cent in 1970-71 and 28.83 per cent in 1982-83. However, in spite of the increasing value of inter-stage transition ratio, the absolute number of drop-outs, or those not continuing in the system, is much larger as compared to those joining middle level. Consequently, the current backlog continues to increase. This is clearly indicated by the divergence between primary and middle enrolment trends in Fig. 1.

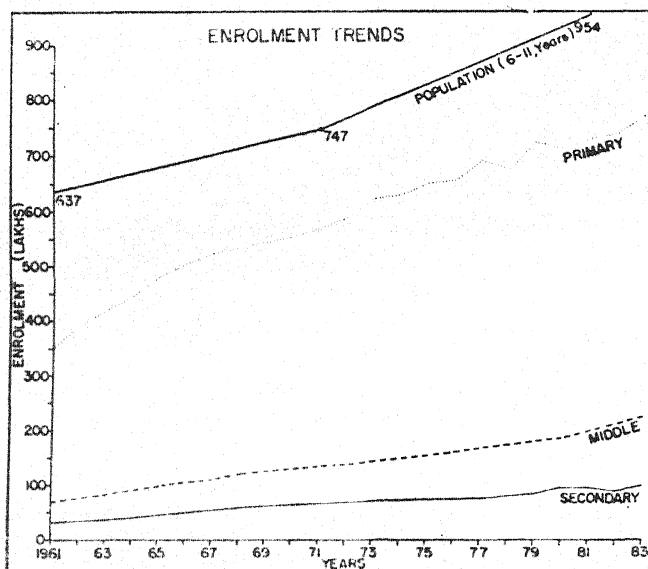


FIG. 1

The challenge before the programme implementing agencies would be to reverse this trend so that convergence takes place at the earliest. The problem becomes more serious if one looks at position of enrolment of boys and girls separately.

### Gender Gap

The nature of divergent trends in enrolment behaviour described above is also true for the sex-wise enrolments for all sectors of the school education. It is observed that the share of girls has been increasing over time. In the case of primary education, it has increased from 28.11 per cent in 1950-51 to 38.63 per cent in 1982-83. As has been mentioned earlier, this proportion has been increasing at a faster rate during the earlier phases of educational development as compared to the recent years. In fact, for the last ten years, the proportion of girls has been fluctuating around 38 to 39 per cent. The stagnation of this proportion suggests the constraints from which further promotion of girls education is suffering. In view of this, the absolute number of girls not attending the school has been increasing. The growing gender gap in enrolment is clearly demonstrated in Fig. 2. The position with respect to other levels of education is not much different. In the case of middle education, the proportion of girls to total enrolment has increased from 17.11 per cent in 1950-51 to 33.87 per cent in 1982-83. As long as this ratio does not increase to about 50 per cent, the disparities in access to education due to sex differences would continue to persist.

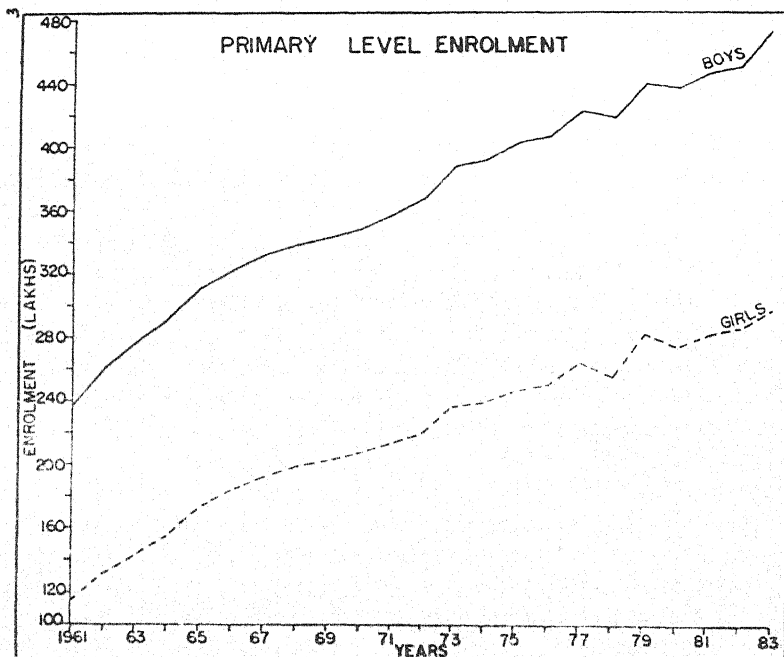


FIG. 2

### Inter-state Disparities

At this stage of analysis, it may be of some interest to examine the regional variations in the development of education. The inter-state variations in educational development are quite large. While in some states adequate coverage has taken place for primary education, there are a number of states where the coverage of primary education is less than adequate. A comparative picture of educational development of different states with respect to primary and middle education has been portrayed in Fig. 3. Enrolment per lakh of population for the year 1982-83 has been used as the basis of comparison in the exercise. The comparative analysis of different states has been done with respect to the all-India average. With all-India average as a bench-mark, the four quadrangles represent different typologies of states. Though the relative location of each point within a quadrangle can also be analysed to identify clusters of states having similar pattern of educational development, in the following discussion, such differences have not been highlighted. We have largely confined the presentation to inter-quadrangle differences.

- (i) Those states which have adequately developed system of elementary education fall in the first quadrangle and represent more than average (all-India) coverage both for primary as well as middle education. The states of Kerala, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Manipur, Gujarat and Tripura fall in this category. It is interesting to observe that out of 22 states in the Indian Union, only 8 are in this group. It may be observed from Fig. 3 that in the case of Kerala, the coverage for the middle education is the highest followed by Himachal Pradesh.
- (ii) The second group consists of those states where the outreach of primary education has been more than the all-India average, but the middle education has been lagging behind. These states depicted in the fourth quadrangle of Fig. 3 are Sikkim, Meghalaya, Nagaland and West Bengal. Out of these four states, Nagaland and Sikkim are very close to the national average for the middle education. This leaves West Bengal and Meghalaya as the two states where immediate efforts towards the expansion of middle level of education need to be directed.
- (iii) The third group consists of those states where the middle level education has expanded at a faster rate as compared to the primary level of education. The existence of this type of situation presents a pattern of an unbalanced educational

# PRIMARY AND MIDDLE EDUCATION - 1982 ENROLMENT PER LAKH OF POPULATION

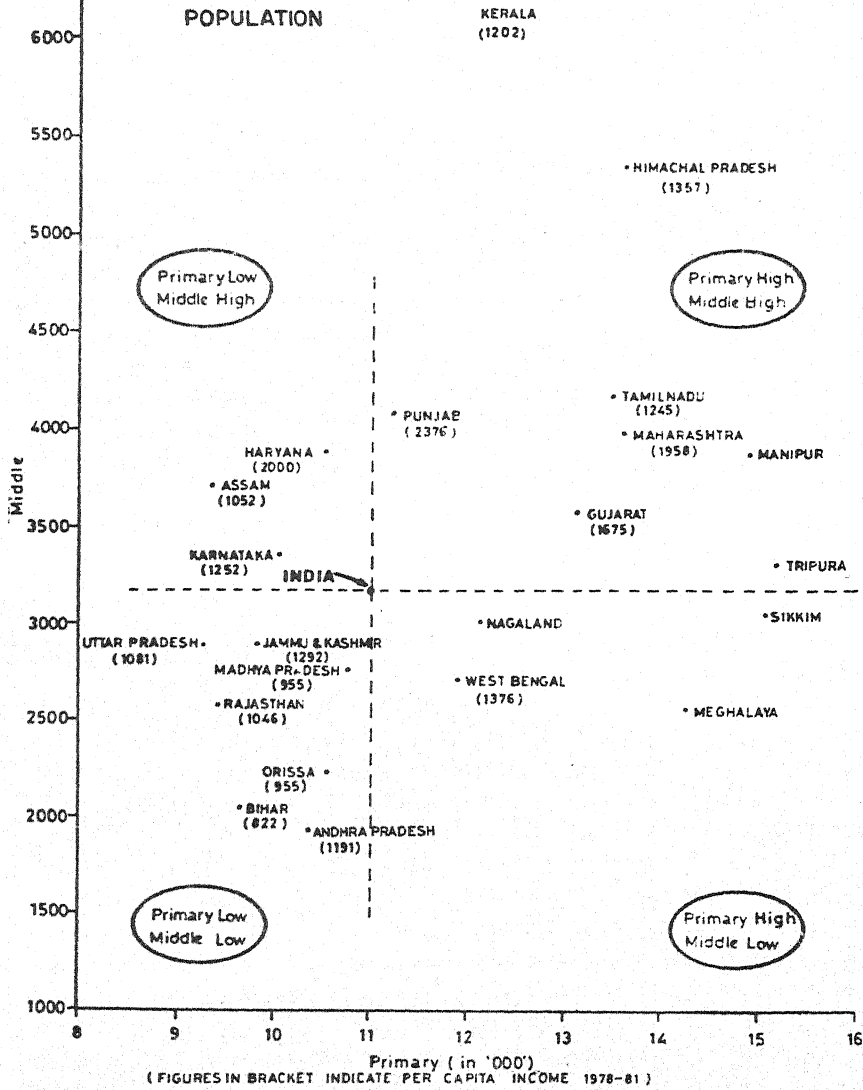


FIG. 3

development. The three states which fall in this group are Haryana, Assam and Karnataka. It is quite difficult to explain this type of behaviour except to conjecture about the possible reasons. In the case of Haryana, it is worth noting that with the spread of green revolution, especially during the late seventies, the income levels have risen rapidly and now it ranks among the high per capita income states of India. Further investigations would be necessary before any firm conclusions can be drawn.

- (iv) The fourth group represents those states in which the levels of educational development are low both for the primary as well as the middle levels. The states of Uttar Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh fall in this category. It may be noted that all these states are also known as educationally backward states (EBS). It may be recalled that during the seventies nine states were identified as educationally backward. This exercise was essentially undertaken to identify those states which required special assistance to raise their levels of educational development during the Sixth Plan. With a view to achieving this objective, special financial and other assistance was made available to these states. However, it appears that with the exception of West Bengal, all other states continue to be educationally backward. In terms of their size, these are the larger states both in terms of area as well as population.

The foregoing analysis of the inter-state disparities in educational development has been undertaken with respect to total enrolment patterns. A similar analysis for the girls enrolment has also been undertaken which reveals persistence of these features, especially with respect to the low levels of girls enrolment at the middle stage.

There are a number of factors which influence the educational development in a region. It is generally believed that economically better-off states are in a better position to invest in human resource development as compared to the economically backward states. We examined this aspect a bit closely. We ranked the states in terms of their per capita income. The states with highest per capita income are Punjab, Haryana, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh. On the lower end of the scale are the states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Assam, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and West Bengal. It is quite evident that the low per capita income states are also educationally backward. Alternatively, all

the educationally backward states have also per capita incomes which are less than the national average for the period under review. However, the converse is not true. All poor states need not be educationally backward. The states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka are the other three states which have low per capita income.

A similar analysis for other indicators, like per capita budgeted expenditure, plan and non-plan expenditure, enrolments at primary and middle level of education and the availability of school infrastructure and other educational inputs generally give the impression that the economically better off states (in terms of per capita income) tend to fall on the higher side of these indicators, whereas the low income and educationally advanced states fall below average. Therefore, it is not difficult to conclude that the indicators of educational development are related to the socio-economic well being of the state.

The persistence of low levels of educational development in some states is seemingly associated with their socio-economic characteristics. This point is illustrated with the help of Fig. 4. It presents temporal changes in educational development during the seventies. The relative position of different states can either be examined vis-a-vis each other or with respect to all-India average. The following point may be noted with reference to Fig. 4. We have selected the primary level of education as it constitutes the main promise of educational outreach in the country. Moreover, it also forms the basis of subsequent development of education in the country.

It has already been pointed out earlier that during the seventies, efforts were made to reduce inter-state disparities in educational development by taking cognisance of the educationally backward states and providing special assistance to them. However, not much progress has been registered in this direction.

- (i) The first group consists of those states which have been able to maintain their above average position during the seventies. There are 10 such states and these are depicted in the first quadrangle, viz., Tripura, Himachal Pradesh, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Manipur, Meghalaya, Kerala and Nagaland.
- (ii) The other prominent group consists of those states which have continued to lag behind the all-India average. There are eight such states, viz., Rajasthan, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Haryana and Madhya Pradesh. It is interesting to observe that all of them, except Haryana, are educationally backward. It seems that in spite of our efforts, the disparities between educationally advanced and

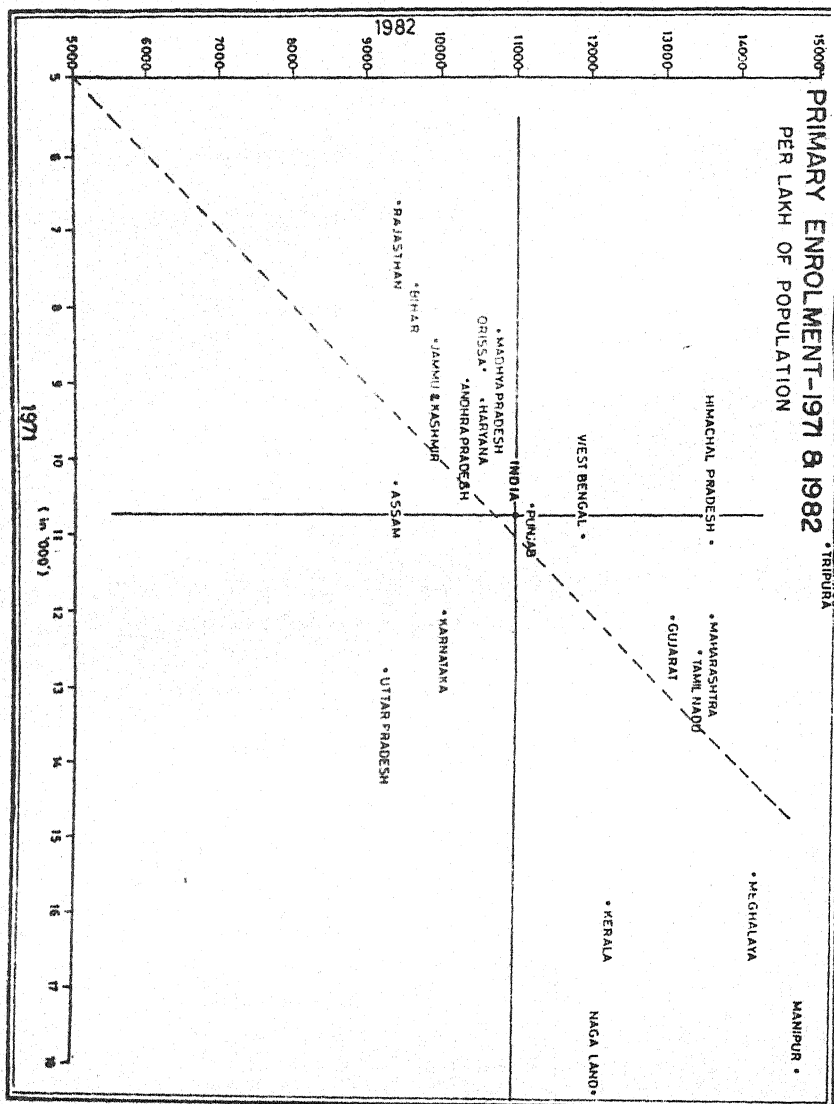


FIG. 4

educationally backward states have continued to persist even at the level of the primary education. The biggest challenge, therefore, that the educational planners are facing is to get out of this syndrome.

- (iii) The behaviour of two states, i.e., Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh is quite serious in the sense that these represent a real fall in their relative position at all-India level vis-a-vis their coverage of children in the age-group of 6-11 years.
- (iv) Punjab is the only state which has been able to register a significant progress in primary education. In 1971, it was below national average and has now moved above the national average. The shift is not much large, nevertheless, the trend is significant.

The foregoing analysis brings out clearly that even at the primary level of education, there is some amount of stagnancy in the behaviour of educationally backward states. It indicates that the efforts should be directed towards bridging the existing gap. Unless this is done for primary education, success at middle stage would be elusive.

#### Quality of Education

It has been shown that during the past three and a half decades of planned development there has been a manifold expansion in all sectors of education. Although many developments have been along the desired lines, yet the outcome has been disconcerting in some sectors. In the light of our discussion in the earlier parts in this study, it becomes clear that the critical question for the policy planners and decision-makers would relate not only to determine the extent of coverage in quantitative terms but also to the identification of requisite qualitative transformations and the plan of action required to achieve the long-term objectives of the NPE. The question of the resource availability for implementing the NPE is of critical importance and requires serious considerations.

The deliberations related to policy-making clearly brought out the concern that performance of the educational sector leaves much to be desired. It is so throughout the system whether at the primary level or in universities and institutes of higher education. The amount of the resources that have been invested in the system are not yielding the kind of return which is expected of it. This inhibits further investment and, consequently, the larger segments which are presently underprovided also remain deprived of much needed resource input. The learning achievement level in most of our educational institu-



tions is quite low. Weak foundations at the early age of children in terms of both language and mathematical deficiency, preclude pursuits of excellence at the later stages of education.

Thus, the problem of quality improvement in education seems to be constrained by both the factors--namely, financial availability and managerial efficiency. These factors now seem to be operating in concert with each other. Poor resource availability is constraining the management pursuits whereas inefficient management seem to be inhibiting further financial investments in the system. The implementation of the NPE would require a simultaneous attack on both these problems to shore up the quality of education.

### Expansion Effect

Another problem that we consider to be important in this context is the fact of expanding size of the educational system and its implications for the future. If it continues to expand at the rate it has been growing during the past three and a half decades, there is no doubt that we are going to have one of the largest educational systems in the world. However, if one considers the eventuality of universalising elementary education, then the cascading effect of this on the subsequent stages of enrolment is going to be tremendous.<sup>9</sup> This is going to expand the secondary and higher education level.<sup>10</sup> The fact that cost per student is several times higher at these levels than at the elementary stage, it implies that there is going to be exorbitant pressure for resources in the future. The educational planners have to make some cruel choices vis-a-vis guiding the sheer expansion of the system to devise new modes for funding education. If we combine the observations made above regarding the size of the education system, the need for quality assurance of the education and the corresponding resource requirements, the situation becomes even more complex.

### SUMMING UP

To sum up, let us briefly re-state the tentative observations that seem to emerge out of the foregoing analysis. These are:

- (a) After the initial spurt in the fifties, the expansion of the education system slowed down in the subsequent two decades.
- (b) Enrolments in higher education expanded in the second decade due to the lag effect and declined thereafter.
- (c) Since the beginning of the eighties, the enrolments at all levels have started picking up. However, the observed increase has been more in the case of middle and secondary

schools.

- (d) As a corollary to the above, it may be observed that the enrolments at the primary and higher education level still seem to be relatively slow in responding to the incentives.
- (e) By any reckoning, even universal elementary education is still a distant goal particularly when it is meant to enrol and retain all the children up to the eighth standard.
- (f) Even though the girls' enrolment has been picking up, the parity between boys and girls' enrolment is still far.
- (g) In spite of the fact that enrolment in the eighties has been picking up, the growth in the number of teachers *prima facie* does not seem to be of the same order.
- (h) Deteriorating quality can be cited to be the single most important problem which plagues the Indian education system. The situation is so pervasive and hopeless that it is driving many better students (and the interest of their parents) to English medium public schools and is inhibiting further resource inputs by state. This, in turn, rules out qualitative improvements.

When the issues described above are put together, one gets an idea about the diverse sources from which the development of education is being constrained.<sup>11</sup> What is worse, there are hardly any signs to imply that the system is likely to correct 'itself' on its own. This is particularly so when one considers the fact that the pressure on the system is going to mount furthermore as the coverage of school-going population is going to increase. With growing number of children being enrolled in elementary level of education, and their increasing proportion transiting to secondary and higher stages of education, the pressures on planning, managing and funding education are going to increase exponentially. These problems are illustrative of the kind of issues which beset future educational planning and the implementation of the NPE. One would require a very decisive and strong leadership in this sector to be able to deliver the goods.

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# Making of Twentyfirst Century Indian

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EDUCATION OF man, I have always believed, begins at the age of one or in some cases earlier when he learns to take the first step. The acquisition of the skill of standing erect and walking, which the humanoid ape learnt millions of years ago, has to be learnt and mastered by every human child as the first lesson towards becoming human physically. The second in the series that he learns is to make those comprehensible noises taught by his mother, and other relatives which are categorised as 'language'. Long before this, the imbibing of reason starts when he responds to certain sounds, voices, and noises to the face of his mother and recognises her. These first steps in his 'education' are completed when he starts composing and speaking sentences. The process of education thus begins very early in life and as a matter of fact should, and very frequently does, continue throughout the individual's life (but this is not 'continuing education', let me hasten to add!). The methods of this process may be varied and yet it aims at only one thing all over the world: to make the human child (a half-animal) into a cultured and useful member of the society and in the process, equip him with an instrument of a high or low order, depending on individual talent, to develop his individuality and his personality into something worthy of pride and respect to himself and those around him, and also to those who help him to be what he is--his parents, teachers, other seniors, friends and so on. In India, which has produced a civilisation worth a name and with it a galaxy of great men in all walks of life in the near and distant past, there is ample experience and know-how collected over millennia to deliver this. And yet, even now the problem of how to rear up our younger generation is troubling the rulers in the country. We do not wish to go into the ancient modes of rearing and educating the young and the various systems devised to this end. Yet, the present deliberations published in the three documents by the government on the educational policy for the coming generations indeed make alarming reading. Any one reading them

cannot help gathering the impression of it as an exercise in the use of technical jargons and high sounding phrases which mean little and, by way of actual creative thinking on particular topics, have little to offer.

#### HISTORICAL ROOTS OF PRESENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Even if we do not go to the earliest educational systems practised in India, the historical circumstances in which the present system came to be introduced by the British Government in the 18th and 19th century, are not without relevance to its current manifestation as well as the malaise it suffers from. Briefly, it may be pointed out that the foreign rulers thought it worth their while to introduce a system of education which would teach the indigenous population their (i.e., rulers') language, emphasise the teaching of cultural sciences to break down the superstitious beliefs prevalent among the people and also that of the use of mechanical inventions in order to bring about agricultural and industrial development in the country. This was because they found that 'science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India'. They (i.e., the Indians) had abandoned abstract sciences, polite literature was neglected and no branch of learning cultivated. 'The immediate consequence of this state of things, is the disuse, and even actual loss, of many valuable books....' The main cause of this neglect has been the loss of encouragement previously (i.e., before the establishment of the British rule) afforded by the princes, chieftains and opulent individuals under the native governments. Finally, this policy was adopted by the government for the education of the Indian masses. Indian opinion at this time was non-existent.

All this simply means that the roots of the present educational system were thought out and executed by well-meaning foreign officials. It was not that this educational system was created on an existing blank. The decay of well-laid out and practised intellectual pursuits means a system existed earlier but due to lack of patronage it had decayed. The new system created by the British rulers was oriented to acquisition of western knowledge, which meant a complete break with the past system, concepts, values, methods of study and so on, which was developed over the centuries by the indigenous intellectuals. But the new system was the product of foreign conception, values and methods transplanted on a nation which had a system(s) evolved within its own cultural, social and economic framework. This new system which has been practised for over two centuries or more has failed to take roots in the indigenous soil simply because it is not the product of this society and its culture. Since

attaining Independence, several efforts have been made to change the system, but it has not been possible because we do not know how to manipulate it, because we have not conceived it or conceptualised it and hence we do not understand its basic principles required to be manipulated to bring about changes to suit our present-day needs.

If we want to give ourselves a system rooted in our culture, what is to be done? Since it is not possible to put the clock back, and since a vast machinery of this system already exists, it is possible only to manipulate it by introducing some changes which will be representative of our culture and which were practised in the pre-British past in a particular manner. This will create a tie, an involvement between the present and the earlier roots, from which we can expect to generate, after some time, some new ideas.<sup>1</sup>

#### Pre-British Indian Education System

The pre-British Indian educational machinery consisted of a three-tiered system which included: (1) elementary education aiming at literacy and knowledge of three R's right from the rural bases to the urban areas, (2) higher education through schools of learning (which may be equivalent of present-day colleges), and (3) vocational and professional training imparted within the caste-structure which was also the predominant societal organisation. This way, all the requirements of the society, of literacy in rural and urban areas, of vocational and professional training and of higher learning were covered. The second type of institution catered to the needs of higher learning of the Hindus and the Muslims separately, but both had several important common features as reflected in: the manner of financial assistance received from the rulers and others; staffing of learned teachers, some of whom being authors of repute who worked at a low remuneration; imparting of instruction free of charge, a practice rooted in the earlier eras; and use of classical languages, viz., Sanskrit and Arabic or Persian, as medium of instructions and adoption of methods of instruction, which were traditionally evolved ones. The teachers' remuneration was paid by rulers through grant of land, occasional voluntary presents from pupils and members of the public, allowances paid by wealthy citizens, and payment in the form of food, clothes or other articles. The teachers also contributed to the system not only by imparting free instruction but many a time by supporting deserving and needy pupils.

The financial position of the schools was never very strong<sup>2</sup>. They did not have special buildings of their own where they existed. They were built either by the teachers themselves<sup>3</sup> or at the expense of patrons and friends, or by general subscriptions. (These conditions continued even in this century.) In many cases, schools were

held in local temples or mosques and sometimes in the teacher's own house or space lent for the purpose by the local zamindar or other patron(s). The whole system obviously existed for the sake of imparting knowledge by the learned and not for pecuniary consideration. Students entered these schools at a very early age, five or earlier, and remained as long as they liked up to the age of twelve or more. The schools were conducted almost exclusively by Brahmins and a very large majority of students came from the same community. This Hindu concept of education could be traced back to the earlier system of education in ancient times where the pupil stayed with the teacher at his residence becoming a part of his household, serving the teacher, and the latter imparting him not only tuition but building up his character by supervising all his activities. He was almost like his own son. The Persian and Arabic schools were manned by the Muslim teachers, sometimes by the Hindus too, learning and teaching of Persian or Arabic by Hindus was not a rare phenomenon. These schools produced the Maulavis and the Pandits and imparted religious education. They were the highly respected institutions and yet were less useful to the society.

#### **Small Schools**

The elementary school (discussed in the first para) was the main agency for the spread of mass education. The institution was of practical type consisting of the three R's, and catered to the mundane requirements of the petty zamindar, the bania and the farmer. It had no state or public endowments, and teachers were ordinary with lower remuneration than the other teachers, except those who were maintained by the rich patrons. Occasionally, they received presents from their pupils' parents. Some even pursued other profession also to maintain themselves and conducted the school as a side business. The pupils consisted of boys and girls coming from all communities, though the children from the upper classes formed the large majority.

These schools were very humble and had practically no special equipment. They had no buildings and were held in the teachers' or patron's residence, often in a temple and not infrequently under a tree. There were no printed books and the slates and the pencils they used could be easily made locally. The hours of instruction and the days of working were adjusted to local requirements. The number of students were small, one or two to 10 or 15. On this scale, naturally there was no necessity of observing the timing of admission, etc. The pupil who joined the school was taught on the individual basis, at his own speed and left the school when he learnt what he wished to. However, in bigger elementary schools, a system of ap-

pointing a senior pupil to teach the junior ones was observed, the senior ones being taught by the teacher himself. This system was known as the 'monitor' system and was extremely economical. One teacher could, thus, with the assistance of senior students, conduct three or four classes. Few people know that this system was highly appreciated by Dr. Bell, the President Chaplain at Madras, who introduced it in Scotland and England, where it was used for long time as a cheap and efficient method.

Actually, the relevance and potential of this system is not lost to date. In the rural areas, this system can be used with benefit. It can give a sense of responsibility and create teaching aptitude at an early age in senior students and these students, if they so desire, can later be trained to be good teachers. The present state of rural elementary schools or the schools run by the local municipalities, etc., in the urban areas does not differ much. There is a dearth of habitation, the number of trained teachers is grievously small, and there is practically no equipment. Though they are going to be equipped with black-boards, etc., in the next few years, yet the government will do well to introduce the 'monitorial' system, which will assist a single teacher in running four or more classes. I think lack of equipment or facilities need not be emphasised too much nor should they defer the genuine educationist from imparting instruction by some workable substitutes.

It is good that the state is taking the responsibility of elementary education, but while doing this, the public enterprise should also be invited by way of voluntary contributions or donations to be used towards the running of schools. In the previous system, no fees for tuitions were charged and each guardian of the child who went to the school made some payment to the teacher in cash or kind, depending on his capacity and convenience. This system of elementary schools possessed certain adaptability to local environment, and also vitality and popularity earned by centuries of existence under a variety of economic conditions or political vicissitudes. The modern type of elementary school in rural and urban areas is the direct descendent of this institution.

Besides these elementary schools, centres of domestic instruction were plentiful in different parts of the country and when the British rulers found it difficult to open a single new school, some institution of the indigenous system was available even in the remotest villages.

If the government is really interested in the spread of literacy or in mass education, it has to adopt this system of elementary education, however defective and humble it may seem to be at this stage. Where no schools exist, even this kind of a small school can



go a long way. Gradually, this humble school can be given facilities and equipment and expanded suitably. The rate of drop-outs can be checked if the tuition timings are finally adjusted to local requirements, or better still, if every pupil is treated as a class and given individual tuition by his senior, at a time convenient to both. This will save the exchequer a huge amount which the government is going to earmark for compensatory payments to the parents to make good the economic loss caused by the child's school attendance. Government should be careful lest the payment and the child both remain with the parents, leaving the school, while the government treasury continues to get empty. Moreover, this will be another form of reservation which is not desirable.<sup>4</sup> The main advantage of the Monitorial System is that a large number of pupils can be managed by a single teacher, and the cost of education thus remains very low. This system was adopted in England. It contributed a lot to the spread of education there, whereas, ironically, we are now looking to foreign countries to teach us grandiose expensive methods to educate our masses. The government should adopt this system to spread education at a faster rate.

Now we come to the third tier of this system, viz., the vocational and professional training. Caste system as a mode of social organisation has been much abused over the centuries and decades by the foreign rulers, learned men, travellers with Indians trailing behind them without leaving their castes! The drawbacks and weaknesses of the caste system have been much emphasised and Indians, instead of studying the caste system in all its aspects, have adopted the western viewpoint, felt ashamed of it, yet have never clearly abandoned it. Even in Independent India, in politics and elections, alignments take place along caste affiliations and it is more really the caste-politics which is practised. After Independence, we have only succeeded in sending the caste 'underground'. And yet it survives everywhere perhaps in a far narrower manner than before and also in a more vicious form.

#### Caste System and Education

It is not known that India is not the only country which practised caste-system as a societal structure. Ancient Egypt too had a similar structure and the Egyptologist is rather proud of it, whereas the Indian and the Indologist both turn defensive when caste-system is mentioned. Of course, this is not the place to go through all the pros and cons of the system and, therefore, I shall discuss only one aspect of the caste-system relevant here.

Despite all the drawbacks so frequently mentioned, especially by the defendants of the class-system, the most important aspect of

caste-system was that it provided a ready-made vocation to the children of every family on their birth. The child grew up in the particular atmosphere and picked up the essentials of the work effortlessly as his vocational school was at hand either at home or nearby, and his own father, uncle or other senior male members were his teachers. His clientele was fixed for generations, so there was no dearth of jobs and no fear of his remaining unemployed. Moreover, when one and the same family followed a vocation for generations, it developed expertise which became the monopoly of the family-members and it could be handed down from generation to generation. Thus, in this manner, the caste-system provided answers to at least three problems: of vocational training which was given free of charge and without any investment on the part of the society; it supplied incentives to develop and transmit the skills necessary for the particular vocations; and it provided gainful employment to the adult as well as the young.

Currently, the government is loaded with the problem of educated unemployed or even other unemployed persons who have been torn away from their traditional vocations and are unable to cultivate new skills because of the expenditure by way of fees, the maintenance during the training period and so on. Besides this, skilled workers, who have already acquired skills of a higher degree, were organised into guilds and associations and they taught the skills to the younger workers from outside families. Thus, the dissemination of skills took place. The possibilities of reviving this aspect of caste-system should be investigated. If a degree of flexibility about the vocation as well as the adoption of persons from outside families apprentices can be introduced, this system can be useful and the problems of vocational training, unemployment and cultivation of skills (to which there is considerable resistance in the younger generation) can be solved in one single stroke. The new skills required for the development of science and technology can be similarly treated. That is, the son may, for example, choose the vocation or profession of his father. Perhaps may replace his father in his firm or industrial unit so that father can give him very important practical hints. The latest changes in the technology the son would have to imbibe independently, if indeed. For the middle rank skills, which are not found in the families, for which the government finds it difficult to set up new polytechnics, perhaps a large number of technological and proprietary establishments can be listed which will be able to train a small number of apprentices each and for which government may pay the concerned units small sums annually. This way, these units will have extra hands without spending additionally and simultaneously the apprentices can be trained. Such

units can also be organised into guilds and given the responsibility of training a certain percentage of apprentices as required in the industry, in the public and private sectors. Making use of these units will save the exchequer vast amounts and also save lot of time.

### Role of Brahmins in Teaching

Thus, if the government means to give to the country an educational system rooted in the cultural traditions and structure of Indian society, it is possible to do so. Perhaps the system, after its working for a while, say five to ten years, may show strong points and defects, which can be modified to suit the needs. Besides, the government can gradually expand the equipment by earmarking larger funds for education to make the system more efficient.

Besides this, it may be remembered that on account of the hereditary nature of caste-system, certain castes have developed propensities for certain skills and hence jobs. The best example of this is the skill of learning and teaching amongst the Brahmins. It is not widely known that this class is unique in the societies of the world in this respect and hardly has any other society developed anything comparable to this. The Brahmins are the most cultured people of this country and economically they have been always underprivileged. They have never been the richest class but they have borne the burden of cultivating and living the values and thereby setting a model for the rest of the society to emulate. Even now, when the composition of society, economically, rationally, etc., has undergone considerable change, the ethos in the Brahmin localities and those of other castes differs considerably. Since the cultural ethos is still preserved by the Brahmins, it is very necessary that they should once again be attracted to the profession of learning and teaching which may bring in the traditional cleanliness associated with the academic world. Even in the 19th century, the Brahmins preferred to be teachers for the respectability of that profession, despite lesser material gains than those in other vocations. Even the most ordinary Brahmin is a far more cultured person than most of the persons from other castes. His culture is inherited in his family, and could be emulated by his pupil, who may get a share of it automatically due to his closeness to the teacher. Presently, this culture is mostly lacking amongst the teachers who are there simply to earn their livelihood by teaching. It is not the responsibility which attracts them to this profession, nor is it the cultivation of learning and knowledge. Thus, the modern teacher cannot command his pupil's respect. When he fails to satisfy the curiosity of the pupil--very frequently it is not due to lack of knowledge but due to an attitude of close-fistedness--the student has to seek an

alternative source to assist him in his study like the guides, notes, tuition classes and so on, which also do not give him knowledge at any depth except merely covering the prescribed curriculum. In short, in order to improve the quality of education, the quality of teacher must improve, he must cultivate the love of learning and knowledge. He must think his student to be his very own, who is going to bring him credit and, if need be, should be ready to go to any length of trouble to prepare the student. Only then, in return, he can expect to be respected, not by the pupil alone but by his parents and the society at large. This advocating of some of the constructive aspects of the caste-system may be unpalatable to many, but whether we like it or not, caste-system is not dead. In fact, it lives in its worst form. Then, why not make use of its better side?

The document on new education policy, entitled Programme of Action, speaks of the scheme of Navodaya schools for talented children. However, if the quality of higher education in colleges and universities remains the same, it is not going to make much difference. So even before the new school system comes into existence, measures to upgrade the teaching in colleges and universities must be thought of. Since Independence, the acquisition of a university degree was thought to be a passport to white collar jobs. Therefore, a clamouring for higher education began irrespective of ability. Colleges and universities were, and are still filled by those least interested in the acquisition of knowledge and learning, but interested in acquiring the 'passport'. This is said to have brought down the quality and standards. This situation could be alleviated to a certain extent by the availability of vocational training, acquisition of specialised skills necessary for the jobs, and also by de-linking degrees from jobs. One more measure which may improve the situation is the de-politicising of the universities and colleges, perhaps closing down students' unions, and by arriving at a common understanding amongst the political parties not to use students for solving political problems alone and allow the students to turn full attention to acquisition of knowledge in order to fulfil their aspirations in life.

Some of the ills our universities suffer from must be strictly put down in order to increase the standards. First and foremost is the formation of groups amongst the university teachers who throw their weight, as an organised group, to get their demands sanctioned, to get away without striving for academic contributions, to block the way of incoming academics who may be better than them, to appoint their own unqualified students (which not only brings down the quality but is a sort of intellectual in-breeding as the student voices the views of his teacher alone so that he doesn't lose patron-

age), to instigate students to stage strikes (so that there is no tuition), to appoint unqualified persons from their own groups and increase the network of amenable and so on. All this is possible because authorities do not enforce the existing rules strictly.

In the last few decades, the curriculum has undergone such a radical change, becoming so totally light weight, that going through the textbooks prescribed for graduate courses one gets the feeling that these could be good enough for high schools or middle schools. This indicates that the system does not feed the required quota of knowledge to create certain amount of stamina. Too small doses of knowledge are not going to harness the total energy of the student and unless this is done, both quality and standard will not increase. Also, the present system of testing the ability developed through tuition, through short single word answers, does not test anything at all. If these tests are meant as precision tests, they are all right in the lower classes, perhaps to high school, etc. But in the college and universities, the student is mature and has to develop abilities suitable to this stage, viz., comprehension, retention, presentation, and several others. The tests involving writing essay-type questions alone can test all these together. Present system lacks in creating stamina--physical and mental--in the student because of lack of rigour, strictness and an ability to work under certain pressures, which ought to be in-built in the system to realise the potential of the student. For this, dose of knowledge much larger than the students' actual ability to absorb, is necessary to be fed, so that while coping with the input his potential abilities will be realised. This is growth and development through education.

One of the ways of enforcing rigorous standards and improving the quality of education is to have two or more systems geared to different standards with clear objectives. Once a student enters one of these systems, he has to subject himself to it and abide by its rules and standards without external interference or extraneous considerations in these matters. If he is found to be lacking, the system will throw him out automatically.

### **Character Building**

One of the most important problems that has surfaced in the last few decades is of character-building. The current educational system has not been able to cope with it. In fact, to me it seems it is really not a problem related to educational system but the family-background. The building up of character perhaps falls within the purview of the upbringing of the child by the parents, especially the mother who used to spend long hours talking to the young child and then supervising his activities at home, outside the school-hours.

The lessons in ethics of not telling lies, not stealing, not using foul language, respecting the elders and the various forms going with this, and a host of other things are taught by the mother and reinforced every day until the child reached the teen age or entered the college. As the boy grew up the father also supervised his life, and gave him advice and instruction whenever necessary. However, since the middle class woman has become the earning member of the family, she has hardly any spare time and energy to devote to the upbringing of children. She is overworked and has become a beast of double burden of work at home and in the office. This is a new form of woman's exploitation. Hardly is it 'women's liberation' economic or social, because in most of the cases the salary of woman is utilised towards household expenses, especially buying luxury articles which can not be afforded in single salary. Most of the working women, that I have had occasion to talk to, detest their having to work. Most of them were found to be under great physical and mental stress. When asked why they work despite all this, I was told that after marriage the couple needs a flat, a tenement, which has generally to be bought simply because on account of the peculiar house rent act flats are not more easily available. Since habitation is absolute necessity, the wife has to go out to work, whether the couple likes it or not. Once she starts working, since money is coming it is convenient and it goes on. But she has no time to spend with the children, to teach them any thing, not even to cook a proper meal. It is my observation that the growth of the children going to the nurseries at a very early age is retarded especially when they are learning to walk and to speak. The children who ate with the mothers all twenty-four hours (i.e., the mother being just a housewife) the child requires these two essential things faster and with greater efficiency whereas the children of working mother are slow, because she is not there to talk to them constantly or give them the linguistic drills and walking exercises. Later on, she gets less time to look to the child's character-building. So the root-cause of lack of character is the absence of mother from home. What is the answer to all this?

#### CRITIQUE ON POA DOCUMENT

'The inculcation of an understanding of our composite culture.' This is one of the values and concerns laid down in the Programme of Action. The planners have also noticed 'a schism between formal system and cultural heritage' and would therefore like to give a new cultural perspective to the content and process of education. It is difficult to decipher the exact import of these words, yet it seems that the planners want perhaps to add a dash of Indian culture to the

proposed system. This will incidentally relate it to the problem of national integration.

Ironically enough, despite this, the Programme of Action has hardly devoted any space to the consideration of the state of humanities, and social and historical sciences, except perhaps a line in enumerating the councils devoted to these fields. No statistics on humanities and social sciences or education institutes is furnished.

In the anxiety and concern to develop a base of science and technology in this country, since Independence, large chunks of the available resources have been diverted to the teaching and research in science and technology in colleges, universities, research institutions and so on. However, the summary furnished in the Programme of Action is hardly encouraging even to laymen. It says: 'Very little research is undertaken to improve existing technology or applying existing or newer technologies to meeting the needs of villages and rural areas'. Interdisciplinarity in sciences has not taken root, mediocrity predominates, etc. [Full two pages are devoted to the critical assessment of the achievements in science and technology (S&T) which reflects a state no way radically different than in other fields, like humanities and social sciences. And this is despite all the funds invested in S&T].

The 'Programme' even complains that the science research is not geared to problem-solving in rural areas. As a matter of fact, it cannot, simply because it is 'imported science' geared to the needs and requirements of problems of western society and climatic and other conditions prevalent in the West. Therefore, our scientists who are merely adopting western methods to repeat the already known solutions to western problems, cannot think of anything new. They do not live in villages, they are not acquainted with the problems faced by the rural populations and their powers of observation being very limited, they do not know how to look at a problem. Many scientists will testify to the correctness of this observation of mine. Compared to this, humanities and social sciences have received practically no attention in the decades since Independence. The treatment of these in the Programme is characteristic of the same attitude of indifference to those fields of study which have made men 'cultured' down the centuries. It is now time to disabuse our minds of overrating of science and technology. Because, in any case, we are importing these on a large scale, and the base that has already been created may be enough to supply some of the know-how and skills. Besides, one must remember that science and technology furnished tools to master nature, to increase the production of material goods and, in general, add to a comfortable (physical) living which is not the totality of man. There are activities of man which when studied by men given

them a special satisfaction which cannot be had by the study of natural sciences or by the construction of machines. The study of the activities of man cannot be replaced by the study of nature and its rules. It is my personal observation that even the technocrats and scientists would be richer and better human beings if they cultivate some aspect of humanities along with their preoccupation with science. The study of humanities enriches man physically by providing food for thought, which somehow seems to be lacking in the pursuit of science and technology. Besides this, as a nation with a past as long as five millennia or more, out of which at least three-and-a-half millennia are documented, with perhaps every mile of the soil recording some monument or other from the remote or nearer past, we simply can't afford to neglect all this vast heritage. Our heritage and culture are not only in monuments, but in clothes, foods, literature, architecture, music, sculpture, painting, and what have you, science and technology not lacking. Incidentally I would like to ask here: how many of our scientists are acquainted with the efforts of Indian scientists from 16th century AD onwards or even earlier, their methods, conclusions, and achievements? How many know that the idea of vaccine was born in India? This caused a great uproar in the western Christian world, which was appalled by it. And then the question is posed: why is not science born in India? Science and scientific temper was born and practised here but later it was smothered and it is yet to be reborn. Once again, why can we not at least know systematically what the 16th century Indian scientist thought was?

In order to understand our culture, we must first know it. As a matter of fact, the negligence of the Indological studies in the past three decades or more has buried the discipline deep and if it has survived here and there it is out of sheer love of the workers. I remember, as a young research worker in Buddhology, I had to face one question frequently about the utility of the study of Buddhism to the present development problems and nation building. I hardly had the reply, but now, as a mature research worker, I think this question to be foolish first, because there is tremendous amount of wasteful spending going on in this system compared to the funds used for the study of Buddhism, or history of India, or any aspect of Indian culture in the past and present. Funds on these subjects are far better utilised. Secondly, it is not necessary to tell an Indian, the importance of the study of a religion and philosophy like Buddhism—a unique contribution of India to world culture. Thirdly, the 'policy-planners' concern to relate every academic activity to the problems of development is itself not very correct. What is academically relevant may not be worthy of policy-planners' attention which does



not reduce its value. The policy-planners' research for relevant problems, etc., should be conducted independently. Moreover, it takes all kinds of activity to make a society, and from this standpoint, government has to provide for all kinds of worthwhile causes on their own merit.

Any one involved in the Indian studies knows how backward these studies are, not only in India but all over the world. It is simply because the study of Indian culture has been totally neglected by the Indians not only in the last four decades or so but even before that. Since Independence, it has been due to total lack of state patronage that the Indian studies received a great setback to the extent that there are no more students learning Sanskrit and topics related to Indology. It is because learning for own sake no more attracts anyone, and study of Sanskrit does not fetch dividends by way of jobs and steady incomes. Therefore no one is desirous of wasting time and energy on these pursuits. Before Independence, and since 18th century or so, the western interest in Indian languages and literature was roused with the study of Sanskrit. This gave an impetus to studies pertaining to India and created valuable textual material with certain (textual) precision. But it remained at that stage without developing a clear understanding of the Indian culture, its values and concerns. It seemed to be full of myths and mythology, superstitions and fancies. This is the view the world has of Indian culture. But is it really so? It seems more probable, with our long experience in this field, that it being an alien culture of a subject race, it did not impress the West very much. But this image of our culture, of chaos and superstition in abundance, has stuck us (and to this was added the poverty, the millions existing below subsistence level!) and it still does. Now that we are earnest 'to inculcate an understanding of our culture', Indian or studies on India in all its aspects may be encouraged. Enough funding must be set aside for them and the universities and institutions must receive impetus to study Indian culture. However, a strict imposition of standards and worthiness of themes should not be neglected thereby depleting the rare funds. It is the duty of the practitioners of this ancient culture, which has remained stable and alike over centuries while other nations' cultures have disappeared, to study it and master the sources of its dynamism and rejuvenation and regeneration down the ages, to create its true image, and to acquaint others with it. After all, the impetus created by the Festival of India, in which crores of rupees have been invested, is not going to last forever unless some permanent measures are taken in India. The right effort would be to project a correct image of Indian culture in its total manifestation on all planes.

It is, therefore, suggested that a special scheme and funds should be allotted to this end. Indologists who are languishing for want of facilities, funds, etc., should be called upon by the policy planners to prepare a blueprint.

Despite all the negligence suffered by the pursuants of this field of study, innovation in this field is not lacking and pioneering effort<sup>5</sup> to establishing new viewpoints, breaking away from the 19th century western views, is already available in print, which creates a clear understanding of the beginning of Indian culture and civilisation. This effort establishes interdisciplinarity as a unique method for the study of the beginnings of Indian history. The 'Programme' complains about the unidisciplinarity of both natural and social sciences. However, in Indian studies, a small beginning has already been made.

It is also necessary that a proper direction and impetus should be given to research activity on Sanskrit language and literature, regional languages, regional histories, scripts, geography and other aspects. The Indian scholarship should be so strong as to develop its own point of view and guide the world in the study of Indian culture. For this, sufficient funds must be made available, talent must be attracted and fed with necessary facilities ungrudgingly and allowed the freedom of learning for its own sake because. *na hi jñānena sadriṣham pavitram iha vidyate* (There is nothing more sacred than knowledge).

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2. I am emphasising this point deliberately because even now the situation is not very different. What seems to worry the educational planners is the availability of the resources for financing the required equipment for schools, like building, furniture, textbooks, etc.
3. Mark the great initiative.
4. The present author is not saying anything totally new. This has been the view expressed by William Adam in 19th century in his Report, and also by S. Nurullah and J.P. Naik, A Students' History of Education in India, Bombay, Macmillan, 1969, p. 24, H. Adam considers any indigenous system the foundation for building up further on it.
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# Education for Developing Social Capabilities

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SOCIAL CAPABILITIES of a nation depend on the level of education of the people, which in turn is supposed to determine the knowledge, skills, aptitudes and values of its citizens. This also implies that knowledge, skills, aptitudes and values which the system of education endeavours to develop among the people have a close relationship with national needs and aspirations. Hence education, per se may not develop the right kind of knowledge, skills, aptitudes and values. There are enough evidences in human history showing that education has also been used to promote sectional interests rather than the interests of a nation or of the mankind as a whole. It is, therefore, essential that proper policy directions are given to the education system, in terms of content, processes and structure and a proper mechanism of planning, implementation, monitoring, review and feedback is developed so that the system is enabled to develop high-level of social capabilities in the country.

## EXPANSION AND WIDENING THE CONCEPT OF EDUCATION

Prior to and even after Independence of India, the level of social capabilities that the education system endeavoured to develop leaves much to be desired. Latest available data show that of every 1,000 persons, only 400 are literate, 250 are with primary level education, 100 with secondary education, 50 with graduate degrees and only 3 with scientific and technological degrees. Among graduates, the majority have capabilities in liberal arts and humanities, which broadly support the service sector, with some training and retraining. This level of education of people compares very poorly with developed, fast developing and even with slow developing nations. In the developed countries, there are 940 literates, 650 with primary level, 600 with secondary/higher secondary level of education, 370 with graduate degrees, and 115 scientific and technical persons per thousand of population. Situation in the second and the third case

is 980, 450, 390, 150, 185 and 820; and 350, 150, and 115 respectively in the above categories and negligible proportion of scientific and technical personnel in the latter. The capacity of the Indian education system to develop the social capabilities required in future also does not present an encouraging scenario. Of the eligible in the age groups of 5-11, 11-16, 17-23 for primary, secondary, higher secondary and higher education only 79 per cent children are enrolled for primary - of these 43 per cent are not able to complete the first cycle; 30 per cent are enrolled for secondary and only 4.8 per cent are enrolled for higher education, which again compares very poorly with developed, fast developing and even slow developing nations. The capability to enrol being 100 per cent at primary; 97 per cent at secondary; and 58 per cent at higher education level in developed countries. Capability in the other two cases being 100, 92, 30 and 100, 63, 26 per cent respectively.

(Keeping in view the fact that modern development process is much more complex and, therefore, requires higher order of knowledge, skills, aptitudes and values which are oriented towards national development, expansion of the capacity of education system at all levels is indicated. This is required not only for developing the social capabilities needed in future but also for developing capabilities through training and orientation of those presently engaged in production and distribution processes and in other aspects of social life. As such, education is no more visualised as a one-time activity but a life-long activity. It is in this context that expansion of education system at all levels and widening its reach - by introducing the component of non-formal and open learning systems, orientation, and training to improve its efficiency - become the first and foremost policy issues.

The follow up measures of this policy of expansion and widening the base of education requires expansion of facilities in the areas so far neglected and for those social and economic groups who could not avail of these opportunities. Expansion of facilities should be of high quality as it is a known fact that low quality of facilities tends to develop low social capabilities, thereby dampening the efforts of national development, besides generating social tensions and accentuating class disparities. Expansion and widening the base of education would also require enhanced support to education and introduction of flexibility and autonomy with accountability so that the system is able to respond to the new concept of non-formal, open learning systems and orientation and training of those already in jobs in their institutions. Methods of increasing literacy rates and increasing completion rate of primary cycle, higher enrolment at secondary and higher education could be worked out keeping in view

cost effective alternatives.

#### CONTENT AND PROCESSES

As stated earlier, education per se may not help developing knowledge, skills, aptitudes and values, which can meet the needs of development and the aspirations of people. Therefore, educational policy should help in developing the content, processes and structures which enable developing of the right kind of social capabilities among people.

The needs and aspirations of the nation have been very well articulated in the preamble of Indian Constitution, which lays stress on self-reliance and a socialist society, ensuring social and economic justice to the people. This suggests that the contents of education should be linked with societal needs and should help in developing indigenous knowledge especially in frontal areas, such as energy, water and irrigation systems, ecology and environment, science, technology and social sciences so that the concept of self-reliance can become a practical reality and is jealously guarded in an age of "technological colonialism". Process of education, not only in terms of the content and methodologies of teaching but also in terms of the work ethos of institutions in terms of the number of days in a year and the number of hours in a day devoted to teaching, research and extension should be conducive to developing scientific temper. Poor content and laxity in processes, may result in poor knowledge and skills, besides wrong aptitudes and values, adversely affecting the social capabilities of the nation. Therefore, the second main policy issue is improving the content of education by restructuring curricula so that they have bearing on developmental needs; introduction of teaching methodologies which help in developing knowledge, skills, aptitudes and values, the educational processes by making them more rigorous and developing indigenous knowledge particularly in the frontal areas.

This approach would call for follow up measures namely:

1. Restructuring of curricula at all levels, changing subject combinations to allow flexibility, introduction of skill/vocational component in actual work situations through interaction with community/industry/development agencies instead of setting up workshops in institutions.
2. Investment for developing indigenous knowledge, especially in frontal areas. Setting up machinery to process this knowledge and its dissemination through print and audio/ video media.
3. Orientation of teachers in restructured curricula and new

methodologies of teaching which enable development of comprehension, analytical and critical abilities rather than memorisation, as well as orientation in wider concept of education. Ensuring teachers reasonable and comparable economic and social status; giving them autonomy to design their curricula with a view to linking education with social needs, relaxing dead weight of centralised curricula and examinations. Recommendations of the Teachers' Commission would help in formulating proper policy with regard to teachers.

4. Enhancing working days of educational institutions, thereby making educational process rigorous as well as enabling institutions to respond to the wider concept of education, encompassing teaching, research and extension, orientation and training.
5. Bridging the gap in quality of inputs in terms of quality of teachers and infrastructural facilities between rural and urban and between government and private schools and colleges.

It may be mentioned that when education tends to be linked with developmental needs and oriented towards developing knowledge, skills, aptitudes and values, which are also tested and certified by the institutions, then the issue of delinking of degrees from jobs becomes a non-issue with populist overtones, which is actually retrograde in nature.

#### STRUCTURES

Along with proper content and processes, the structure of educational system has to be well coordinated and managed. Indian system of education lacks proper coordination and is indifferently managed. At the institutional level, there are privately managed institutions, sponsored by educational trusts, institutions managed by local government, panchayats, municipalities, state and Central governments and autonomous institutions like universities and research institutions. These institutions vary widely in quality and methods of management; they also lack horizontal or vertical linkages and coordination. Therefore, the efforts get fragmented and a large number of institutions tend to do the same thing with varying quality, resulting in lop-sided growth of either the students with only certain subject specialisations or research in only certain disciplines and areas without benefiting from each other's efforts and experiences.

School-level curricula are determined by Education Department/Boards of Secondary Education of State or of Central Government and

examination is conducted by these boards. At higher education level, curricula are determined by universities and student attainments are also examined by them. This leaves very little scope for teachers either at the school or college level to innovate and link curricula with community needs.

State Education Ministry is hardly able to coordinate developments within the state and the Central Education Ministry between the states. These apex bodies in the states and at the Centre provide funds, set rules and regulations and dabble in minor procedural issues, rather than overseeing the developments on the basis of information and its analysis. The competencies of these departments to coordinate and analyse the developments and to make suggestion for desired changes is also limited owing to their bureaucratic structures and lack of professional competencies. It is often felt that a good number of problems which education system suffers flow from the state and Central level education departments. Delay and wrong decisions at the institutional level are often questioned by students, teachers, parents, but delay or wrong decisions by these apex bodies are rarely questioned; they often escape public wrath.

UGC, NCERT or similar bodies at state level work for coordination and maintenance of standards, but the information base regarding development whether at the state or at the national level is very weak. Research agencies, like ICAR, ICSSR, ICHR, DST, etc., work for promotion of research and development and identification of thrust areas of research. However, development in research both in the university system and the research institution network are hardly coordinated and linked with development strategy of the nation. Although all these departments/agencies may be doing very good work in their own areas, yet the overall efforts get fragmented and no state or national level clear-cut quantitative and qualitative picture is available which could be fed into developing future strategies. Obviously, the third important policy issue is developing a professionally-oriented coordinated structure of education system, which is based on the principle of autonomy and accountability. This would require the follow up measures namely:

1. Autonomous and accountable system of management of institutions in which both private and government institutions are managed by locally constituted committees having representations of professionals, government, and of sponsoring trusts.
2. Constitutions of well coordinated professional boards at the district, state and national level which should oversee, monitor and support (financially and academically) educational developments at the district, state and national level.



3. UGC, NCERT and research and development funding agencies should coordinate the developments in respective areas and suggest changes and financially and academically support the developments in these areas.

#### PLANNING, IMPLEMENTATION, MONITORING REVIEW AND FEEDBACK

Even the best intended policy will not have any impact unless programmes and activities flowing from the policy perspectives are properly planned and implemented, their progress monitored, review carried out and feedback given to the planning process as well as for policy making. This aspect has been one of the weakest links in policy implementation. Although India has adopted planning process for national development, yet the culture of scientific planning and its implementation and review at institutional level as well as by apex bodies is far from being the practice. At the national level, there is only one organisation namely, NIEPA, which strives to promote this culture with the support of UGC, Central and state governments, yet owing to the smallness of this institution and vastness of the system, the impact has been very limited.

Scientific planning needs competencies among the heads of institutions and professional staff at the district, state and national level departments/bodies. Besides this, planning process at the institution, district and state level needs to be integrated. Therefore, the fourth major policy issue is development of competencies in planning among the heads of institutions and having an integrated system of planning, implementation, review and feedback. Necessary changes to make this idea feasible have already been suggested while dealing with the issues of structure. The follow up measures of this policy may be stated as below:

1. All heads of educational institutions should be trained in the concept of scientific planning. For this purpose, programmes of training and research in educational planning institute may be expanded and state level institutions may be established.
2. It may be mandatory on the institutions to prepare long and short term plans to achieve policy objectives and objectives of the institutions. Funding of the institutions should be based on requirements indicated in their plans both for on-going and new activities/programmes.
3. Institutional level plan should be integrated with the district/state level plan, and the state level plan with national level plan. Institutions should carry out review of their programmes and activities regularly, say at least once a year, and provide feedback to their plans. Achievements and failures



should be feedback to district or state level bodies, district/state level bodies should do comparative analysis and review the developments, suggest measures to institutions and provide feedback to national level bodies. National level body should do comparative analysis of developments at the state level and suggest measures to states. This mechanism will help in developing a culture of planning and take the system of education in the desired direction.

#### FINANCIAL RESOURCES

Financial resources made available to education system are thinly spread and fall short of "critical minimum" requirement. Allocation of 3 per cent of GNP to this vast system is much below the "critical minimum" level. As a result, a good deal of resources get frittered away. Besides, the method of utilisation of these limited resources leaves much to be desired. Therefore, the fifth policy issue is allocation of "critical minimum" level of resources to education and their effective utilisation. Given the size of the system and new demands on it, less than 6-7 per cent of GNP will fall far short of our requirements.

Most of the resources for education come from the state exchequer. The state is, by an large, mobilising its resources through indirect taxes, which account for 86 per cent of the total revenue. Indirect taxes are largely paid by poor and middle class population as they account for majority of the population, and hence for the majority of consumption expenditure. As the state expenditure largely benefits upper middle and rich people, a reverse transfer of resources is taking place in their favour. Therefore, more resources need to be mobilised from the corporate sector. So far, investment on human capital tends to benefit the private employers, self-employed and migrating professionals, as they enjoy benefit of capital value without paying any interest on investment costs. Since education is investment in developing social capabilities, state should continue to support and enhance its support. In order to check the reverse transfer of resources and mobilise additional resources, which are to be ploughed back into education system, state should levy a tax on employers of educated personnel to the tune of 3 per cent of capital value of employed staff. Similarly, migrating professionals and self-employed educated people may be asked to pay 3 per cent of their capital worth of investment in them. In order to effectively utilise the resources, all the institutions and organisations should carry out cost-effective analysis of their programmes and activities. This should be an integrated part of the planning exercise.

# Implementation of the New Education Policy -1986

J. VEERA RAGHAVAN

PERHAPS THE single most important difference between the National Policy Statements on Education of 1968<sup>1</sup> and 1986<sup>2</sup> is to be found in the elaboration of 'Implementation Strategy' in the later document. This might well be indicative of a certain loss of naivete or innocence. The earlier Policy presumably assumed that implementation will necessarily follow governmental decisions and indeed that such decisions will flow naturally and inevitably from the Policy itself. It has now been realised that this need not necessarily be so. It must be said to the credit of the authors of the document "Challenge of Education--Policy Perspective"<sup>3</sup> (which preceded the 1986 Policy) that they saw educational change and reform as constrained and shaped by several forces within the education system and in the larger socio-political environment. Although some of the best insights into problems and difficulties in relation to education reforms are to be had from the remarkable book of J.P. Naik in which he has analysed the extent of implementation of the Kothari Commission's Report, it is in "The Challenge of Education" that we get a cogent, if brief, presentation of factors facilitating and constraining educational reforms. Among the factors listed as facilitating change are the widespread conviction that the present system of education, despite its many contributions, needed transformation;<sup>2</sup> the general consensus on the deterioration and lack of relevance in education;<sup>3</sup> the belief that education is one of the most effective instruments for achieving national objectives; the fact that we will be building on the very considerable achievements of the past as evidenced by the network of schools that already exists; the availability of manpower with requisite education and intellectual sophistication to support new initiatives; the experimental and innovative work of individuals and voluntary agencies and the opportunities provided by the new media. The constraints have been classified as internal (motivational), technological, legal, economic, financial and systemic. The lack of motivation and accountability for performance, the several vested

interests that would obstruct change, the inadequacy of hardware and difficulties in making available requisite software for effective use of media, the widespread poverty and the effects on education, the irrelevant orientation of research and development, the inadequacies of legislative back up have all been listed among the obstacles. Of particular interest is the observation that "decision-making, administration and implementation and the management of change are characterised generally by lack of entrepreneurship and excessive emphasis on hierarchical status. These are further compounded by the rigidity of approach, insularity of departmental structures as well as lack of detailed planning, unwillingness to experiment, suspicion of science and new ideas, and ritualistic adherence to the procedural rules and regulations"<sup>4</sup>.

No doubt the 1968 policy statement also acknowledged that reconstruction of education was no easy task and that not only would resources be scarce, but there would be exceedingly complex problems. It went on to further "express the hope that considering the key role which education, science and research played in developing the material and human resources of the country, the Government of India would undertake programmes in the Central sector, and assist state governments for the development of programmes of national importance where coordinated action on the part of the states and the Centre is called for"<sup>5</sup>. Beyond this, it had no light to shed or direction to give on implementation. The Report of the Kothari Commission<sup>6</sup> 1964-65, had no doubt gone earlier into the issues of administration and supervision of school education, the governance of universities, educational planning and administration, and educational finance. Nevertheless the fundamental obstacles in the transformation of our vast educational system and in the development of organisational structures, systems and processes to bring about the change were not clearly and concretely identified. In his assessment<sup>7</sup> of implementation of Kothari Commission's Report, J.P. Naik has pointed out that when the Education Commission met Dr. Zakir Hussain and sought his advice about the Report, he emphasised "just say three words: implement, implement and implement".<sup>8</sup>

But in many cases, says Naik, recommendations were not implemented due to factors inherent in individual recommendations, "but also due to the absence of a general atmosphere or infrastructure which could have helped to implement better".<sup>9</sup>

Further, Naik has pointed out that the Education Commission did not give a clear picture of development of the future society which we should strive to create in the country and the steps to be taken to create it, nor did it prepare a blue print of the national system of education highlighting the close links between education and

society. In particular, he has pointed out that the creation of a national system of education involved the making of hard decisions, the provision of massive resources, the organisation of sustained nationwide movement and the preparedness to alienate many a vested interest. Perhaps, as a result of experience or as a consequence of greater understanding of socio-economic phenomena and the causes of and constraints on development, the NPE 1986 has devoted very much more attention to the issues of implementation and management of education. In a separate section on "Management of Education", it has laid down the following "guiding considerations"<sup>10</sup> for the overhaul of the system of planning and management of education:

1. Evolving of a long-term planning and management perspective of education integration with the country's developmental and manpower needs.
2. Decentralisation and the creation of a spirit of autonomy for educational institutions.
3. Giving preeminence to people's involvement, including association of non-government agencies and voluntary effort.
4. Inducting more women in the planning and management of education.
5. Establishing the principles of accountability in relation to given objectives and norms.

Further, the Education Policy has given certain new directions in relation to organisational development at national, state, district and local levels. The specific proposals are:

1. The Central Advisory Board of Education would play a pivotal role in reviewing educational development, determining the changes required to improve the system and for monitoring implementation.
2. It would function through appropriate committees and other mechanisms created to ensure contact with and coordination among various areas of Human Resource Development.
3. The Department of Education at the Centre and in the state would be strengthened through the involvement of professionals.
4. A proper management structure in education will require the establishment of Indian Education Service as an all-India service. This will provide a national perspective to this vital sector. The basic principles, functions and procedures of recruitment to this service would be decided in consultation with state governments.

5. At the state level, state advisory boards would be established on the lines of the Central Advisory Board on Education.
6. Effective measures would be taken to integrate mechanisms in various state departments concerned with human resource development.
7. District Boards of Education would be created to manage education up to higher secondary level. State governments will attend to this aspect with all possible expedition. Within the multi-level framework of educational development, Central, state, district and local agencies will participate in planning, coordination, monitoring and evaluation.
8. An important role is assigned to the heads of educational institutions. Heads will be specially selected and trained. School complexes will be established on a flexible pattern so as to serve as 'networks of institutions'.
9. Local communities would be assigned a major role in programmes of school improvement.
10. The teacher and his education are assigned an important part in the strategy of change.
11. Resources available to the education system would be stepped up in a substantial manner.

Thus, multi-level planning, decentralisation, involvement of the community, emphasis on teacher education in-service training, and substantial increase in funding and, therefore, in physical facilities are among the significant elements of the new strategy of implementation. Equally important is the new vision of 'Human Resource Development' as a coordinated, integrated approach to develop the potential of every individual.

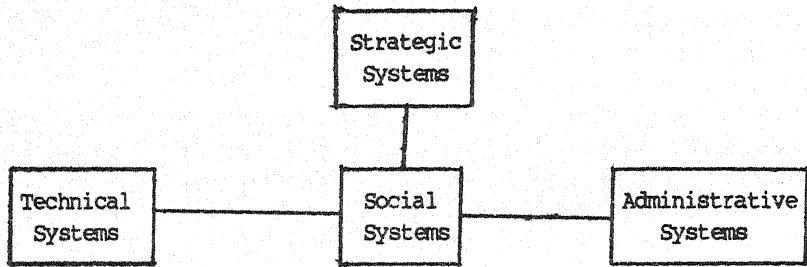
The proposals of NPE (1986) have been further elaborated in the document, the Programme of Action (POA) (approved by Parliament in August 1986). It must, in the first instance, be acknowledged that the preparation of this document is in itself a very welcome and useful step in the direction of effective implementation. The policy document is necessarily a brief statement of goals, purposes, and strategies. The POA is a further elaboration providing us with an outline of what is proposed to be done to implement the policy. The policy statement can, thus, be understood in terms of the expected concrete outcome and the strategies proposed to achieve these. The POA is specific and concrete enough to provide a guide to action as well as to form the basis for a critical appraisal.

Of special interest are two chapters in the POA that are devoted exclusively to the task of implementation. One of this is entitled 'Making the System Work' and the other 'the Management of Education'.

It is interesting to note that the two have been considered as two separate issues. This is perhaps due to the realisation that 'Management' alone cannot solve certain systemic problems which require separate attention.

The title of the chapter 'Making the System Work' is somewhat pejorative in that it implies that at present the system is 'not working' or 'not working in adequate measure'. That it is indeed so is borne out by the description of the present situation as given in the chapter. It is recognised that there are some good schools, but there are too many poor schools as well. There are many excellent teachers, but also many who ignore their obligations. In this dichotomous situation, it is stated that it is the women, the backward and the rural population who suffer most. The lack of order and discipline in the educational system prevents achievement of optimal results from the vast investment made in it which, in turn, becomes the cause of widespread despair and cynicism about the country's future. The conclusion reached is that "unless the system of education works properly--at all stages of education, in all parts of the country--the ambitious programme of educational reform envisaged in NPE 1986 will come to naught<sup>12</sup>. At the same time, it acknowledges that "given the will and collective endeavour of teachers and students it is possible to infuse a new life and a new creativity into the system". It suggests that "just as functioning of the democratic institutions and enjoyment of fundamental rights depends on observance of civic responsibility and inner discipline by the citizens of a country, likewise an atmosphere of freedom, innovation and creativity in educational system is dependent upon observance of norms of intellectual rigour, mutual consideration among all concerned and creation of a new work ethic". Discipline is to be introduced in the system 'here and now', but through a new educational order that is participatory and cooperative. A better deal to the teachers to go side by side with greater accountability among them; provision of improved student services alongside an insistence that their behaviour is in accordance with acceptable norms; and better facilities for educational institutions while ensuring that their performance comes up to the norms set at national or state levels.

The recommendations on 'Making the System Work' can best be understood as an effort to tackle a neglected, if difficult aspect of organisation development. It may be thought of as a strategy of improving 'the social system' if the total system is envisaged<sup>13</sup> as shown in the diagram on next page.



All the four systems or sub-systems contribute to organisational effectiveness in an interactive manner. Weakness or deficiency in any one of the systems is bound to affect the others and improvement in one can stimulate the rest in the right direction. Strategies for change have to be designed keeping in view the diagnosis of where it would be most effective to begin a major reform. All too often there is a great (misplaced) faith in reform of administrative or technical system while improvement in the social system might be more immediately productive of results. It is obvious that a workforce or management team with high morale could solve several problems and overcome obstacles and deficiencies, while their weak morale can easily undermine efforts in all other directions. Management literature is full of examples of well intentioned and strong attempts to improve organisations from the technical or administrative aspects which came to naught due to the neglect of the 'social system'. It must be said to the credit of the NPE (1986) and the POA that this lesson, so familiar to those who have handled organisation development, has been fully appreciated.

But how do we measure improvement in the social system and evaluate the proposed strategies? It has been suggested that just as 'productivity' is the key measure of the technical system, 'response time' of the, 'administrative system', 'management strength' of the strategic system, 'the quality of Work Life' (QWL) is the key measure of the social system. The QWL programmes aim at improving various aspects of the organisation that affect the morale, commitment and psychological well-being of the people who work in an organisation. A recent book <sup>14</sup> on the subject lists the following aspects from the point of view of the desires, needs and values of the individual working persons:

1. A job worth doing; one that makes a worthwhile contribution to the objectives of the organisation and that calls upon a reasonable share of the employee's skills, knowledge, and capabilities.

2. Adequate working conditions; a safe and reasonable humane set of physical and psychological conditions immediately surrounding the performance of the job.
3. Adequate pay and benefits in return for competent work.
4. Job security; knowing that one has a reasonable assurance of a job tomorrow if one is willing to work.
5. Competent supervision; positive, supportive, and affirmative treatment by one's boss and by higher levels of management.
6. Feedback on the results of one's work; recognition and appreciation of one's contributions to the objectives of the organisation.
7. Opportunities for growth and development in work skills and in responsibilities; progressively more challenging work which develops or activates progressively larger skills.
8. A fair chance to get ahead on merit; access to training, visibility to upper management, and competitive opportunities to win promotion to higher levels.
9. A positive social climate; a work setting that is stable, psychologically reinforcing, and humane in terms of values and interpersonal processes.
10. Justice and fair play; a sense that those in charge value and emphasise fairness and equitable treatment to all employees, regardless of social or ethnic concerns.

The author also points out that the quality of work life in the organisation is a matter of perception of the employees, not of the judgements of the managers. Further QWL is affected by the overall social setting in an organisation as determined by the four key aspects of power, values, norms and rewards. It will be noted that the NPE (1986) pays attention to all four aspects and states:

1. Norms must be laid down for observance by the administration, government as well as private management, teachers, students and educational institutions. These norms would be non-negotiable and not conditional on fulfilment by any other category of organisation or individual of their obligations.
2. Non-observance of these norms should inevitably lead to certain consequences.
3. Some immediate measures have to be taken to improve the working conditions of teachers and the conditions in which students study and live.
4. Unwarranted interference in educational system must be prevented.
5. Several immediate steps have also been proposed to improve the



working and living conditions of teachers. These include establishment of grievances redressal machinery, prevention of indignities, extortions and under payments to which teachers of aided and private institutions are subjected to, formulations of guidelines/rules for posting and transfers of teachers, observance of regular hours of work in regard to teaching, and a comprehensive, open, participatory data based system of teacher evaluation. As regards students, the POA<sup>15</sup> suggests removal of glaring deficiencies in regard to student's amenities, effective machinery for removal of students' grievances, timely payment of scholarships, consultation with students, formulation of codes of students' discipline through suitable statutes, ordinances or other appropriate ways, and enforcement of discipline in hostels.

Similarly, institutional norms are proposed for provision of immediate threshold of facilities, renovation of plant and facilities and making optimum use of the same and ensuring requisite authority for discharging responsibility without detriment to the participatory approach. Criteria for assessment of performance of educational institutions are proposed to be laid down, particularly in regard to the number of days of instructions in a year, number of days of forced closure, regularity in conduct of examination, regularity regarding declaration of results, regularity of academic sessions, quantity and quality of research and absenteeism among teachers. It is also proposed to prepare a code of professional ethics for teachers with the help of a joint group of national level teachers' organisation.

It is also proposed that the Central and State Advisory Boards of Education would lay down the criteria for evaluating how the system works and monitor through committees, initially once in a quarter, the extent to which the various parameters are getting operationalised.

It is quite appropriate in today's context that so much emphasis has been placed on improving the social system. Equally important it is to streamline the strategic system. This is the system that comprises the top management team, the planning system and the plans, the written directives and the management information system. The effectiveness of this system is measured by the quality of leadership, team spirit among the members, setting of workable goals, existence of a planning process, functional cooperation among individuals and among the organisations, collective problem-solving and decision-making processes, and follow through capabilities. The chapter on 'Management of Education'<sup>16</sup> in the POA deals almost en-

tirely with this aspect. Its central theme is that of decentralisation and multi-level planning. The crux of the proposals lies in the recommendation to establish District Boards of Education, which are to be equipped with the responsibility for implementation of all educational programmes, including school, non-formal and adult education up to Higher Secondary level. The boards would also be vested with the responsibility for planning which would include area development, spatial planning, institutional planning, administrative and financial control and personnel management with respect to primary, middle, secondary and higher secondary schools. The district boards will be required to formulate developmental strategies and plan educational activities for the entire district. They are also to be vested with appropriate statutory authority. Where administration and management of education is also the responsibility of Panchayati Raj bodies, the composition of District Boards of Education will be in consonance with existing management structure of the Panchayati Raj bodies. In other states, the composition of the district boards will take into account the need for representation of educationalists, women, youth, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, minorities and representative institutions in the district. It is envisaged that funds would be assigned to the district boards for implementation of various programmes. Provision will also be made, while constituting the district boards to enable them to raise their own resources. It is envisaged that there will be a Chief Education Officer for the district to look after all levels of education with a District Education Officer looking after budgeting, planning, and the educational data base. There would be other district officers for specific programmes. The district board is expected to supervise and monitor all aspects of educational development. At the state level, the implementation of the programmes in the districts will be monitored and relevant indicators will be established to enable inter-district comparisons. The resources to be transferred to the districts will be linked to performance and achievement. It also envisaged that District Inspectors of Education will be appointed to look after academic functions of institutions exclusively.

Such functionaries who will be selected with due regard to their understanding of their academic functions will be responsible for looking after the academic standards in educational institutions, provide academic leadership and help in better performance of the academic functions of heads of institutions and teachers. The district institute of education and training under the district board will be responsible for making substantive curricular and pedagogic inputs into all programmes of education at the district level and will also be responsible for training of personnel and provision of

resource, support to programmes, including adult education. Considerable importance is also being attached to the role of the heads of institutions. Fixed term appointment of the heads of institution and minimum transfers have been recommended to enable the heads to exercise their roles and make their contribution to the development of the institution. The heads of primary and middle schools would be made accountable to Village Education Committees, comprising not more than 15 members with representatives from parents, panchayats, co-operatives, women, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, minorities and local development functionaries. School complexes are also proposed as networks of institutions of a flexible pattern to encourage professionalism among teachers, observance of norms of conduct and enable sharing of experiences and facilities. The school complexes are expected to serve as the lowest viable unit for area planning, forming a cluster of 8 to 10 institutions in which different institutions can reinforce one another by exchanging resources, personnel, material, teaching aids, etc. Fully developed school complexes can take over some of the inspection functions.

At the state level, the suggestion is for creating a framework for integrating all the activities concerned with human resource development through the State Advisory Board of Education which will perform "as an umbrella organisation" for this purpose. Further administrative arrangements are to be strengthened and reorganised in the light of the priority assigned in the NPE to programmes of Universal Elementary Education, Non-formal Education, Eradication of Illiteracy, Establishment of the National System of Education as well as monitoring and evaluation of all priority programmes.

Special emphasis has also been placed on arrangements for planning and coordination of college and university education at the state level. State councils of higher education are recommended to be set up to review performance, determine financial requirements and plan for innovations and inter se network.

The main areas of central responsibility in respect of management functions have been listed as "determination of national priorities, evolving of strategies through the participation of concerned agencies, laying down guidelines for formulation of programmes and schemes, providing continuous technical back up and resource support, undertaking, monitoring and evaluation and creating conditions for the maintenance of quality and efficiency."

A national body covering higher education, including agriculture, medical, technical, legal and other professional fields, is to be set up for greater coordination and consistency of policy, sharing of facilities and developing inter-disciplinary research.

The All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE) is to be

made a statutory authority to play its role more effectively. It will set up a Board of accreditation to make recommendation on accreditation of programmes and institutions with the active involvement of professional bodies both at the Centre and the state level, it will prescribe guidelines and norms for this purpose. Boards of studies will be strengthened with greater representation to use agencies and new boards will be set up in emerging areas of technology, and also in continuing education, distance learning, educational technology and teacher training.

An interesting proposal is that the Central Government will constitute technology watch groups in higher institutions of learning in each state. These will constantly watch out for new and emerging technologies, evaluate their relevance and feasibility in the national context and their potential for adaptation. A national system for technology assessment and forecasting is also proposed for preparing profiles for future thrust of R and D activities.

A Research Council is to be set up at the national Level to cover all institutions of higher learning to provide an overall view of research, monitor its progress through a proper information base, lay down policy and priorities and provide funding guidelines to participating agencies. Movement within academic institution, between academic and research institutions and between industry and educational institutions is to be encouraged on well-defined terms.

Equal attention has been paid to the organisational reforms needed for implementing the priority programmes of universal elementary education, consolidation of secondary education, vocational education and adult education. There are, in fact, a plethora of proposals for reform and strengthening of the strategic system. One of the most immediate and priority tasks before the Central and the state governments is the reorganisation of the administrative and implementation machinery so that it becomes a fit, but not fat, instrument for implementation.

Anyone who has visited a Secretary to the Department of Education or a Director of Education or a District Education Officer would have been impressed by the fact that these functionaries would hardly have any time for strategic thinking, policy formulation or reorientation of programmes, and organisations. Routine and immediate work, and crisis solving take all the time and energy. The proposed decentralisation to the district level offers a new opportunity to correct the situation. However, it should be ensured that we do not end up with 500 different systems of education with varying standards. Strong organisational and administrative action would be necessary to build a national system of education, implemented, however, at the district level, with due regard for local concerns.

In the preceding paragraphs, we have highlighted aspects of the NPE 1986 and the PAO as they affect the social and strategic systems. The major part of the documents, however, deals, as is but appropriate, with the technical system, which is in a run-down condition. The technical system in education comprises the physical facilities, the teachers and their education, the curricula and the learning materials and the examination/evaluation systems. That physical facilities should be provided on the basis of workable norms will not be denied to any one, but the tremendous pressures of expansion and inadequate funding have led to extremely non-viable institutions in schools and colleges and obsolescence in technical education institutions. The NPE proposes to increase the funding to over 6 per cent of GNP by the Eighth Plan. Measures for non-government funding are also to be encouraged. The time-bound scheme of "Operation Black Board" is designed to eliminate lack of minimum required facilities in elementary schools in all habitations with population of 300 and over. All single-teacher schools are to be provided with an additional teacher. There are similar programmes and proposals for consolidation of secondary schools and colleges.

There are also several new thrusts. Notable among them are the proposals in regard to women's equality, education of scheduled castes, tribes and other backward sections, education of minorities and education of the handicapped. These, along with the stress on achievement of specified competencies and insistence of norm-based facilities provide a solid basis of equity in the NPE 1986. So is the major programme of Navodaya Schools designed to high quality education to the brilliant students in rural areas, especially the poor among them--an opportunity hitherto available only to the rich and the urbanites. Among the other new directions in the NPE 1986 are: (1) Open University and Distance Education, (2) Delinking of degrees from jobs and manpower planning, (3) Rural institutes and universities, (4) A new enlarged programme of vocationalisation of education, (5) Media and educational technology (including the use of computers in education), and (6) Mass programme of adult education. Languages, cultural perspectives and youth and sports programmes have also been adequately dealt with to ensure an integrated approach to human resource development. The chapters on content and process of school education and on evaluation and examination reform are particularly important in realising the objectives of education and provide inter alia for national integration and value-oriented education.

The central measure of the technical system is 'productivity' and in the context of education this calls for close attention to the issue of relevance. Relevance and productivity of the education

system is related to the developmental strategies of the country. The goals of planning in India, namely growth, social justice, modernisation and self-reliance mean in concrete terms the elimination of poverty, creating conditions of near-full employment, the satisfaction of the basic needs of the people in terms of food, clothing and shelter, attainment of universal elementary education and access to health facilities for all, and developing a modern technologically progressive economy with expanding capacity to provide the basic material and cultural requisites of well being for all the people. As the Seventh Plan states,<sup>17</sup> attainment of these goals require:

1. Action to sustain and enhance the momentum of economic expansion and technological development;
2. Adoption of effective promotional measures to raise the productivity and incomes of the poorer sections of the population, poorer regions and poorer states;
3. Expansion and qualitative improvement in facilities for health, education, and other basic civic amenities; and
4. Measures for bringing about a sharp reduction in the rate of population growth.

In the above context, the emphasis in the NPE 1986, that the main task is to strengthen the base of the pyramid, is indisputable. The most challenging task ahead is not merely the organisation of an efficient delivery system for elementary, non-formal and adult education, but generation of effective demand for these services that would make optimal use of the facilities provided. It is here that the integrated concept of human resource development becomes most useful and it is appropriate that the NPE ends with the statement that it should now be possible to further intensify the nation wide effort in human resource development with education playing its multifaceted role. This is a concept wider and deeper than the human capital approach that treats man as means to an end and is nearer to Ruskin<sup>18</sup> when he declares: "Perhaps it may even appear after some consideration that the persons themselves are the wealth; not gold and silver. The true veins of wealth are purple--and not in Rock but in Flesh. The final consummation of all wealth is in producing as many as possible full-breathed, bright-eyed and happy-hearted human beings".

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# Some Aspects of Planning in Education : Its Pedagogical Dimensions

T.V. KUNNUNKAL, S.J.

IT IS against the context of the National Policy on Education and the imperative of translating words into deeds that this paper is written. The nation has been in search of a new education, an education that is relevant and which would effectively serve the needs of all sections of the people. The Policy document is more than staid narration of what needs to be done but has clearly an ideology and a vision. Its ideology is not different from the ideology of the Constitution and the vision of our Founding Fathers, expressing the hope about the India of today and tomorrow. Many people have been asking the question, after the Policy has been formulated and approved: "What is new in the Policy?" If we are merely seeking to satisfy intellectual curiosity, we would be disappointed. However, if we are looking for a sharper national vision and a prospective re-formulation of our ideology for a high degree of frankness and directness, for a quiet sense of commitment and purposefulness and consequent efforts to identify different approaches and instrumentalities to solve long standing problems, etc., we will find, in the new Policy, many instances for appreciation. Hence, rather than give into the chronic and almost pathological urge to see only the dark clouds and repeat the poor track record of the past, I propose to look more optimistically at the tremendously challenging and extremely difficult task that the Policy has placed before the Government and the people. I shall only deal with one particular aspect of Policy implementation, namely, the urgent need to bring about a revolution in the class-room and in the teaching-learning process and strategies for doing so.

One of the most significant and critical statements in the Policy is "up to a given level, all students, irrespective of caste, creed, location or sex, have access to education for comparable quality" (3.2). The stress is more than providing education for all, namely, the constitutional imperative of providing free education to all till the age of 14. We have realised, over the past four decades, that in



Independent India, education, particularly good quality education, has continued to be the strongest and most effective instrument for social and economic division of the people between the few haves and the majority of have-nots. What has been happening for centuries before is continuing to happen today in spite of the country having been free for the past 40 years. Wealth, social status, amenities and luxuries of life are closely linked with the quality of education since the two have a cause-effect nexus. Even today, only a small percentage (some put it as low as three per cent, though I would put it at around 15 to 20 per cent) get a good quality education in the country. The vast majority of 80 per cent or more are destined to make do with what remains of that quality. Far from having even a small share of the educational cake, most can barely get a piece of the educational bread! Educational Taj Mahals for the few and educational slums for the many is the existing reality. Unlimited opportunities for some and a bleak and desolate yesterday continuing into today and to go on to tomorrow is the prospect for most. This has resulted in a highly layered and stratified society, since access to good quality education has almost become hereditary, maintaining a chain relationship between good schooling, leading to admission to very good and select colleges, placement in professional institutions, appointments to the best positions in the country in civil jobs, engineering, medical or in the world of business and industry, etc., thus creating and perpetuating a new brahminical society.

The Policy seeks to restore equity, through equalisation of educational opportunity. This is one of the many challenges and the tasks that the Policy proposes. I will not deal with the 'hardware' aspects of providing a basic school building, minimum equipment and facilities, a teacher for each class, etc., so as to make it possible to provide an education of quality in such schools. 'Operation Blackboard' and its implementation will attend to this aspect. I would concern myself with exploration into some of the 'software' aspects and specifically the pedagogical aspects of the educational reform that are envisaged. Dr. Kothari had stated that the destiny of India is shaped in her classrooms. The Policy sees education as essentially developmental and integrative in character. Not a startlingly new concept, but an old idea which has great deal of currency, relevance and urgency today and, what is more important, something that is sadly deficient in the educational process.

Let us, therefore, explore a little further the dimensions of development and integration, against the actual context obtaining today. We have thousands of persons, engaged in computer centres and establishments, assisting programmers in data entry. Countless millions of bytes of data are entered into the central processing unit of the

computer and stored in its vast memory box. On command, selected accesses and retrieval become possible, with a great deal of permutations and combinations can be done through the computer. The computer and this kind of data entry, storage and retrieval are still relatively new in our country, though growing very rapidly. Some of us like to boast (I don't join them) that whatever is being done in the present, including technological achievements, were already done by us in the past. However, I find a strong similarity between those engaged in data entry into the computers and the task that is done by the average teacher in our country. They engage themselves in transferring bits of information (only the spelling has been slightly changed by the computers people) from their memory and from their books and notes into the memory box of the students for storage and later for retrieval at the time of examinations. If retrieval is as perfect as that of the computer, we declare them toppers and give them medals, awards and certificates. While the computer people do not boast about the ability of the data entry machines to enter large amount of data into the computer memory, we continue to boast that we are able to repeat, even though not perfectly what the computer does routinely, and claim that these are the best schools. The Policy document reiterates that it is development that spells educational quality and further that it is the degree of integration, both personal and social, that will mark the degree of educational effectiveness.

#### DEVELOPMENTAL EDUCATION

What is of immediate urgency is to identify and define exactly the implications and requirements of developmental education. We have realised that education is a change process, that it means growth, and that it must result in the flowering of the student into full bloom. Now we must specify, in behavioural terms, the learning outcomes that are expected to take place and areas of 'learning to be' and 'learning to do' for each stage, namely, the primary (classes I-V) the upper primary (classes VI-VIII) and for the secondary or high school (classes IX-X) as well as specify such learning outcomes for each subject and for each level. Today, at the end of class V or class VIII, the majority of our students remain largely undiscovered and undeveloped or grossly under-developed. As a result, learning outcomes that the parents have a right to demand from education are not forthcoming. To mention a few instances: children, after learning a language for several years, are not able to speak it with accuracy and fluency; much less are they able to read with understanding and even less to write correctly; speed and accuracy in ordinary and

fundamental operations of Arithmetic are wanting; a reasonable degree of understanding in Mathematics, the development of logical thinking, the courage to question, to explore, to formulate a problem and search for an answer, knowledge and appreciation of the heritage of India and not merely a litany of names and dates about what happened in the past; a heart-level response to the country and to our forefathers; the discovery and development of one's senses and the ability to use them more and more in productive work and in practical and everyday circumstances, whether in changing a fuse, opening a radio to identify a routine defect, to ride a bus alone, or to cycle, or learn to swim, to buy goods from a neighbouring market on one's own, to appreciate what is beautiful and make it part of one's personal value system, etc. Such developmental goals related to particular areas of learning need to be identified and defined exactly. Only then can we ask the teachers to concentrate on leading the students into these areas of development. Only then will we be able to ask for any accountability from the teachers.

#### INTEGRATIVE EDUCATION

The present formal education, as it obtains in our country, is merely bookish and even worse, largely memory-based. It prepares the students to store, namely, memorise data for reproduction at the time of the examinations. The merit of students is entirely judged on the basis of the marks obtained. Integrative education would mean that the students' mind is integrated with one's heart or the affective domain as also with the hands or the psycho-motor domain. This would result in personal integration so that the heart would know what the head is thinking about; so that the hand would be able to do what the mind has understood or what the heart feels inclined to do etc. Half-baked or partial education would then give way to total or integrated education. Another area of integration is the integration of oneself with others, with the larger community outside, with one's city, one's state, one's country and its people and finally with the community of man. We are all aware of the diminishing vision that exists today that narrowly divides and separates a set of persons from another set of persons, based on the narrow domestic walls of caste or religion or language or group. Work experience is a joiner; community service is a joiner; reflection on first hand experiences after such services is a joiner; open-ended discussions in the context of specific non-integrative events that have taken place and arriving at conclusions is also a process helping integration, and so on. These may not be written off as areas of politics and nothing to do with schools and schools' education. They are a part of life and

of reality, even though they are part of the harsh realities of life. Sooner, rather than later, children should be helped to perceive, to understand and to appreciate these realities and make both personal and collective responses to these. As a people, we have grown accustomed to a great deal of grumblings and criticisms, both privately and through letters in newspapers or magazines. But effective public response of the organised variety that will force the Government to respond to the call of the people to attend to them and to their needs and demands is something that has yet to take place in India in any larger measure. And to that extent, we are only moving towards becoming a democratic country, namely, where the people participate and contribute to decision. Instead, we see a small dominant group make others helpless and keep them so, whether the defects refer to civic utilities, such as supply of water, electricity, keeping roads in good state of repair or make the phones work, etc. In another context, even today, we are still thinking of ourselves as Bengalis or Punjabis, etc., first and (possibly) secondly as Indians, thus reducing the latter category to the smallest minority community. Nation-building will indeed take time as a historical process, but education, in the large sense and through the different media of education, can help or hinder that process.

#### STRATEGIES FOR REORIENTATION OF THE TEACHER

The Policy talks about 'making the system work'. Any significant change from the status quo is possible only if the teacher can be touched and changed and made into a new teacher, with a new vision, new skills, abilities and methodologies as well as new attitudes and values. Since the essence of education, in our context, lies in making it a developmental and integrative process, the teacher has to become effectively an agent for development and for integration. So, any programme in teacher orientation must help the teacher to become such an agent.

The idea of a school cluster or an educational complex of an adequate number of schools of an area pooling their resources and talents and in a spirit of cooperation and sharing, is not new but already suggested by the Kothari Commission. But even today, the idea has not been translated into practice. Not because the idea is a bad one, but the attitudes have proved a strong barrier to implementation. Like our caste, religious and linguistic barriers, operating behind their 'narrow domestic walls', so have schools tended to be islands, whether they be private unaided schools or aided or Government schools. Hence, there has to be a firm policy directive from the departments of education or boards or preferably both that the

schools would be expected to form clusters for certain specified areas. Initially and in order to get the idea off the ground, the schools should be given the freedom to choose, with the direction that the department/board would expect them to have as much 'other-ness' included while choosing and that the choice be mutual. Further, that the number of schools in the cluster should be neither too small nor too large as to become unwieldy. The Policy refers to the setting up of District Institutes of Education and Training. If, in particular districts, this means too large a number of schools, it would seem necessary to decentralise further.

The school cluster or complex should undertake increasingly more and more responsibilities so as to become functionally autonomous institutions (namely the clusters) to bring about educational reforms. To begin with, responsibility for the orientation of teachers and heads of institutions, should be taken in hand. Because of the adequate number of teachers available in a cluster, it would be possible to obtain outside experts to help in the orientation programme. But, the main resources should be from within and from teachers themselves. We have under-credited the teacher resource and have put too much reliance on experts, on people with titles and positions, in the process neglecting to use and thus further develop the rich talents available within the teacher community. The methodology has also been one of giving lectures, even when the topic for discussion is how to make the education process more child-oriented and a more active process. Hence, the majority of the orientation time should be spent in the form of workshop so as to come up with usable products. This alone will enable the teachers to develop actual skills, shed the fear or hesitation to translate ideas into actions. Unless the orientation really helps the teacher, not through talk but through actual outputs, to develop themselves further, to become free to explore and to do, they will not find it easy to be agents and catalysts to enable children to grow. Others development presupposes self-development. An undeveloped teacher will keep the children also undeveloped.

It would be necessary to lend support to the school cluster or complex by the department/board/NCERT and other institutions in the production of a Handbook to programme organisers about the objectives of the orientation, the expected outcomes in behaviourally specific terms as well as the management of the process flow so that the outcomes are attained by most, if not all. Once inter-school contacts begin to take place, for professional purposes and not merely for competing with one another in sports or some other activity, the areas of cooperation can spread. This will be a practical demonstration of the value of working together than in competition, resulting

in the mutual enrichment of all the schools of the cluster rather than one school or a few schools staying on top, ensuring that schools rise together, namely, a *sahodaya* movement. The more difficult and sensitive area of friendly and professional visits to one another to ensure that academic supervision that takes place is to be seen as part of the responsibility of the cluster. Distant control and distant supervision have really not helped improve the educational process in the classroom. The instrument of the school cluster and shared responsibility can become much more effective in achieving the goals of the Policy. Schools will continue to have their own spheres of responsibility and authority, but will also accept some areas of co-responsibility.

There are certain substantive or key words that contain the thrust of the new Policy. In our context, the following are relevant: decentralisation, participation, functional autonomy, accountability, vision of the future, and partnership.

It is my firm hope that educational reform through the school cluster or complex would prove an effective means of promoting development and integration in and through education.

# Planning and Management at the Institutional Level: Effective Monitoring of Education System

NITISH DE

THE PAPER will be based on a number of premises which should be stated in the beginning.

Planning and management are not two distinct categories when we come to effectiveness dimension. They are so interrelated and enmeshed that it is better to conceive of them as an integrated function. It means that the two or more sets of functionaries involved in these tasks, need to interact closely often and work together.

By institutional level, we mean essentially two structural arrangements:

1. A particular institution or organisation, which may be a primary school, a secondary school, a college or a university, with certain distinct identifiable properties.
2. An institution will also imply a complex of inter-related institutions. One simple example is the school complex in Maharashtra.

In this article, we shall use the term **educational complex**, which will imply that a degree level college, urban or rural, will have associated with it a number of higher secondary/secondary schools and that each such school will have a number of primary/lower secondary schools associated with it.

The educational complex will perform a number of functions of which pooling of scarce resources, interaction among faculty--including programme for faculty development--will be two important functions.

In planning and management, we do also visualise that some amount of evaluation and consequent collective action, positive or negative, will also be carried out at extra institutional level. This may include the district and the state authorities and, in appropriate cases, the Central authorities.

Now, let us come to the substantive components.

The planning and management activities at an institutional level essentially require certain relevant systems of working; data generated in the course of the system's working are to be fed to appropriate levels and on the basis of this feedback to make evaluation which will further generate appropriate action.

To illustrate our purpose, we shall take up such aspects as institutional autonomy, faculty autonomy, institutional accountability, faculty accountability—at individual and group levels—career planning of employees and establishment of a standard of excellence at the institutional level which can be evaluated at the institutional as well as extra-institutional levels, issues on which a good deal of unclarity exists.

Before we examine the issues mentioned above, we would also like to clarify one major point about which there exists a confusion. The British philosopher John Locke made certain assumptions which still remain the traditional educational paradigm. These are:

1. The individual mind is a *tabula rasa*, a clean slate at birth.
2. The perceptual world of the new-born is a buzzing, booming confusion.
3. Percepts arise from the association of stimuli.
4. Concepts of an object or belongingness or of casual relation are inferred from associations of stimuli.

Needless to point out that consciously or unconsciously, most educators follow this line of thought. Paulo Freire and Ivan Illich have faulted the education system on this ground, harshly but rightly.

As against this traditional approach, Fred Emery (1981) following the pioneering work of Fritz Heider, observed that "in the perception of objects we are dealing with ambient, reflected light, not the radiant light that is so central to the studies of optical physics. Reflected light, except for mirrored light, has the property that the order of the direction of light rays is changed at the surface of an object... The light waves always appear together, although changed as a result of their illumination, position, etc. They contain an order which becomes meaningful only if one refers them to the corresponding object. This is not a property of radiant light in clear air." This is to elucidate the point that learning has a contextual framework. Emery also believes that history, not theory, is a better guide in giving direction to our educational paradigm.

The essential point is that education is foremost the product of our perceptual system to better search out the invariant characteris-



tics and distinguishing features of our personal, social and physical environments. Viewed in this way, we believe that education is an ecological paradigm of which the following are some of the characteristics:

- Perception of invariants;
- Discovery of serial concepts;
- Discovery of universals in particular;
- Symmetrical dependence on co-learners;
- Cooperation of learners;
- Community settings synchronised to and negotiated with community settings;
- Reality-centred projects;
- Discrimination, differentiation, searching, and creating;
- Creating and re-creating learning settings;
- Discovery of 'the lamp';
- Active leisure 'exciting, frustrating';
- Pairing;
- Tolerance of individuality;
- Depth and integration;
- Homonymy (a sense of relatedness and belongingness); and
- Learning as living.

Searching for meaning in a collective setting is a new paradigm for education.

Many persons, either because they are not clear about the meaning or because they want to skirt the issue, are allergic to the term 'evaluation'. I believe this term should be made more clear by referring to Kenneth Boulding (1985). Boulding had this to say about evaluation, "Evaluation is a central and constant activity of the human mind. It always implies statements of the form: 'A is better than B'. It is expressed in ordinal numbers, like 1st, 2nd and 3rd, rather than in cardinal numbers like 1, 2 or 3."

The relevant proposition, it appears, is how do we handle evaluative data about the faculty members or about a school so that the data can lead to positive effect. Rectification of flaws or failures is not necessarily an undesirable action or activity. As a matter of fact, evaluation is inevitable and, therefore, we should try to legitimise it and develop certain common norms about it.

Essentially, we have to develop certain accepted criteria and certain measurement norms in respect of the major themes which we have mentioned above. In today's context, these measuring rods, if we can use this term, should best take the form of social indicators (Zanders, 1984) which we shall seek to devise for our specific pur-

pose. These indicators can be descriptive of a system, can be evaluative of a system and can also be predictive about a system. We believe ideally that this is what social indicators should do.

We also believe that indicators should reflect the reality of what is going on as early as possible so that rectificatory measures can be taken. To that extent, some of our indicators will have short time period and some of our indicators will have longer time period.

Indicators may be quantitative or qualitative and in the complex field of education, we believe that it will have both the aspects. Whereas quantitative data can lead to quantitative evaluation, qualitative data, we believe, should not be given arbitrary quantitative measures to get a common framework. We believe that variety in a system can only be dealt with appropriate measures of variety.

#### AN ILLUSTRATIVE LIST OF CRITERIA, THEIR MEASUREMENT AND THE AGENCIES FOR CONDUCTING THE MONITORING

##### Institutional Accountability

Item	Criteria	Monitoring			Agency
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Capital Grant during the year to the Institute from Central Authorities.	Percentage of this grant as total grant to similar institutes in the State.	Ins- titu- tion	Inter- Insti- tution	State agen- cies (edu- operat- cation ing in com- the plex)	Cen- tral autho- rity
Capital Grant from the State to the Institute during the year.	Percentage of this grant as total grant to similar institutes in the	/	/		

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	State.				
Capital Grant to the Institute by the members of the public during the year.	Percentage of this grant to the total grant to the similar institutes in the State made by the members of the public.		✓	✓	
Grant on revenue account by the Central Government during the year.	Percentage of this grant to the total revenue grant to similar institutes in the State.		✓	✓	
Grant on revenue account by the State Government during the year.	-do-		✓	✓	
Grant on revenue account by the members of the public to the institute during the year.	-do-		✓	✓	
Number of students in different classes compared to the previous year.	Increase, if so, why and decrease, if so, why.	✓	✓	✓	
Number of girl students to different	-do-	✓	✓	✓	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
classes compared to the previous year.					
Number of students belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in different classes compared to the previous year	Increase, if so, why and decrease, if so, why.	✓	✓	✓	
Drop-out rate during the year among women students and the members of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes as compared to the previous year.	-do-	✓	✓	✓	
Number of students who have been promoted or got through the final examination class-wise, as compared to the previous year.	-do-	✓	✓	✓	
Number of students who have been promoted or got through the final examination class-wise in	-do-	✓	✓	✓	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
respect of women students and the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.					
Scholarship holders, if any, compared to the previous year.	Reasons for increase or decrease.	/	/	/	
In case there was any crisis of un- usual simulation in the locality mention how the Institute as a whole responded to the situation.	Positive, negative or neutral (short description)	/	/	/	
The status of education in the State.	Measure literacy rate as well as professional education advancement or reduction.			/	/
The status of education in the Nation.	-do-			/	/
The relationship among sub-groups in the Institute.	Strife, conflict, etc.	/	/		
The reputation of the Head of the Institute.	Teachers, students and community leaders to be consulted.		/		

# Faculty Accountability

Item	Criteria	Monitoring			Agency
		Ins- titu- tion	Inter- Insti- tution	State agen- cies (edu- operat- ing in com- plex)	Cen- tral autho- rity
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)

## (A) At Individual Level

Percentage of time given by each teacher to the following activities:	Percentage variation among the teachers and the reasons thereof.	✓	✓
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- (a) Interaction with students in formal situation;
- (b) interaction with students in an informal situation;
- (c) Interaction amongst colleagues;
- (d) Interaction with the support staff;
- (e) Interaction with the Administration:

Percentage of time given to	If papers, etc. are written, then	✓	✓
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(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
professional activities, such as writing papers, etc.	their names with information on publication should be mentioned.				
Percentage of time given to games, sports and other extra-curricular activities of the students.	The information given may be compared with the previous year's information.	✓	✓		
Students' evaluation of the teachers individually in terms of the teacher's contribution to their overall learning.	A simple questionnaire may be designed which can be administered by the head of the Institute to each class to carry it out anonymously.	✓	✓		
<b>(B) At Group Level</b>					
Overall performance of the teachers as a group.	A questionnaire will be devised which will be administered to the teachers anonymously. The tabulated data will be presented.	✓	✓		
Group activity among the teachers in the form of seminars, sympo-	comparison of the information with the previous year's	✓	✓		

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
sia, discussion meetings, etc., and number of teachers present in such meetings.	information				
Any initiative taken by the teachers to improve their collaborative spirit and reduction of 'politics' among themselves.	A questionnaire method be evolved to be administered among the teachers anonymously.	/	/		

We may point out that BOK (1986) has shown that students' evaluation of individual teachers often fails as an indicator of excellence. There is a danger of teachers vying with one another on popularity.

#### **Institutional Autonomy**

Autonomy in society is a relative concept. 'A' may have more autonomy than 'B'. In that sense, there cannot be any absolute autonomy. An educational institute, irrespective of the type of service it renders, is a service organisation. Its accountability to the society will thus determine the nature of its autonomy.



Item	Criteria	Monitoring		Agency	
		Ins- titu- tion	Inter- Insti- tution (edu- cation com- plex)	State agen- cies operat- ing in the state	Cen- tral autho- rity
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Degree of internal manage- ment of the Institute in relation to the mission of the same.	The mission should be defined in a measureable way - qualitative or quantitative. On the definition of the mission, the Institute as a whole can deter- mine the essential area where it should enjoy the freedom to operate.	/			
Freedom in respect of admission, conduct of examination and declaration of results.	Specific criteria should be laid down for each of the subject items mentioned earlier and care should be taken that these are observed by the Institution and by the agencies which are outside the institution. Any violation to be recorded and reported to the State agencies	/		/	/

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	and if necessary, to the Central agencies.				
Adequate freedom to raise fund and other assets in a manner consis- tent with the mission of the Institute and as laid down in the rules of the Institute.	The budget of the Institute should provide for rais- ing of funds/assets in the light of services rendered to the community or specific customer. This provides elbowroom to the institute to be financially viable and also offers opportunity to the institute members to prove their abilities. The specific ser- vices should be mentioned so that confusion and conflict could be avoided.	✓	✓	✓	
Institute to provide for decision-making and problem- solving roles for sub-groups including the support staff and students.	Sub-items, criteria and limits to be drawn up as norms.		✓		

**Faculty Autonomy**

Item	Criteria	Monitoring		Agency	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Freedom provided to faculty members in groups as well as individually to decide on norms to serve the student community.	Norms should be laid down as to number of classes to be taken, home work to be given, examination to be conducted, and so on. Care should be taken to build-up enough flexibility in this matter so that the teachers who are under certain constraints at a particular time might be given time-off from some of these requirements provided the same is undertaken by other faculty members.	Ins- titu- tion		Inter- Insti- agen- cies (edu- operat- cation ing in com- the plex) state	
Faculty autonomy in respect of teaching methods, interpretation of content of study and provision of	Norms have to be clearly laid down so that no teacher can interpret facts according to his own preference and bias			State Cen- tral autho- rity	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
motivation to the students.	and thereby vitiate the learning culture of the students.				
	Similarly, cognizance should be taken of positive initiative taken by any teacher or group of teachers in the matter of motivating the students.				
Faculty vis-a-vis other service groups in the Institute.	<div> <div>Norms should be evolved as to how the work relationship between faculty members and the support staff can work productively for the betterment of the Institute.</div> <div>The aim should be to establish a culture of collegueship rather than a hierarchical culture.</div> </div>				

### Career Planning of Employees

In the context of contemporary situation, as well as of the future, positive motivation of the employee has to be planned for by an institution. Motivation has two components, one is on-going and upward moving learning and the other is career growth.

Instead of going into the complexities of dynamics of positive motivation, we may mention that career growth, to be meaningful, should be a matter that a person should earn promotion by virtue of his proven ability. If it is given to a person because of his length of service or because he can muster enough muscle power, then the

motivational content is lost (merit promotion system, in Indian universities barring a minority of cases, is a product of 'politiking').

Item	Criteria	Monitoring Agency			
		Ins- titu- tion	Inter- Insti- tution	State agen- cies (edu- operat- cation ing in com- the plex)	Central autho- rity
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Budget for employees training and growth.	At the beginning of the year every institute should make provision for funds for the training of employees at all levels - peon/ gardener up to the head of the institute.  Depending upon the financial resources available, number of persons to be meaningfully trained/educated for the growth of knowledge, skills and attitude should be worked out.  The annual report of the institute should mention what have been the possible benefits of such training/ education.	/	/	/	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Similarly, criteria for promotion should be laid down more on the basis of objectively measured performance rather than on the basis of seniority. It is also desirable that multiple skills as a concept should be introduced so that the staff strength can be kept under control.

Training and performance will be complementary and, therefore, the seniors, if given opportunity for training, are expected to perform better.

Flexible deployment of employees.

Instead of following the traditional concept that a teacher can only be promoted to next higher grade, depending upon aptitude and opportunity of training, a teacher can move to an administrative position.

Similarly, a clerk in the establishment section, because of his aptitude and acquired training, can move to a higher level in accounts.

Likewise, it is possible to train up the lowest level functionaries, such

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
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as peons, gardeners,  
sweepers, etc.

It is quite conceivable  
that a peon can do a part-  
time peon's job and rest  
of the time he can do a  
despatch clerk's job. In  
such a case, he should  
draw a despatch clerk's  
emoluments.

This kind of non-tradi-  
tional career planning  
should be drawn up in  
every institute.

Need for  
Reward  
and  
Punishment

Criteria should be  
evolved institutionally  
as approved by the State/  
Central Governments,  
to determine specific  
acts which will be  
responded to by honorarium,  
etc., and punishment of  
various magnitudes.

#### Establishment of Standard of Excellence

Despite various improved measures adopted, in the long run, an educational institute should aim at upgrading itself in all respects. One is encouraged by the successful experimentation in Maharashtra and other States to allocate a grading to the school which may be low and then make an attempt to ensure that in the coming years the school can improve its grading (Singhal, 1983; Mukhopadhyay, 1981). One of the best expositions of the improvement in the quality of education has come recently from the pen of Derek Bok (1986), President of Harvard University. Among several other issues of

importance, Bok makes the following observation :

Though generalisations are hazardous, professors who are active in research seem more likely to keep growing and have something of value to offer their students throughout a long career. Perhaps this helps to explain why so many of the conversations I have had over the years with presidents of small liberal arts colleges have shifted sooner or later to the problem of faculty 'burnout' - how to maintain the enthusiasm and the commitment of teachers who have not been able to renew themselves through constant research and writing.

In universities teaching goes on at many levels - in under-graduate classrooms, in the mentoring of new generations of teachers and scholars, and through the dissemination of published scholarship to audiences beyond the campus. (emphasis added.)

One may add a foot-note to this. In one major university in India, measures have been adopted to discourage professors to give outside seminars on their research findings because most professors have nothing to offer. The active minority must suffer so that the indolent majority are not threatened.

... while we know that universities can enjoy great success with widely varying requirements and educational philosophies, rarely has an institution performed as it should without a faculty that believed in what it was doing. In the absence of periodic discussion and review, a curriculum loses direction and slowly grows formless. No one understands the enterprise as a whole or how one's own efforts relate to those of one's colleagues. Thus, a faculty that has made a considered choice of some common philosophy and some clear set of goals is vastly better off than one that struggles along with no philosophy or goals at all. (emphasis in original.)

We may recall that during a major political turbulence in which the student community was active, a major university in India was forced to revamp its curriculum in political science after 30 years.

We mention Bok's thoughts as these reflect a concern for quality which is so much neglected in India.



Item	Criteria	Monitoring		Agency	
		Ins- titu- tion	Inter- Insti- tution (edu- cation com- plex)	State agen- cies operat- ing in the state	Cen- tral autho- rity
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Novelty Index.	This should measure any new systems, new procedures, new teaching methods, etc., introduced in the Institute during the year which were absent during the previous year. If such measures are five in number, and normal activities are 25 in number, then the index will be 5:25.	/	/	/	
Any commendable performance by an employee, including faculty members, in the field of pedagogy, research, evaluation and personal examples of a desirable kind.	Such special report should form part of the performance appraisal of all the employees and such performance should be given enough publicity in all such similar institutes.	/	/	/	
Exceptional performance by students in academic or extra-curricular activities.	Criteria should be laid down for measurement of such performance so that the performance can get adequate recognition.	/	/	/	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Overall reputation of the Institute in the estimate of the community.	By and large the community living and working around an educational institute have their own assessment, directly or indirectly, obtained about the reputation of an institute.		✓	✓	
	A simple questionnaire may be administered among a considerable segment of such persons every year and a consolidated statement be prepared about the performance of the institute.				
Library acquisition and faculty use of books and journals.		✓	✓		

### CONCLUSION

The foregoing is a simple exercise as to how to concretise the evaluation of an institute.

We have covered few items and we are aware that under these items all sub-themes have not been included.

That such an evaluation or monitoring is necessary can best be understood in the context of a case study in Hostel Management conducted by Bahauddin (1986). Bahauddin has mentioned that there can be various tools, such as control charts, bar charts, histograms, flow charts and computer matching. We would also like to highlight in this context that a policy is as good as its implementation. In this connection, we would like to refer to Anand Sarup's (1986) statement that each of the policy postulates has to be converted into reality

by resorting to the following activities:

1. Concretising it into specific objectives;
2. Understanding the nature of interventions required;
3. Identifying the relevant variables;
4. Determining the causal relationship between inputs and outputs;
5. Defining the nature and sequence of transactions and activities;
6. Systematising the framework of relevant methodologies and technologies; and
7. Laying down the criteria for judging as to whether a new initiative is proceeding not only in the desired direction but also purposefully enough to produce the desired results within the time frame envisaged.

We believe that development of items and criteria and identification of monitoring agencies is a task essential to make a policy to work. We believe that once these items are properly subjected to measurements and monitoring at appropriate levels, we shall generate continuous data about the state of our new education policy.

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# Educational Finance in India : Progress, Problems and Perspectives

J.L. AZAD

EDUCATION EXERCISES a decisive influence on the pace of economic development and socio-cultural regeneration of the country. "In a world based on science and technology, it is education that determines the level of prosperity, welfare and security of the people."<sup>1</sup> To meet this challenging task, the educational system has to be based on the principles of equity, efficiency and social relevance. It has to be responsive to the fast-changing requirements of a dynamic, re-surgent India, so that its teeming millions could become an asset in accelerating economic progress and bringing about social change.

A critical appraisal of the educational system in the post-Independence period in India would reveal that it has not been able to develop an integrated, easily identifiable personality. It has, over the years, acquired, what may be called, a multi-dimensional configuration. Considered in terms of quality and standards as also the availability of academic and physical infrastructure, the educational institutions present a study in contrasts: the few comparatively affluent institutions, with ample academic and physical facilities, co-exist with the vast multitude of institutions which do not have even the modicum of physical infrastructure and are perennially afflicted by paucity of resources.

This is the educational scenario that any student of educational finance in India has to reckon with in order to view the problem in its correct perspective and to draw meaningful conclusions. While it may be hazardous to attribute the diversities in the institutional pattern, primarily to the somewhat inequitable and unimaginative system of providing financial inputs, it is difficult to deny that a (sound financial base is the sine qua non for building a strong educational edifice.) This underlines the need for a scientific study of the behaviour of educational finance as also its quantitative, qualitative and distributional dimensions.

In this article, it is proposed to study the financing of education under the following heads:

1. Overall magnitudes, which will include a critical review of behaviour of the educational expenditures over a time horizon;
2. Educational expenditure in the five-year plans;
3. Inter-state analysis of sources of educational finance;
4. Perspectives in educational finance keeping in view:
  - (a) Magnitude of investment required for the next two decades;
  - (b) Strategies of financing educational development, policies and procedures of government support for education, measures for mobilising resources for education, etc.

#### OVERALL MAGNITUDE

There has been a rapid growth in the expenditure on education in India since the Indian people threw off the shackles of foreign subjugation. In 1950-51, when the system of planned socio-economic development was introduced in the country, an amount of Rs. 114 crore per annum was spent on education, which was 1.2 per cent of the Gross National Product. In 1965-66, the educational expenditure went up to Rs. 622 crore corresponding to 2.8 per cent of the GNP. In 1984-85, the educational expenditure is estimated to be of the order of Rs. 7,500 crore, which works out to about 3.9 per cent of the GNP. It has also been reckoned that during the period 1970-85, while the GNP (at current prices) increased by 5.3 times, the corresponding increase in the educational expenditure was 6.7 times. This means that the educational expenditure grew at a rate faster than the GNP.

The same increase is noticed when the per capita expenditure on education is computed for these years. In 1950-51, the per capita expenditure on education (at current prices) was Rs. 3.2, which rose to Rs. 20.7 in 1970-71 and to about Rs. 99 in 1984-85, thus indicating over 30 times increase over a period of 35 years. As against this, the per capita national income (at current prices) increased from Rs. 246 in 1950-51 to Rs. 2542 in 1984-85 indicating over ten times increase during this period. Considered in terms of per student expenditure, the increase was from about Rs. 45 to about Rs. 283, which also means that the increase was over six times.

In the field of research and development, India has made significant progress. The expenditure on R and D and related scientific and technological activities increased from a paltry sum of Rs. 4.68 crore in 1950-51 to Rs. 1237.6 crore in 1982-83 and is expected to

have touched a figure of Rs. 1430 crore in 1983-84.<sup>2</sup>

This is, apparently, an impressive record of performance for a country like India, in which a little less than half of the population lives in abject poverty. Lest the euphoria created by the large quantitative 'progress' clouds our perception, it is necessary to make the following points by way of caution:

1. The educational expenditure in India, though sizable, stands no comparison even with some of the developing countries;
2. The observed increase in expenditure is somewhat illusory in that much of the increase has been counterbalanced by the erosion in the purchasing power of money;
3. The progress of expenditure, inter- and intra-state as also inter institutional, is erratic and inconsistent; and
4. The investment in education is inadequate in relation to fast growing needs of Indian education.

#### International Comparisons

Before analysing the behaviour of educational expenditure in India over the years, it may be interesting to make a comparative study of the expenditure on education in the so-called 'developed' and 'developing' countries of the world.<sup>3</sup> For this purpose, the public expenditure on education in different currencies was converted into US Dollars and the expenditure as percentage of the Gross National Product as also expenditure per inhabitant was computed. Table 1 sums up the position about public expenditure on education for the years 1970 and 1982.

It may be noted that the developed countries accounted for 85.3 per cent of the total world expenditure on education in 1982 while they were responsible for only 27 per cent of the world's enrolment. As against this, the developing countries expended 14.7 per cent of the world expenditure while they had in their territories 73 per cent of the world enrolment. India had about 14 per cent of the world enrolment, while it spent 9.5 per cent of the world expenditure on education.

In terms of per capita expenditure, India is in an extremely unfavourable position. While the developed countries spent 55 times the per capita expenditure in India, even the developing countries were far ahead of India, having spent about 5 times expenditure per head as compared to India. The implications of this inadequate spending on education in India for the quantitative expansion and qualitative development of education can be easily understood.

The same position emerges in relation to the expenditure on R and D. The total world expenditure on R and D in 1980 was 207,801

Table 1 PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN US DOLLARS

	Public Expenditure (in million of dollars)		Expenditure as percentage of GNP		Expenditure per inhabitant	
	1970	1982	1970	1982	1970	1982
World	159,538 (100.0)	627,736 (100.0)	5.4	5.8	57	181
Developed countries	146,964 (92.2)	535,765 (85.3)	5.7	6.2	137	456
Developing countries (including India)	12,574 (7.8)	91,971 (14.7)	3.3	4.3	7	40
India	1,491 (9.3)	5,943 (9.5)	2.8	3.2	2.6	8.3

NOTE: Figures in parentheses denote percentages.

SOURCE: Statistical Year Book, UNESCO, 1984.

million dollars, out of which the share of the developing countries was 195,377 million dollars, i.e., 90.4. The developing countries taken together, spent 12,424 million dollars, while India spent 942.03 million dollars. This was 0.7 per cent of the GNP as against 2.24 per cent spent by the developed countries. Even here, India's position is far from comfortable.

### Inflationary Pressures

The increase in expenditure does not take into account the sizable erosion that has taken place in the real value of money on account of the inflationary pressures that have engulfed the Indian economy for a long time. In order to eliminate the impact of inflation, the educational expenditure was subjected to the following treatment:

1. The overall direct expenditure as well as the sector-wise expenditure was broken down into two broad categories:
  - (a) teachers' costs, including the costs on the administrative staff, and

- (b) non-teacher costs, representing the expenditure on equipment, buildings, etc.
- 2. The teachers' costs, were deflated by applying the consumers priced indices<sup>4</sup> and the non-teacher costs were subjected to wholesale price indices.

It has been found that in the case of total expenditure, the increase in per student expenditure at current prices was from about Rs. 45 in 1951 to Rs. 283 in 1981 signifying about 6-fold increase. At constant prices, however, the increase was only marginal, i.e., from Rs. 52 to Rs. 77. Much of this increase could be accounted for by the successive revisions of staff salaries rather than on the building up of other academic infrastructure.

#### Inconsistent Growth

Another anomaly that has been noted is that there is no consistency in the average annual growth rates of expenditure as also of enrolment. During the quinquennium 1951-56, the expenditure grew at the rate of 5 per cent per annum while the enrolment rose at about 7 per cent per annum. The quinquennium between 1971-76 witnessed the most imbalanced growth, in that, the expenditure increased at the rate of 13 per cent while the enrolment increased at the rate of about 3 per cent. This shows that there is very little relationship between the growth rates in enrolment and expenditure over the years. These two variables seem to be growing independently of each other. The same position holds good in case the growth rates in expenditure and enrolment in sectors like elementary, secondary and higher education are analysed.

#### Inadequacy of Expenditure

It is difficult to vouchsafe the adequacy or otherwise of the educational expenditure by any scientific means unless a systematic study is made of the quantum of financial inputs in institutions of different types in relation to assessed minimum requirements for their maintenance and development. Short of this, one can draw inferences from some of the known parameters about the pattern of educational expenditures. To mention a few:

- (i) The Education Commission (1964-66) had suggested that the expenditure on education should gradually rise to about 6 per cent of the GNP by 1985-86.<sup>5</sup> As already mentioned, the present level of expenditure is even less than 4 per cent and it is unlikely that, at this rate, we shall be able to achieve



this target even by the turn of the century.

- (ii) There is inadequacy of educational facilities at all stages of education, particularly at the elementary education stage. It has been pointed out that many primary and middle schools do not have even the basic facilities. For example, the fourth All India Educational Survey (1978) indicated that "about 9 per cent primary schools were without any building ... at an all India level, 60.3 per cent of the primary schools had black-boards. Only 29.5 per cent of schools had any kind of library facilities and about 46.6 per cent of the schools had playgrounds. These deficiencies were found even in high/higher secondary schools..... Generally, these deficiencies are accentuated in rural areas; as many as 89 per cent of primary schools, 70 per cent of middle; 27 per cent of secondary and 11 per cent of higher secondary schools in rural areas did not have urinal/lavatory facilities."<sup>6</sup>

At the university stage, the financial position of quite a few universities is far from satisfactory. In one of the studies of university finances, conducted by the present author, it was revealed that 38 per cent of the universities had consistently deficit budgets. It means that almost two out of five universities were facing the problem of shortage of resources.<sup>7</sup> The position of colleges, of which about 50 per cent are academically non-viable, is far worse.

From the above mentioned analysis, the conclusion that can be safely drawn is that educational institutions are constantly suffering from the paucity of funds in spite of a sizable increase in the overall resources for education.

#### PLAN EXPENDITURES

There has been significant increase in the developmental expenditure on education in the successive five-year plans. From a modest Rs.153 crore in the first plan, the plan investment stands at an apparently formidable figure of Rs. 6383 crore in the Seventh Plan. There are, however, quite a few disquieting trends in the plan finance for education. Some of them are discussed in the following paras.

#### **Decline in Proportionate Terms**

The public sector expenditure on education in relation to the overall plan expenditure during the successive Five-Year Plans indi-

cates a declining trend in proportionate terms. In the First Plan, the educational expenditure was Rs. 153 crore which was 7.6 per cent of the total expenditure on development. In the Second Plan, the proportion was reduced to 5.5 per cent to rise to about 7 per cent in the Third Plan. Thereafter, it has been consistently declining. It stood at 5.2 per cent in the Fourth Plan, 3.3 per cent in the Fifth Plan and 2.8 per cent in the Sixth Plan. The position has slightly improved in the Seventh Plan with education getting away with a proportion of 3.5 per cent of the plan outlay.

In terms of inter-sectoral priorities, therefore, the education sector has been reduced to a much lower position. This is, however, not peculiar to education, but relates to all other sectors which are euphemistically branded as 'social services'. In the First Plan, the social services sectors accounted for 21 per cent of the total plan expenditure. This proportion was reduced to 15.1 per cent in the Third Plan, 15.7 per cent in the Fourth Plan, 13.2 per cent in the Fifth Plan and 15.6 per cent in the Seventh Plan.

The official explanation offered for the steep decline in the proportionate outlays devoted to education in the successive Five-Year Plans is that the plan expenditure in sectors like education is an insignificant part of the overall expenditure, which is quite sizable. It is, in fact, the proverbial tip of the iceberg. The fact, however, remains that the overall expenditure at the end of a particular plan period is for the maintenance of the academic infrastructure created during the plan as also accruing from the preceding plans. That this maintenance expenditure is inadequate to keep the institutions in good trim can hardly be denied. In view of this, the dwindling proportions of the developmental expenditures in the successive Five-Year Plans cannot be taken with equanimity.

### Inter-sectoral Priorities

It has also been noted that there have been considerable shifts in the inter-sectoral priorities within the education sector. In the First Plan, elementary education was given 56 per cent for the total outlay on education. This was the largest financial input earmarked for elementary education. In the Sixth Plan, the outlay for elementary education has been about one-third of the plan outlays. In the Seventh Plan, elementary education accounts for 29 per cent of the total outlay for education. This means that this important sector has not been given the requisite outlays for its development. This belies the assertion made in the successive plans that expansion of elementary education has to be given overriding priority in order to achieve the Constitutional directive of providing free and compulsory education to children up to the age of 14. This objective does not

appear to be backed by appropriate financial inputs.

### Shortfalls in Expenditure

There are two kinds of shortfalls that the education sector has been subjected to: the first relates to substantial pruning that takes place at the time of allocation of resources in relation to assessed needs. To cite an example; the financial requirements for education in the Fifth Plan were placed at Rs. 3200 crore. The Draft Plan included a provision of Rs. 1726 crore. The actual allotment in the plan document was, however, kept at Rs. 1285 crore. The same story has been repeated all through the Five-Year Plans.

The second kind of shortfalls occurs in the form of under utilisation of whatever amount is allocated for education in the Plans. Table 2 indicates the provisions made and the shortfalls that occurred in the plan expenditures during different plan periods.

Table 2 SHORTFALLS IN PLAN EXPENDITURE

Particulars	(Rs. in crore)					
	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan	Inter-regnum (1966-69)	Fourth Plan	Fifth Plan
Outlay	169	307	560	329	823	1284
Expenditure	153	273	589	319	786	930
Shortfall(-) }						
Excess (+) }	-16	-34	+29	-10	-37	*

\* The Fifth Plan was terminated one year earlier. Hence no estimate of the total expenditure is available.

The diversion of funds from social services to other sectors has been variously explained. The causes for shortfalls generally mentioned include the rising needs of the traditionally accepted more important sectors like agriculture, irrigation and power, industry etc.; administrative delays in the sanctioning and implementation of educational programmes, etc. The fact, however, remains that even the none-too-adequate resources made available for educational development do not tend to be utilised fully.

### Declining Central Sector

It has been noted that the Central Government has been investing

proportionately lesser amounts in the development of the educational programmes. In the First Plan, the Central outlay was 4.4 per cent of the total outlay for Central programmes. In the Sixth Plan, the proportion was reduced to half, i.e., 2.2 per cent. In the Seventh Plan, it has slightly improved to 2.5 per cent. The proportions of educational expenditures to total budgetary allotments tell the same story. In 1968-69, the Central Government spent 2 per cent of its total revenue budget as against about 20 per cent of the average revenue budget on education programmes spent by the states. This proportion rose to 2.8 in 1970-71. Since then, the Central budgetary allotment has been on the decline: in 1980-81, it stood at 1.9 as against states and Union Territories budgets of about 21 per cent. This has been happening in spite of the fact that, under the 1977 Constitutional amendment, the Central Government should have assumed larger financial responsibilities because of the inclusion of education as a concurrent subject in the Constitution.

#### **Staff Salaries Versus Other Items**

It has also been noted that the proportionate expenditure on staff salaries has been continuously rising over the successive plan periods. In 1950-51, staff salaries accounted for 52 per cent of the total expenditure. In 1976-77, the corresponding figure stood at about 86 per cent. In the case of elementary education, the staff salaries account for about 97 per cent of the expenditure.

It would not be wrong to infer that, over the years, the state governments have been, through compulsions of circumstances, concentrating mainly on providing outlays for teachers' salaries and other staff salaries leading to the neglect of the educational infrastructure: building, equipment, library, etc. While we would not grudge the improvement in the financial position of the teachers and other supporting staff, the neglect of the physical inputs--no less important in the educational system--can hardly be considered as a sound investment policy.

#### **Inter-state Analysis**

It has been noted that on an average, the states have been spending about one-fourth of their revenue budgets on education. The Kerala state tops the list in that it spent about 36 per cent of the revenue budget on education in 1982-83. The lowest percentage of the revenue budget was spent by Jammu & Kashmir state, i.e., 14.8. In terms of the educational expenditure as a proportion, of the State Net Domestic Product also, the pride of place goes to Kerala, which was spending 7.4 per cent of the NDP on education. The next in order of priority was Himachal Pradesh (6.2 per cent), Tamil Nadu (4.4 per

cent), Jammu & Kashmir and Orissa (4.1 per cent each) . Most of the other states spent a little over 3 per cent of the NDP on education.

Considered in terms of the correlation between per capita State NDP and the per capita expenditure on education, it is difficult to discern any definite trend. There has been overall diminution in the co-efficient of correlation in respect of all sectors of education during the period 1960-61 to 1980-81. It appears that over the years, the state net domestic product has become an irrelevant factor for investment in education.

#### SOURCES OF EDUCATIONAL FINANCE

Education has evolved a process of multiple source-funding over the years. The various sources for financing education in India are government : Central and State; local bodies and the non-government sector, i.e., student/parents' contribution through fees, maintenance costs and community contribution in the form of endowments and donations.

Table 3 indicates shifts in the source-wise contribution of resources to education.

Table 3 SOURCE-WISE CONTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES TO  
EDUCATION IN INDIA

	(per cent)			
	1950-51	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81
<b>Government Sector</b>				
Central and State Governments	57.1	68.0	75.6	80.0
Local Governments (Zila Parishads, Municipalities, Panchayats)	10.9	6.5	5.7	5.0
<b>Private Sector</b>				
Fees	20.4	17.2	12.8	12.0
Endowments, etc.	11.6	8.3	5.9	3.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

SOURCE: Education in India, Vol.I (various years); and Planning Commission for 1980-81.

It would appear that over the years the government, mainly the states, has assumed larger responsibility for financing of educational programmes. The fee contribution has declined. The largest diminution has, however, occurred in the contributions from the community; from about 12 per cent of the total expenditure, it has declined to 3 per cent. If this trend continues, it could be written off as a viable source of educational finance.

#### PERSPECTIVES IN EDUCATIONAL FINANCE

Perspective planning has been described as the modern version of crystal ball gazing. The authenticity of forecasting for the next 10-15 years is based on a number of factors, like the assessment of the present position, the policies of future expansion, the costing patterns of various stages of education and a number of other concomitant factors. Any drastic changes in these factors will vitiate the estimates made for the future.

#### Magnitudes of Investments

Notwithstanding the hazards of making estimates of the future financial requirements for education, it may be possible to give a rough idea of the magnitude of investment required for educational development by 2000 AD. An exercise of this nature is attempted below.

The Seventh Plan has indicated that in order to achieve the target of universalisation of elementary education (UEE) by the end of the Seventh Plan, over 50 million children in the age group 6-14, will have to be additionally enrolled. It would, however, be difficult to enrol more than half this number, i.e., 25 million in full-time elementary schools. Therefore, 25 million children will have to be covered under the non-formal education system. This is not feasible keeping in view the fact that the total coverage under the non-formal system so far has not exceeded 4-5 million. This only means that the goal of UEE will have to be shifted to the Eighth and the Ninth Plan, i.e., by the turn of the century.<sup>8</sup>

If this assumption is correct, then the cost of the Eighth and Ninth Plans will have to be worked out keeping this factor in view. According to very rough estimates made by the author, the cost of elementary education in the Eighth and Ninth Plans will be Rs. 2,000 and 3,000 crore respectively. Assuming that the ratio between the cost of elementary education and the total education plan will remain static, the Eighth Plan will have to be of the order of Rs. 9000 and the Ninth Plan, corresponding to 2,000 AD of Rs. 12,000 crore (at current prices).

On the basis of these estimates, the total cost of education per annum by the turn of the century is likely to be between Rs. 15,000 to 16,000 crore against about Rs. 7,500 crore in 1984-85.

This estimate is based on the current trends of expenditure. It does not take into account the inflation that shows no signs of abatement in the foreseeable future. It also does not provide any substantial amounts for qualitative improvement of education. If these factors are also taken into account, the annual cost for education may be around Rs. 20,000 crore in 2000 AD. It may be mentioned that even expenditure of this magnitude would be less than six per cent of the GDP (at factor costs) which has been estimated to be of the order of Rs. 4,02,143 crore.<sup>9</sup>

In order to meet these costs, it will be necessary to devise new strategies of financing education which would involve, among other things, bringing about changes in the policies and procedures of government support for education. Further, emphasis will have to be laid on augmenting resources for education.

#### **Strategies of Financing**

The strategies of financing educational development will be discussed under the following broad heads:

1. Policies and procedures of government support for educational development;
2. Augmenting internal resources for education;
3. Bringing about economy and efficiency in the educational system; and
4. Revamping financial management systems.

#### **Government Support for Education**

It has already been mentioned that the government has emerged as the largest single source of financing educational programmes. With the modification in the constitutional position, as brought about by the inclusion of education in the Concurrent List, the Central Government cannot escape the responsibility of sharing the burden of the state governments for the quantitative and qualitative development of education.

The Central Government could provide larger Central subventions for education by expanding the Central and Centrally sponsored schemes as also by assisting the states with larger Central assistance. It may be mentioned that 'coordination and determination of standards in higher education and research' is the responsibility of the federal government and the Union Ministry of Human Resource Development is providing assistance to the universities and colleges

through the University Grants Commission and other Central organisations. Under the changed constitutional position, it is imperative that the ministry should also provide adequate finances for universalisation of elementary education, promotion of adult education and vocationalisation of secondary education. These programmes transcend the confines of the states and have assumed the status of programmes of national importance. The Union Government can ignore these programmes only at the cost of national well-being.

#### **Augmenting Internal Resources**

The main sources of finance, besides the government, are student fees and private benefactions. As already stated, the relative contributions from these sources have been going down perceptibly over the years. It is, therefore, necessary that the contribution from these sources should be augmented.

**Student Fees:** The fees relate to the secondary and tertiary sectors of education, because education at the elementary stage has to be provided free and is compulsory. It has been noted that the fee structure at the secondary and university stages has remained almost static during the post-independence period. A few sporadic attempts at raising fees have met with strong public resentment.

From purely economic point of view, the proposal for raising fees at the secondary and higher education stage is unexceptionable. The present fee structure incorporates a large element of in-built subsidy which is given indiscriminately to all the students. Further, the cheap education policy provides an open invitation to all and sundry to flock to the institutions of higher education regardless of their capacity to profit by such education. In the process, the physical and academic resources available to educational institutions are put to the severest strain.

In view of the adverse political fall out of the proposal to raise fees and certain other problems like its impact on the education of the socially and economically under-privileged sections of the society, it is difficult to recommend an across-the-board rise in fees. What can be suggested is a 'differential' fee system in which those who are capable of profiting by secondary and higher education are given subsidised education while those who propose to join these institutions on the basis of other than academic merit should be made to pay the full costs of education.<sup>10</sup> This would also necessitate provision for a comprehensive scheme of scholarships and free studentships so that no student of merit is denied education because of economic reasons.

**Capitation Fees:** A word about the capitation fees charged by some of the professional colleges ostensibly with the tacit approval of



the state governments. This practice is the worst form of commercialisation of education, in which the economic position of the parents rather than the academic merit of the student, is the determining criterion. This abnoxious practice of 'selling' seats in educational institutions, by putting a premium on mediocrity, will eat into the vitals of the socio-economic fabric of the Indian society. The sooner it is discarded, the better it would be for the Indian educational system and the society at large.

**Loans:** Another suggestion worth considering is the grant of interest-free loans to students for pursuing higher studies. The loans, being repayable in easy instalments, can create a self generating fund, which can be recycled for the education of generations of students. This scheme can, however, be implemented only in the case of students in professional courses. In the case of general education courses, where the educated unemployment is an ever-increasing phenomenon, repayment of loans is likely to create formidable problems.

**Private Donations:** There has been considerable decline in the proportion of contributions for education from private sources. It has already been noted that the philanthropic contributions have almost dried up. It is not intended to go into the causation of this phenomenon. The reasons are quite obvious. It is, therefore, necessary that steps should be taken to augment resource of education, because no government in the world has been able to finance adequately the system of education. It has to be met through the combined efforts of the government and the general public.

A number of proposals have been made from time to time for augmenting resources for education. A suggestion that has been persistently made by the Planning Commission, without much success, is that the development sectors should devote a percentage of their budgets for education. A variant of this proposal is that the public sector undertakings should provide finances for manpower development. It may be recalled that Gandhiji had, at one time, suggested that the industrial establishments should set up colleges to train technical manpower required by them. Levying of cess on imports, encouraging private entrepreneurs to donate for education through tax remissions, surcharge on land revenue and cess on urban properties are the other suggestions, which merit serious consideration.

#### **Making the System More Efficient**

It may be emphasised that no amount of additional resource mobilisation will be of much use till the educational system is made more efficient and cost-conscious. With 61 per cent of the students dropping out of the educational system before attaining permanent

literacy, the educational system in India is like a leaking cistern and no amount of additional financial and physical inputs will help it out of the morass that has immobilised it.

It is, therefore, necessary that the education system should be made more efficient in order to reduce costs and bring about economy in the operationalisation of the education system. This can be done through the instrumentality of the modern technology and mass-media, like TV, radio, etc. Accent should also be laid on maximum utilisation of educational infrastructure already created.

### Financial Management Systems

As already stated, education has now been included in the Concurrent List of the Seventh Schedule of the Indian Constitution. As such, the Central and state governments, local bodies as also the specialised bodies set up by the Government of India are responsible for financing of education in the country.

At the Central level, the Ministry of Human Resource Development is the main organisation for financing educational programmes. Educational programmes also form part of some of the other ministries like Health and Family Welfare, Food and Agriculture, Labour, etc.

The Ministry of Human Resource Development has set up the University Grants Commission to fulfil its responsibility in respect of coordination and determination of standards of higher education and research. Technical education is looked after by the All India Council for Technical Education. There are other organisations also like the Indian Council of Social Science Research, the Councils of Historical Research and Philosophical Research, and National Council of Educational Research and Training to organise programmes of research in various academic disciplines. The Ministry of Food and Agriculture has also set up an organisation, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, which works on the pattern of UGC for agricultural education.

The University Grants Commission is the apex body for fulfilling the Central responsibility in higher education, i.e., coordination and determination of standards of higher education and research. In actual fact, this organisation has an extremely truncated area of operation and its writ does not run beyond institutions concerned with humanities and sciences. Further, it is primarily concerned with giving financial assistance, thus allowing other functions to recede into the background. Even in giving grants, the UGC has, consciously or unconsciously, adopted a skewed distribution system. The Central universities are given a place of prominence as against the state universities. In the overall analysis, the colleges tend to be neglected in allocation of resources by this body.<sup>11</sup>

It has also been found that there is a very little dialogue between the various organisations concerned with funding of higher education and research. As a consequence, there is duplication leading to waste of scarce resources for higher education.

At the state level, the financial allocations are the responsibility of the Departments of Education which are controlled primarily by non-professional bureaucrats. It has been rightly pointed out that, with a few honourable exceptions, these 'hopping' functionaries cannot do justice to the requirements of educational development. There is, therefore, need for professionalising the educational services in the states.

It has also been observed that the system of grant-in-aid introduced by the various state governments is archaic, primitive and ad hoc. Somehow, we have been keeping up the system of grant-in-aid introduced in India during the colonial era. This system is unresponsive to the changing requirements of educational institutions. It is rigid and does not promote innovations. The rules and regulations framed by the state governments are ad hoc and the grants given to the educational institutions are generally inadequate in relation to the requirements of the institutions.

It is, therefore, necessary that the system of grants-in-aid should be rationalised and should be kept abreast of the changing requirements of educational institutions. The institutions should be encouraged to take up innovative practices and rigidity in the system should be done away with. The grants-in-aid rules should be instrumental in providing adequate finances to the educational institutions and should also respect the academic autonomy of the institutions. Unless the system undergoes a complete overhaul, the educational institutions cannot do their job of providing educational facilities to the teeming millions of the country with any degree of efficiency.

#### SUM UP

We have attempted to analyse the behaviour of educational finance and identified the areas of lights and shades. It has been found that in spite of the fact that educational expenditure, as a proportion of the national income, is next only to defence, it is not adequate to meet the ever-rising requirements of the educational system. Further, the fast expanding inputs in education are more apparent than real because of the fast erosion in the purchasing power of money.

In spite of exhortations, repeated ad nauseam, about the role of education in accelerating economic development and social change, education sector, along with other social services sector, continues

to be regarded, as a 'residual' sector and gets a back seat in the allotment of resources. Even the meagre resources that are allocated do not get fully utilised because of various reasons.

It has also been found that in spite of the constitutional amendment investing the Central Government with larger authority in education, the Central contribution for education, particularly for non-tertiary education has been minimal. The state governments' investment in education has been somewhat erratic, bordering on ad hocism. It seems that the state NDP has no relevance for state inputs in education.

It has been estimated that the annual cost of running the education system at the present level of efficiency would be between Rs. 15,000 to 16,000 crore by the turn of the century. In case, the present inflationary trends remain unabated, the cost may rise to Rs. 20,000 crore per annum. To meet this order of expenditure, the Central and state governments' policies of educational finance will have to undergo drastic changes. Some hard decisions about enhancing the contribution from student-fees will also have to be taken. Further accent will have to be laid on mobilising community resources and bringing about economy and efficiency in the educational system.

In the end, it may be admitted that it is difficult, within the confines of an article, to bring into sharp focus the labrynth of educational finance. It is, however, hoped that the preceding discussion will enable the decision makers at the Central and the state levels, to view the problems of educational finance in their true perspective. It will also underline the need for taking steps to reorient the system so that it can be instrumental in developing education on the right lines.

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5. Education Commission, 1964-66, p. 473.
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7. J.L. Azad, Government Support for Higher Education and Research, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1984, p. 12.
8. The National Policy on Education has laid down that by 1995, all children up to 14 years of age will be provided free and compulsory education. Even this appears to be unrealistic.
9. See Seventh Five-Year Plan, 1985-90, Vol. I, p. 14.
10. This suggestion is for the transitory period, when the students flock to the university because of lack of employment facilities. Ideally, only students of merit should join the institutions of higher education.
11. See J.L. Azad, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

# Educational Finances in India\*

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(EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS, like all modern organisations, run on money.) We need more resources for education--both for schools and colleges. The additional resources are required for the following reasons: rise in enrolments, backlog of needed construction, need to expand the system (particularly for universalisation of elementary education and adult literacy), for diversification of the system (e.g., vocationalisation), for maintenance, if not improvement, of the quality of education, and to combat the rise in prices. (Without adequate resource, the education edifice collapses.) Educational system in India suffers from gross inadequacy of resources to such an extent that a large number of schools are run in open space, the children suffering from heat, cold and rain. Even most basic requirements like black boards, chalks, etc., are highly inadequate. A large proportion of primary schools are single-teacher schools. This pitiable situation is not confined to school system only. Several colleges and even some universities suffer from similar problems of under/inadequate provision of resources. When planning was launched in India, as high as 7.9 per cent of the plan outlay was spent on education in the first five-year plan. Ever since, the proportion has been consistently declining. Had atleast the same proportion continued to be allocated in the following five year plans, the education situation today would have been much different from what it is. The backlog accumulated over the years with respect to several aspects of the infrastructure, viz., school buildings, furniture, equipment, etc., and teachers in almost every level of education is so high that perhaps the problem cannot altogether be solved within a few years.

Essentially constrained by the resources, many educational plans

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\*This is a summary of a monograph of the author prepared under the same title.

and reforms failed miserably. The Constitutional Directive of universalisation of elementary education--including, in its true spirit, universal enrolment, universal retention, universal provision of facilities and universal quality in education--which was to be achieved two-and-a-half decades earlier--still eludes. It is feared that it can not be realised even by the turn of the century. Even after three-and-a-half decades of planning, two-thirds of the population are illiterate. It does not, however, mean that the other one-third are educated. A majority of them are mere literates. The weaker sections still lag far behind the general population in education. The long proposed curriculum reforms in secondary education, including vocationalisation programmes, could not progress noticeably. The measures to establish match between higher education and employment could not even take off. All these under-achievements, if not failures, are not totally due to inadequacy of resources; but the inadequacy of resources did hinder the growth. After all, money is not a sufficient condition for development, but it is a necessary condition without which the system can not meaningfully exist.

While at present the public expenditure on education constitutes about 3.6 per cent of Gross National Product (GNP) (a remarkable increase from 1.2 per cent in 1950-51), it is much less than what it should be--6 per cent as recommended by the Kothari Commission, and also less than the corresponding figure relating to several developing and developed countries. Further, the targets laid down by the Education Commission with respect to levels of expenditure, both in absolute terms and in per capita terms, look to be beyond our reach in the near future.

While there is a 15-fold increase in the plan outlay for education in current prices, the increase is just three fold in constant prices or in real terms. Moreover, the plan outlay in real terms indeed went on declining from the Third to the Fourth and from the Fourth to the Fifth Five-Year plans. Besides, as a proportion of total plan expenditure, expenditure on education declined from 7.9 per cent in the First Five-Year Plan to 2.6 per cent in the Sixth Five-Year Plan. In view of this long term consistent trend, one may even doubt whether the draft proposal of the Seventh Plan of 3.5 per cent would at all materialise. It is also to be noted that the allocation of resources to education is being made rather arbitrarily in an ad hoc manner. Hence, it is possible to drastically reduce the plan resources at various stages of planning without correspondingly reducing the physical targets. In the same context, it is also found that plan schemes get momentum only at the end of the Five Year Plan period.

Third, while the share of the government (excluding local govern

ments) in the total expenditure on education increased from 57 per cent in 1950-51 to 80 per cent in 1980-81, the share of every other sector declined : the share of local bodies declined from 10.9 per cent in 1950-51 to 5 per cent in 1980-81 that of fees declined from 20 per cent to 12 per cent and the share of endowments and donations from 11.6 per cent to 3 per cent. The household expenditure on education is also no exception, despite the fact that per capita income has increased significantly. As a proportion of GNP, the household expenditure declined from 2.5 per cent in 1970-71 to 2.1 per cent in 1982-83 and during the same period household expenditure on education per capita declined from Rs. 16.6 to Rs. 12.6 in real terms.

In the same context, one method often discussed is increasing the role of private sector, or privatisation of education. The examples of Philippines and other countries provide a case for it. But this basically depends upon the philosophy of the society. Obviously there is no justification for the growth in private aided schools and colleges, a large part of the cost of running these is met by the government.

It may also be noted that the contribution of the Central Government to the total government expenditure on education has also been on a rapid decline. It was 6.8 per cent in the First-Five Year Plan, increased to 20 per cent in the Third Five-Year Plan, and ever since it has never crossed 10 per cent. This is true even during the post 42nd Constitutional amendment period, when education was brought into the Concurrent list. In other words, the role of the state government in financing education has increased significantly.

The cost per pupil in education in India has increased by nearly 5 times, from Rs. 35.64 in 1950-51 to Rs. 176.73 by 1976-77 at an annual rate of growth of 6.4 per cent. As a percentage of per capita GNP the same has also registered an impressive growth from 7.64 per cent to 14.8 per cent during the same period. But when we take note of increase in prices, we observe that the growth has not at all been impressive; in fact, it is negative in all cases except at the primary level. At primary level of education there had been 1.1 per cent rate of growth per annum in real expenditure, and the rate of growth is negative in all other cases; the decline is nearly 10 per cent at the university level and as high as 40 per cent at the professional college level.

This takes us to the intra-sectoral allocation of resources. Out of the total plan outlay for education, 56 per cent was allocated for elementary education in the First Five-Year Plan, 13 per cent for secondary education and 9 per cent to university education. Since then, the share of elementary education declined, finally, to 29 per



cent in the draft Seventh Five-Year Plan and that of university education increased to 19 per cent by the end of the Sixth Plan. Even the cuts made on the plan allocation during the planning process affected the lower levels of education more severely than higher levels of education. One may say that this is with respect to only plan expenditure. But even when we consider the total expenditure, plan plus non-plan (non-plan expenditure constitutes more than four-fifths of total expenditure), the trend does not show any significant deviation. Out of the total direct expenditure on education, 40 per cent was spent on primary education in 1950-51, 8 per cent on middle schools, 25 per cent on secondary schools, 7 per cent on professional, vocational and technical schools and 20 per cent on higher education. An analysis of intra-sectoral allocation in 1975-76 reveals that the share of primary education declined steeply to 25 per cent, and that of higher education increased to 30 per cent. Further, expenditure on higher education increased at a faster rate of growth than on primary education. All this suggests that there is a clear bias in allocation of resources in favour of higher levels of education and against lower levels of education. In the same context, it is also to be noted that a large part of the expenditure on education is incurred on salaries of the teachers. More than 70 per cent of the cost per pupil forms salary cost of the teachers, and the cost of physical capital formation, like on buildings, constitutes a meagre 2 per cent; in the capital account of the budgets, Central as well as states, the share of education is negligible, if not nil. Further, at higher levels of education a large part of the cost is incurred on non-educational items, which can be called 'municipal' expenditure like construction of roads, health, sanitation, etc.

Another important aspect to be taken note of is with respect to public expenditure on education and disparities, inter-regional as well as inter-individual. The public expenditure on education per pupil varies very widely between different states. For example, it was Rs. 162 in Uttar Pradesh in 1976-77, while it was Rs. 336 in Himachal Pradesh. Public expenditure on education per head of the population varies between Rs. 21 in Bihar and Rs. 76 in Nagaland. Similarly, inter-group and inter-individual variations in public expenditures on education have been found to be quite significant, producing unequal effects, such as unequal distribution of education and incomes.

#### **Towards Improvement**

The preceding quick diagnostic review of the financial aspects of the education situation in the country leads one to make some suggestions in the following paras.

At the very outset, we should note the need for perspective (long-term) plan for education in the country. Until now, no such plan is attempted, because if a plan is made, after all money has also to be provided for it. A country, which has accepted the principle of planned development, cannot afford to have no perspective plan for education unless the country wants to treat education still as a 'marginal issue'. Absence of a long-term plan in education is perhaps one of the main sources of ills of the system.

With regard to the resources, the present projections indicate that the resource position of the education sector may not significantly improve; in fact, it may substantially deteriorate in the developed as well as developing countries, including India. But there is every reason that such a trend should be checked, in general, and in developing countries, including India, in particular. If we truly believe that 'the future of the nation depends on our classrooms', there is no alternative but to provide more resources for education. The extent to which we can increase expenditure on education without affecting other priorities will, of course, depend on the socio-political conditions.

From the international standards, and more importantly from the point of view of bare minimum educational needs of the country, the proportion of public expenditure on education to GNP in India needs to be raised to at least 6 per cent and that should be maintained for a long time to come. In fact, if qualitative improvements have to be made in the education system, along with high rates of retention, the system may need much higher proportion of GNP.

Allocation of resources to education should be based upon certain well-defined meaningful physical norms, and rational criteria. It should be noted that a cut in the budget for education results in under achievement of the physical targets set for the education sector. Allocation of resources to the education sector must not be determined by the residual available after other so-called 'priority' needs of the economy have been met, but must depend upon the needs of the education sector for maintaining the fastest long-term rate of growth of the economy.

When several sectors of the education system still suffer from inadequacies of several kinds of resources, a declining proportion in the education outlay of the total plan outlay need to be checked. While in a very long-run period such a proportion needs not necessarily be on an increasing trend, given the existing conditions, there is need for the proportion to be raised at least in the near future.

In fact, the concepts of 'plan' and 'non-plan' expenditure should be more meaningfully defined. Provision of all necessary inputs to

even the existing schools should be treated as a commitment. It would be better if we treat all resources required to maintain the same enrolment ratios in schools as commitment/non-plan expenditure.

It will be against the spirit of the Constitution to allow elementary level of education to suffer from inadequacy of resources. As far as funding elementary education and literacy programmes are concerned, it should be viewed in the framework of the Constitutional Directives. Educational planners and others tend to argue for raising local/community resources for these levels of education. On the other hand, the Centre and state governments should take the complete responsibility of funding these levels of education as dependence on other sources for these levels of education would be against the spirit of the Constitution and at variance with the emphasis laid upon the egalitarian character of the Constitution. For safeguarding democracy and strengthening the foundations of the integrated nation, it is necessary not to compromise with the requirements of these basic needs. If at all, any resources are to be raised, the efforts should be concentrated on other sectors of education, several, of which have a direct relationship with organised sector. Further by not providing adequate resources for elementary education and literacy programmes, sectors connected with the masses living in rural areas get neglected. Subsidy to technical and higher levels of education is after all, an indirect subsidy for organised sector. Hence, there is every reason to reduce the subsidy at these levels. As about 85 per cent of the public expenditure on education is financed by indirect taxes, which are paid relatively in large proportion by masses, there is no justification for public subsidisation of higher education, as higher education caters to the needs of the relatively better off sections of the society. From the way it is financed, it is clear that higher education emphasises the principle 'to-him-that-hath-shall-be given'. It is only legitimate that mass education that covers elementary education, non-formal education, adult education, etc., should be provided with sufficient resources. In fact, a drastic reallocation of resources in favour of mass education is an urgent need.

Just as agricultural education is the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture, health education that of the Ministry of Health, all other professional, vocational and technical types of education should be funded by industrial and other (public and private sector) organisations. In fact, every department should take into account the education and training requirements for its activities and make provision for it. (Construction of school buildings under National Rural Employment Programmes is an interesting example.) For example, if say 5 major sectors like industry, and energy reduce their share

in the total plan outlay by say one per cent and allocate it to education, the share of education becomes 7 to 8 per cent, a proportion equivalent to that in the First Plan. Alternatively, all public and private sector organisations, who employ educated manpower, may be required to pay for education in the form of a tax.

Besides, other budgetary sources should also be tapped. Education cess should be fixed at a level that generates more resources. Even a small cess or an education levy on non-essential commodities or services like rail/air-tickets may generate substantial amount of resources for education; and since it can be as small as say 5 paise per rail ticket or a rupee per air ticket, etc, it will not be felt as a burden by the commuters. Alternatively, say 5 per cent cess or items like imports as in Pakistan may generate sizable resources for education. In some Latin American countries like Chile, lotteries are run and bonds are floated to generate supplementary resources for education. The educational vouchers, being used in countries like US and UK, can be viewed as yet another additional source.

A discriminatory fee structure, particularly in higher education, based on the economic background of the students, would result in greater mobilisation of resources, besides making the education system less regressive in nature.

Serious efforts should be initiated to encourage individuals and organisations through tax incentives and other measures to make large endowments and donations to the education sector. Institution of National Education Promotion Fund, on the lines of Socially Useful Development Fund for Compulsory Education in Yugoslavia, may be worth attempting.

In fact, the whole nation should feel responsible for the development of education in the country. However, given the experience, mobilisation of cheap local resources, revision of fee structure, etc., should be viewed only as peripheral sources of mobilisation of additional resources for marginal improvements in the education system. After all, they cannot become reliable sources of revenue for large-scale improvements in the system. The government cannot but continue taking more responsibility for education.

With respect to the devolution of resources from the Central government to state governments for education, meaningful criteria should be adopted so that the whole mechanism works as a mechanism of awards/disincentives. The grants should be education specific and non-transferable. The grants should attempt at clearing the backlog in the provision of facilities to the schools that get accumulated over the years. Particularly to reduce regional imbalances, larger involvement of the Central government is needed, and it should make efforts for crash subsidisation of the worse-off states by the

better-off states through the medium of national-level agencies. Local bodies may be guaranteed of a minimum level of resources either transferred from the state governments or to be generated on their own.

( Intra-sectoral resource allocation policy in education should favour lower levels of education as long as the goals like universalisation of elementary education, universal adult literacy, etc., remain unfulfilled. Only when these goals are met, the relative shares of the other sectors of education can be increased. After all, even if 'education for all' were to include secondary and higher education, it has to necessarily start from elementary education.

Out of the total education budget, there is need for an increasingly larger share to be devoted to activities on physical capital formation, such as construction of buildings and purchase of durable furniture and equipment, without which the education system may not be able to deliver the goods in the long-run.

A minimum level of resources for education per pupil, correspondingly in costs of education, should be defined and in no region and time actual costs per pupil can be allowed to fall below this minimum level. Costs of education in real terms per pupil in a given year should not normally be less than the corresponding costs of the preceding year, unless there is a significant change in educational technology. There is a need for further reducing the imbalance in cost structure of the education system, i.e., efforts should be made to reduce the ratio of cost of higher education to the cost of primary education to the extent possible.

In the provision of resources for education by schools, a minimum level of resources per school should be defined, like the number of classrooms, number of teachers, black boards, maps, open space, play ground, etc., and all efforts should be made to provide these minimum level of resources to all schools. With respect to certain other resources, cluster approach to education planning may be adopted, according to which schools in a cluster share certain resources with other schools in the same cluster.

There is no justification for allowing the rural areas to suffer most in the provision of resources and thereby in good quality education, as the rural masses contribute substantially to the public resources. Rural-urban allocation of resources should be proportionate to the distribution of population, so that the present trend of contributing to urban development at the cost of rural villages, to the development of cities at the cost of towns and villages, to the development of metropolis at the cost of development of villages, towns and cities, and to the development of the other countries, throughout migration at the cost of development of the domestic

economy is checked.

The scope of better utilisation of non-financial resources available within and outside the education system, should be explored, and provision for meeting the costs to utilise them, which would obviously be much small, should be made. Further, to the extent possible, all non-viable schools and colleges should be gradually eliminated.

The funding mechanism, including the grants-in-aid policies, the fees policies, etc., should be primarily equity and justice oriented, and secondarily resource generation oriented. It should be noted that the system of financing education has significant implications for income distribution.

Low cost technology in education becomes necessary at all levels of education. Low cost methods, like open learning systems, may be adopted as supplementary to conventional system and care should be taken to see that quality is not sacrificed for sake of finances.

Opening middle or secondary schools having classes from first onwards will be a better proposal than opening primary schools and secondary (classes VI-X/XI) schools separately as it reduces the effective costs of primary level education, besides making it qualitatively better, as pupils in primary level classes will share the same common resources that are available to the pupils in high/higher secondary classes. This will also reduce the wastage/drop-outs, particularly between primary level and middle/secondary levels.

Every institution should be provided and encouraged to maintain some financial resources over and above the general requirement for good house-keeping purposes and to encourage innovations. The schools should be encouraged to generate their own resources, independent of the grants to be received by them.

National development requires strong educational structures. Educational edifices become strong, healthy, efficient and can make maximum contribution to the economy, provided the autonomy of the educational institutions is protected and respected. This should be well recognised.

The methods of national income accounting should take into account the investments in education, including the household investments. Elaborate attempts should be made to collect detailed statistics on education, including the household costs at micro levels.

Above all, the investment nature of education expenditure should be clearly recognised. "It is misleading to treat public expenditure on schooling as 'welfare' expenditure, and a use of resources that has the effect of reducing 'savings'". It should be recognised that education is a long-term investment that contributes to socio-economic development quite significantly. **No nation goes bankrupt by investing in education of her people.**

# New Education Policy and the Tribal People

B.D. SHARMA

EQUALITY OF opportunity is the key-note of the new education policy. A number of measures have been envisaged to bring the educational system in consonance with the social and cultural needs of the tribal people and also to overcome the physical handicaps of the tribal areas. Thus, priority will be accorded to those areas for opening of schools and residential Ashram schools on a large scale. The liberal programme of assistance to children through all the stages of education will be provided besides special coaching facilities to enable them to attain comparable standard with students from other communities. Special note has also been taken of the problem of language as many a tribal community has its own dialect different from the regional language. Text-books will be prepared in the mother tongue of the children for early schooling with an eye on smooth transition to the regional language within the elementary school stage itself. It is also proposed to prepare the members of tribal communities themselves for assuming the responsibilities of education and work as teachers in the tribal areas.

The above mentioned special measures have to be viewed against the general backdrop of the national education policy in which many a new thrust has been indicated. Education is considered as an essential accomplishment of the citizen in modern life and also an investment for developing his potential as a resource for overall national development. The educational superstructure is to be built on the broad base of elementary education for all children up to the age of 14 as laid down in the Constitution for achieving this goal. All children in the aforesaid age-group shall be provided free and, what is more important, compulsory education by the year 1995. It will be necessary to utilise the formal institutional network as also the informal methods for this purpose.

The next tier in education comprises the secondary stage which will prepare the children for their working life providing useful skills. Vocationalisation has been accorded high priority with a

target of 10 per cent students being diverted to these courses by the year 1990 and 25 per cent by the year 1995. Some of the students in the secondary level will also move on to higher education which has a special role in modern society with exponential growth of knowledge. The new gains in knowledge have to be internalised and assimilated in the tertiary system so that national economy can get higher dividends in science and technology and their new benefits are widely dispersed.

There is a provision for a common curriculum throughout the country for all stages. The emphasis in this core will be on presentation of national issues in right perspective, inculcation of values and ensuring minimum academic input so that the standards of education are broadly comparable irrespective of the location of the institutions. The non-core curriculum has not been assigned a secondary position but relates to an equally crucial aspect of education concerning the ethos of the community and its relevance to the social situation in the local area. Micro planning for education at the elementary and non-formal education is an important element of the national policy frame. The establishment of rural universities will be the culmination of this process beginning with elementary education so that the entire educational system in the rural setting gets attuned to the living conditions of the people and is dedicated to its cultural enrichment and all round development.

The above idealised frame is valid for all socio-economic settings with possible adaptations wherever necessary. However, there are two aspects of the tribal situation which may not be amenable to being adequately taken care of in the ordinary course. Firstly, some of the formulations of the national education policy, like social relevance and functional effectiveness in the context of tribal setting may not be operationalised by marginal adjustments in the frame but will require a major departure. Secondly, the import of some special features of the tribal areas has not been adequately reflected in the national policy. Nevertheless, it should be possible to make some extrarelations and still make the policy frame consistent provided adequate care is taken in its operationalisation to create a comprehensive harmonious construct by suitable adaptations and filling in the gaps wherever necessary. We will consider these questions with reference to the social life, economic system and spatial setting of the tribal people.

#### CULTURAL HERITAGE OF TRIBALS AND EDUCATION

The most distinguishing characteristic of the tribal people is their vibrant community life embedded in a rich cultural heritage.



The basis of this organisation is informal with a high regard for the word. They have the system of self-governance with full participation of the members of the community where everyone understands the issues and contributes to decision-making in a manner befitting the members of a self-respecting democratic society. In contrast, the modern system with its bewildering complexity and tremendous authority at its command is a creature of law with its attendant roles and procedures shrouded in the aura of mystery. The tribal areas thus represent a confluence of entirely different systems in which the simple tribal finds himself bewildered as he is unaware of the new ways sanctified by the law superseding the traditions of his own world. During this critical phase of their history, when they suddenly find themselves face to face with an alien system, the most critical input is an enlightened understanding about it to enable them to stand on their own and accept the challenge on terms of equality. This special role of education as key to the modern system and an effective shield of the poor as distinct from the other two roles, viz., accomplishment and investment for development, has not been made explicit in the national policy. This aspect should claim the highest priority in working out operational details of universalisation in the tribal areas and the contents of all educational programmes at that level.

Another important facet of social life in the tribal areas is that education is a part of their daily life which prepares the young for responsibilities of adulthood in the local setting. The children attending the school are denied the opportunity of that education for life during the impressionable formative years. Moreover, much of the rich oral tradition which gives the tribal people a sense of their history, cultural moorings and value frame is being lost in this process. What the child learns is not relevant for the life except for those who move out from the village and thus, in any case, are lost to the community. What is left with the child is the rudimentary skill of reading and at the best writing. This has created a situation of tremendous cultural vacuum amongst the tribal communities who are facing imminent disorganisation. They may be turned into a rootless people, heaps of rubble with nothing to bind and no clear direction about their future. This vacuum is being filled up by the Christian Missionaries in some areas as the converted tribal acquires a new frame and a sense of belonging. However, it is not an unmixed blessing as it alienates him from his tradition and creates a great divide in the society. Elsewhere the vacuum is likely to be filled up by greedy commercial interests who may make a bid to capture the new market created by the educational system by peddling in cheap rags of sex, crime and thrillers. This prospect is

ominous for the quality of life of these children of nature.

The educational system which is responsible for the decline of the oral tradition has the moral responsibility to fill up the vacuum with new cultural inputs at least of equivalent value. The reading material for institutions of formal and non-formal streams as also the literature for neo-literates can hardly meet this requirement. Moreover, this reading material cannot be reoriented beyond a point and at the best can have a limited role in this regard. Experience shows that the production of new literature is a difficult task and may not come up to the required standard. In fact, such an effort is not necessary. There is an unfathomable treasure of rich literature from the Gita to Gandhi which can be drawn upon for not only filling up the vacuum but also for enriching the cultural tradition of the tribal people. The massive programme for reproduction of selected works from classics and current literature in the regional languages as also tribal dialects should be taken up. The production should be of high quality which, however, should be heavily subsidised so that the books are within the reach of the average tribal.

The alienation of the educated tribal from their own community is another major reason for lack of enthusiasm about education amongst the tribal people. The child gets the first shock when he becomes aware of the assumed superiority of the other people and their way of life. The scanty clothing of his parents who may have a position of honour in their own society may become a cause of his ridicule. The fact that the parents who may not know the regional language may be taken as an indication of their backwardness. The traditional frame of limited wants, life in harmony with nature, cooperative living and mutual help, spontaneity and gaiety expressed through their songs and dances, etc., gradually loses its relevance in contrast to the new frame with emphasis on acquisition, competition, consumption and command over the forces of nature. The ideals of equality, egalitarianism and democracy are more a matter of abstract formulations having not much relationship to what he is exposed to otherwise. The national education policy underlines the inculcation of these values in the national life. The education system is under tremendous strain from other forces-economic and political. If education can create a renewed faith amongst the people about their institutions, they may be able to resist the onslaught and save these from imminent collapse. Even the rest of the country should know more about the great cultural heritage of the tribal people not only in terms of songs and dances, which no doubt are of great value, but also in relation to, other basic values of life. The story of the tribal people should become part of the curriculum for the nation as a whole and should form a major theme in the tribal area so that the

children develop a sense of pride in their own culture and mix with others on terms of equality.

### **Their Special Needs**

The special setting of the tribal people is another dimension which is not adequately reflected in the national policy. Most of the tribal areas comprise forests and hilly regions. Consequently, the distances may apparently be small but inaccessibility may be high. Secondly, the tribal habitations are comparatively small and widely dispersed. Therefore, the number of school-going children may be so small as not to justify a separate institution. Even the larger habitations may be able to have only a single school teacher on the strength of the school-going children. In the present educational frame, the ashram schools are expected to cater to the need of the smallest habitations without a school. No school will have less than two teachers. It is obvious that even this frame will be inadequate for universal coverage of children in the tribal areas. Firstly, it is not possible to visualise that all the families in a hamlet may decide to send all their children to a distant school. Therefore, some arrangement for education within the habitation is necessary. Secondly, even a two-teacher school may suffer from the same handicap as a single teacher school in the distant villages where supervision is difficult and teachers are reluctant to go. A routine implementation of the provision that the second teacher may be a female may add to the problems. Educated girls from the urban areas may take employment and swell the ranks of female absentee employees, as has happened in many programmes.

Around development of the child requires nurturing of numerous faculties over a wide spectrum. A school with a teacher or two by its very structure cannot fulfil this diversified need of even a small group of children. A bigger institution, having a large number of teachers, can be expected to have persons with the requisite complement of talents, for example, one teacher may have a flair for music, another for sports, one teacher may be excellent in literature while the other in arithmetic and so on. The children in a small school, therefore, have a serious handicap during the formative age when their talents require recognition and nurture.

In view of the problems associated with the provision of social services of a reasonable quality, a suggestion to relocate tribal habitations so that they become viable units for social services has been put forward even by responsible quarters. The choice of habitations is not at random. It is related to the economy of the people, the source of drinking water and other considerations, such as defence. The most distinctive feature of the tribals is their association

with a territory. The land and forests of village do not only provide sustenance to them but they are also the abodes of their forefathers and are sacred. There may be movements of population over a long period due to economic forces, but a sudden change externally imposed is out of question. It will be unreasonable to expect them to adjust themselves to the needs of the institutional structure, let the institutional structure adapt to the situation of the people.

#### NEED FOR ELEMENTARY EDUCATION COMPLEX

The structure of elementary education in institutions in the tribal areas should be in the form of a complex covering a number of habitations in a geographical area specially delineated for the purpose of keeping in view the physical features and settlement pattern. The elementary education complex may comprise a number of elementary educational institutions which together should be adequate to cover all the children in the school-going age and universalise elementary education in the relevant area. The smallest habitations may have only a Balwadi for children in the age-group of 3 to 6. The child at the age of 5 could move to a nearby institution if located within a small distance. The second tier of the institutions may comprise special schools catering to the needs of the children in the age-group of 3 to 9. The larger hamlets may have primary schools for children up to the age of 11 with one or more teachers. In case the number of small hamlets and the geographical areas covered by the complex is large, it should also have residential facilities as in the ashram schools. The head of the elementary schools complex should be responsible for managing all the institutions located in different habitations, ensuring the attendance of teachers and making arrangements during absence on leave, etc., whenever necessary. The complement of teachers in the complex may cover the entire spectrum of skills from music to sports and literature to science and mathematics. The educational programme in the complex should be so organised that the entire tribal community is involved in the educational programme and becomes a part of the larger movement of life long education.

#### EMPHASIS ON SPORTS

Another important aspect of early education is the children's reactions to the school's setting in the tribal areas. The child in the urban and higher class families is rather lonely amongst the elderly members of the family and the school is a great attraction by virtue of the very fact that the child has a larger group of its

peers. In the tribal areas, the prospects for the child are different. The child has his friends to play with and interesting things to do like tending animals and running about in the forest. Education in the tribal area should be organised around extramural activities. These areas have a great potential for developing the athletics, games and sports. This potential can be best identified at the elementary school level and nurtured all through. Elementary school complex can assume this responsibility which will also add to its effectiveness even in the academic field. One working day in all the institutions in the elementary complex may be set apart exclusively for sports and cultural programmes, the academic instructions being limited to the remaining five days. The children from the entire complex should meet in one institution by turn. This will give an opportunity for the entire community and their children coming together. The teachers can exchange notes and fix up their programme so that their talents can be used for the benefit of the entire student population covered by the complex.

Some of the basic facilities, like a good library and science museum may be built in the central institution in the complex. The children visiting the institution occasionally will be able to make use of these facilities and the limited resources will be optimally utilised. The elementary educational complex thus can achieve universalisation of elementary education and provide opportunities for optimum growth of every child in this area.

The last important issue is the relevance of education for the economy of the people in the tribal areas. Education is no doubt a basic input for structural transformation of an economy, yet it is not the sufficient condition for the same. Moreover, the economic sub-systems in the tribal areas and elsewhere, which together comprise the national system, may have radically different parameters. For example, while the national economy as a whole is labour-surplus and sparsely, the sparsely populated tribal areas have a favourable resource-manpower. Similarly, in the hilly regions, forests are rich and agricultural land is scarce. The big potential of mineral resources also needs to be fully developed. Consequently, the educational input for tribal areas has to be tailored to their needs which may be significantly different from the national norms.

### **Need for Revising the Content Radically**

The educational structure at present is linear in which the primary education is treated basically as a preparatory ground for secondary education and the secondary education that for higher education. As the roles of three stages of education in relation to the national and regional economy are better appreciated, their con-

tents will need to be drastically revised. The basic purpose of education at a particular stage will be to equip the target group for life and the present preparatory role for the next higher level will have to be subsidiary. The national policy has not taken a clear stand in this regard and to that extent the issues about relevance, particularly in relation to the tribal areas have not come into the focus. The higher education must be concerned with ideas and concepts and should take a lead in these areas. It should also prepare people for those responsibilities in national life which require higher learning in humanities, science and technology. But the gestation period for higher education is quite long. Further, a major programme in higher education will need a strong enough base of secondary education. Therefore, it may not be necessary at this stage to create institutional infrastructure of tertiary education, particularly in higher technology in the tribal areas. Selected students can be sent to institutions of higher learning elsewhere and arrangements made so that best advantage can be taken of strong national infrastructure at that level.

While establishing institutions of higher education in the tribal areas, care should be taken that they are not second grade, otherwise their very establishment will go against the interests of the tribal students who will be doubly handicapped by virtue of a weaker foundation and inferior institutions. Quality should be the key-note of higher educational institutions in tribal areas and an institution should be set up only when it is ensured that the requisite standards are maintained. A beginning should be made but only on a firm ground.

#### **Relating Education to Primary Sector of Economy**

The secondary education aims at upgrading the general professional skills of the people so that the foundations of a diversified national economy can be strengthened. Consequently, vocationalisation has been given a high priority. However, only 25 per cent of pupils in the higher secondary schools are expected to join vocational stream by the end of 1995. The emphasis of vocational education is primarily on employment even though self-employment has also been referred to in this context. Consequently, agriculture, the major occupation of the people in the country, has not claimed due attention and it has been referred to only in passing. The concern appears to be for the service sector and not for the practising agriculturist.

The dissonance between the needs of economy and educational input is maximum when we move to elementary education. The basic issue about the content of about ten years of schooling for the average citizen, most of whom will be either self-employed in agriculture, as

artisans, casual labourers, etc., has not been touched. Thus, education has to prepare him for a fulfilling life as an enlightened citizen in whatever position he finds himself in the working life. It should also address itself to improving his skills so that his earning capacity is also increased.

The vast majority of the tribal people are engaged in primary sector of our economy. Therefore, elementary education should be attuned to give them better understanding of agriculture and forestry systems. It should also provide them higher skills which they can use in their daily life. Secondary education should also focus its attention on the needs of the tribal economy so that a few amongst them are better trained to assume the leadership role in harnessing the tremendous national potential in this area and raising the general level of living of the people. Among those who move to the higher education, some may join the modern sector of the national economy. In respect of the remaining persons, special effort should be made to attract at least some of them to return to their own people.

The life of the people is an organic whole, so also should be the education for life. The various streams of education, like technological, vocational, scientific and liberal as also different stages in each stream are losely inter-related and do not add to an internally consistent and harmonious structure. Those sections of our people who are now at a comparatively advanced stage are able to adjust themselves to this fragmented system and are also able to make a meaningful construct for themselves. This is not possible in the case of tribal people who are not prepared for this complexity and whose needs are quite different. The proposed rural universities will be a step forward in the direction of bringing about consonance between higher education and the local needs of the rural areas. In the tribal areas, one more crucial step will be desirable. All streams of the education and all stages within each should be brought under the purview of one institution of higher learning so that all sub-systems are in harmony and the system as a whole moves in unison, with the social and economic needs of the tribal people. The concept of life-long education should be linked to the working life of the tribal people.

## Adult Education in India : Programme of Action

INDER PRABHA SHARMA

LEARNING HAS been and continues to be a tradition in India and there are a number of institutions to pass on to the new generation the knowledge and wisdom gained earlier. It is the newest and paradoxically also the oldest discipline in this country, which is famous for its ancient cultural heritage, studded with the philosophical contributions by thinkers, saints and sages. Through a variety of techniques, music and songs, the masses were made conscious of their responsibility towards the maintenance of the moral tone of the social order. The British policy was to turn India into a producer of raw material for the British industry and of food for the growing British population, as also a market for the British industrial products. These changes had a direct impact on education which made Howell say, "Education in India under the British Government was first ignored, then violently and successfully opposed, then conducted on a system now universally admitted to be erroneous."<sup>1</sup>

Spread of literacy has been a conscious effort of the government since Independence. Between 1951 and 1981, the percentage of literacy improved from 16.67 per cent to 36.27 per cent. However, in absolute numbers, illiterate persons have increased during this period from 300 million to 437 million out of which women comprise 57 per cent of the illiterate population and the situation among backward classes is particularly bad. According to recent projections of the illiteracy situation in the world, India's share of the world's illiterate population in the age-group of 15 and above is projected to increase from about one-fourth in 1980 to approximately one-third of the world's adult illiterates by 2000. The programme, in all its dimensions, received special attention during the last ten years—administrative and technical resource structures were provided and voluntary agencies encouraged.



## NATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMME

The Education Commission (1964-66) for the first time in Independent India highlighted the role of adult education and felt that it should be possible to liquidate illiteracy by 1985-86. The Committee of Members of Parliament on Education, which considered the recommendations of the Education Commission, supported the idea and recommended that, as a part of the programme for immediate action, intensive efforts should be made to spread literacy, particularly in the age-group of 15-25<sup>2</sup>. Later, this recommendation was incorporated in the National Policy on Education, adopted by the government in 1968, which specifically stated that the liquidation of mass illiteracy was necessary and steps should be taken to achieve the same as early as possible. It was felt that those interested in the spread of literacy should be actively involved in organising literacy campaigns, especially as part of the social and National Service Programme<sup>3</sup>. These recommendation remained only on paper and the number of adult education centres came down from 2,17,912 in 1965-66 to 17,774 in 1975-76. The enrolment also declined from 16,37,541 to 4,39,034 during this period. Even vigorous literary drives like Gram Shikshan Mohim (village literacy movement) in one of the states had to be closed down. Some fresh initiative was called for.

In 1978, Government of India made a policy statement on adult education with a view to organising adult education programme, with literacy as an indispensable component, for approximately 100 million illiterate persons mainly in the age-group of 15-35 with a view to providing them skills for self-directed learning leading to self-reliant and active role in their own development and in the development of their environment.<sup>4</sup> The objective was that by 1983-84, a capability to organise adult education programmes for 35 million persons would be built up. Under the overall perspective, different agencies will organise programmes which would appear most relevant and feasible to them. The range of the types of the programmes which may be organised were: (a) literacy with assured follow up; (b) conventional functional literacy; (c) functional literacy supportive of a dominant development programme; (d) literacy with learning-cum-action groups; and (e) literacy for conscientisation and formation of organisations of the poor. The resource base should include creation of diversified and need-based learning materials, equipping the various categories of personnel for playing their role and infusion of a system of evaluation and research to impart dynamism to the programme. At the national level, the Directorate of Adult Education as well as the various agencies of the Central Government and national level voluntary agencies would form the National Resource Group.

A mass education programme cannot be effective in the absence of systematic monitoring and evaluation. It is also necessary to have in-built arrangements for applied and coordinated research so that this experience is scientifically analysed and provides guidelines for future action. The programme which gives importance to flexibility and diversity in organisation as well as its content can be best implemented through voluntary agencies. To bring about better coordination and evaluation, state and district boards of adult education should be set up. Training programmes of varying varieties for professional development were to be organised by government, universities and voluntary agencies. In addition to the expenditure involved in organisation of the programme, provision shall also have to be made, from the very beginning, for follow-up and continuing education of neo-literates and persons who have acquired literacy in the formal system of education. In formulating programmes and in their implementation, cooperation should be pledged to UNESCO and other instrumentalities of international cooperation based on mutual respect and equality. Thus, the programme emphasised all the three aspects--literacy, functionality and awareness.<sup>5</sup>

#### Weaknesses of the Programme

The review committee under the chairmanship of Dr. D.S Kothari pointed out a number of weaknesses of the methodology, content and coverage of the programme despite commendable work in several areas.<sup>6</sup> An elaborate study conducted on the working of the programme has brought out the following main inadequacies:<sup>7</sup>

1. The programme so far had largely remained confined to literacy. Further, in the absence of necessary research and failure to develop appropriate methodologies of literacy learning, even the literacy programme had not been as effective as expected.<sup>8</sup>
2. Perhaps the most crucial aspect of the NAEP was the linking of adult education with development programmes. This was not easy to achieve and, in spite of some efforts made in this behalf, it had not been possible to develop and organise this linkage effectively. Consequently, the development orientation of the programme was superficial and the functional component in the courses almost non-existent.
3. As far as the awareness component was concerned, although some useful work was done in some projects, where proper leadership was available, there was generally speaking, a lack of clarity among the workers regarding the meaning and content of awareness.

4. Little attention had been paid in the programmes to science. The NAEP should have made a significant contribution to popularisation of science and its relation to environment. It could have promoted in the participants some feeling and awareness of the relation of science to our great cultural heritage, and for shaping the future.
5. A number of states, for example, Assam, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Meghalaya and Orissa, seem to have remained almost unaffected by the NAEP and continued to run literacy programmes of the earlier type.
6. The programme, despite its intent, was in practice, not flexible, diversified and decentralised enough.
7. Learning materials, generally speaking, had been prepared for a language group, often separately for men and women, but without giving due attention to the diverse interests and needs of the learners.
8. The importance of functionality and awareness, as integral parts of the adult education programme, though being recognised, yet could not be satisfactorily reflected in the programmes.
9. Taken as a whole, the programme mainly remained the responsibility of education departments of the state governments. Other institutions and agencies, including media, had yet to involve themselves in a significant way.

The above mentioned list is only illustrative to provide an indication that certain additional inputs are essential for future expansion of the programme.

#### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The will and commitment of the government is quite explicit as the programme has been included under the Minimum Needs Programme in the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1980-85) and as Point No.16 under the New 20-Point Programme of the Prime Minister. The Sixth Plan, therefore, provided inter alia, for mass education (formal and non-formal) and during the plan period, the Central Government funded 386 rural functional literacy projects in the state besides giving assistance to 380 voluntary agencies and 49 universities for adult education programmes covering 20 million adult illiterates. Fifteen states, resource centres provided the resource support in terms of curriculum formulation, preparation of teaching and learning material, development of methods and media, training of functionaries, monitoring and evaluation, research and innovation, etc.

## THRUST AREAS IN THE SEVENTH PLAN

The Seventh Plan makes a departure by providing for reorientation of the educational system so as to prepare the country to meet the challenges of the next century. There is greater thrust for effective decentralised planning and organisational reforms, promotion of non-formal and open learning system, adoption of low-cost alternatives and optimum use of resources, forging of beneficial linkages with industry and development agencies, and mobilisation of community resources and societal involvement. The ambitious target is of spending Rs. 360 crore to eradicate adult illiteracy in the age-group of 15-35 years by 1990, i.e., about 90 million people. The following programmes have been planned:<sup>9</sup>

- (a) Making adult education a mass movement involving social institutions, voluntary organisations, students, teachers, employees and the community. Active participation of village panchayats, mahila mandals, community centres, etc. The programmes of NSS and Nehru Yuvak Kendras (NYKs) will also join this.
- (b) Linking the programme with various development programmes, especially IRDP.
- (c) Setting up of a network of literati and development of literature for neo-literates. Emphasis on citizenship education will be more.
- (d) Organisation of technical and vocational skill-based courses to improve functional skills through shramik vidyapeeths and other similar institutions. Short-term training courses for upgrading the skills and for increasing their awareness of various social events.

## NEW NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION (1986)

The discussion paper circulated by the government observed that the experience of conducting adult education programmes for the last three decades, and its evaluation by independent agencies, has revealed that want of sufficient motivation prevents illiterates from continuous participation in adult education programme. There is no support to the programme for developmental agencies and the involvement of grassroot voluntary agencies and educational institutions has remained marginal. Literacy has not been used and propagated as an instrument of development because the positive nexus between poverty and illiteracy has not been recognised.<sup>10</sup> It was, therefore, heartening that National Policy of Education envisages that adult

education would be a means for reducing economic, social and gender disparities. The principal aim of the new National Programme of Adult Education (NPAA) is to provide education including literacy to the population in the age-group of 15-35, which numbers about 100 million. There will be more emphasis on skill development, and creation of awareness among the learners of the national goals, of development programmes, and for liberation from oppression. It would be a phased time-bound programme, covering approximately 40 million by 1990 and another 60 million by 1995.<sup>11</sup>

To achieve the orientation and thrust as outlined in the new policy, a plan of action has been outlined.<sup>12</sup> The entire education system is going to commit itself to the cause of adult education and effective support will be sought of the massmedia, political parties and the mass organisation of workers, peasants, women, youth and students. In particular, the aspects discussed in the following paras will be specially taken care of.

#### **Reorganisation of the Existing Programmes**

The Rural Functional Literacy Projects and state Adult Education Programmes as also the programme of assistance to voluntary agencies will be strengthened by: (i) introduction of flexibility in the project structure; (ii) greater use of spoken language of the learners (including the languages spoken by the tribal people); (iii) emphasis on training of functionaries; (iv) decentralisation of the supervisory system; (v) increase in the number of women instructors, even by adjusting the minimum qualification and making arrangements for their continuing education; (vi) continuity regarding duration of the projects; (vii) application of science and technology for improvements in the environment of the learning centres, greater use of educational technology and research in pedagogy of literacy instructions; and (viii) a direct and continuing linkage between initial literacy instruction and post-literacy and continuing education. The existing programmes of workers' education will be reorganised and there will be much greater involvement of trade unions, voluntary agencies and social activist groups.

#### **Linkage of Adult Education and Development Programmes**

This will be done as follows: (a) special literacy primers and other reading material will be developed for the beneficiaries of IRDP and NREP to enable them to understand their rights and responsibilities; (b) efficiency of ICDS has suffered due to discontinuance of the component of functional literacy of adult women. This programme will be restarted in the form of Functional Literacy of Women (FLOW) which would be an integrated part of ICDS. Only those should

get the material benefits who attend literacy course; (c) the various programmes for development of SC/ST and other educationally backward sections will include a component of literacy and adult education wherever possible; (d) programmes of labour welfare will give special attention to literacy and adult education. Employers will be required, if necessary by law, to organise literacy and skill development programmes for all their employees. Welfare funds for various categories of workers will be used for running literacy and adult education programmes and due attention given in the various schemes for unorganised workers; (e) literacy and adult education will also form an important part of the various programmes of women's development; (f) starting with 50 Nehru Yuvak Kendras (NYKs) in 1986-87, all NYKs will take up in their district one project of 100 functional literacy cases in each block.

#### **Broadbased Functional Literacy Programme**

The present intensive selective activity on a limited scale will be replaced by a mass programme by: (i) literacy work would be taken up by a large number of students as 'study service'--viz., specific projects taken up as a part of work experience and social/national service, which would be reflected in the students' final result sheets; (ii) substantial institutional incentive will be provided to universities, colleges, higher secondary/secondary schools for eradication of illiteracy in a well-defined area; (iii) trade unions, panchayati raj agencies and other representative organisations of people will be encouraged to voluntarily take up functional literacy programme for which literacy kits and some organisational expenses would be provided to them; (iv) encouraging individuals to look upon literacy work as a personal commitment and voluntary service, particularly by women among women, and involvement of voluntary agencies for this purpose.

#### **Strengthening Technical Resource System**

To bring about greater decentralisation and employment of educational technology for quality improvement, specific measures taken will be as follows: (i) greater attention would be paid to preparation of good learning materials, teachers' guides, and training. For this, as well as for production of learning materials for post-literacy and continuing education, latest technologies of printing and communication will be employed. The national level organisation for this purpose will be reviewed and suitably reorganised; (ii) the work of each State Resource Centre will be reviewed. Those not functioning satisfactorily will be improved, and if necessary, shifted under the auspices of some other organisation. Much more

provision will be made for improvement of infrastructure and staff in SRCs; (iii) District Resource Units (DRU) for adult education and non-formal education will form an integral part of DIETs. In co-operation with other staff of DIET, as well as other resource persons available in the district, the DRUs will take responsibility for initial and continuing education of the field-level functionaries. They will also design and oversee the methods employed in evaluation of learners.

#### **Improving Management System**

The main considerations for determining the management system will be: (i) need for the centralised policy framework and direction with decentralisation of the planning and implementation process and functional autonomy; (ii) establishment of effective linkage between development agencies and NPAE; (iii) securing the commitment of political parties, mass organisations, educational institutions, voluntary agencies, etc.; (iv) delineation of responsibility to enforce operational accountability; and (v) ensuring the effective participation of functionaries of NPAE, the intended beneficiaries and the community in planning and day-to-day implementation of the programme at the grassroots level.

#### **Decentralised Organisational Structures**

At the state as well as national level, there will be commission headed by the chief minister and the Minister of Human Resources Development respectively. The financial and administrative powers will be exercised by the executive committee of the state as well as the National Commission. Detailed planning at the district level for illiteracy eradication could be the responsibility of the District Boards of Education. However, the operational unit would continue to be the Adult Education Centre (AEC) organised at the village or mohalla level.

#### **Inculcation of Technology Mission**

'Eradication of illiteracy will be launched as a technical and societal mission.' In pursuance of the mission, effort will be made to: (i) improve the physical environment, power supply and the illumination, etc., of the AEC; (ii) facilitate and expedite preparation, printing, distribution of topical and relevant learning material and learning aids on a decentralised basis; (iii) enrich the process of learning with audio-visual materials by enlarging the range of television and radio broadcasts and also by developing cheaper and sturdier equipment; (iv) reduce the time-lag between pedagogic research and the assimilation of its results in the teaching-learning

processes; and (v) create inter-active environment between the electronic teaching devices and the learners.

#### Evaluation and Management Information System

The existing education projects will be reviewed and reorganised. Maximum attention will be paid to the subject of learner evaluation--the purpose being to ensure that all adult learners attain a level of literacy and numeracy which would enable them to continue learning in a self-reliant manner. Learner evaluation will also concern itself with the other components of NPAE--skill development, awareness, etc. A system of programme evaluation will be built into NPAE to ensure that all AEC organisers, supervisors and management personnel concurrently review, in a participatory manner, the progress of the programme. Institutions of higher education and of social science research will be associated with external evaluation--of the process, the quality of the programme, quantitative achievements and the management system. Necessary correctives will be introduced from time to time on the basis of those evaluations. A Management Information System will also be instituted to ensure periodic flow of information needed for improvement in management. Measures will be taken towards careful analysis of the information data received and the feedback.

#### MUFFLED CRY FOR CHANGE

The programme of action discussed above is in response to the promise made by the Minister of Human Resource Development in the budget session that the implementation strategy will be clearly worked out. Twenty-three task forces were constituted and each was assigned a specific subject covered by the National Policy. Eminent educationists, experts and senior representatives of Central and state governments were associated with these task forces. The task forces were to elaborate on the implications of the specific statements contained in the policy, indicate the broad targets and the phasing of the programmes. The exercise has been well attempted because: (a) it provides a broad strategy within which detailed schemes will be drawn up; (b) it will facilitate the preparatory work which will be required before such schemes can be worked out fully and put into operational form; (c) it provides a flexible structure with enough of scope for change to suit local conditions; (d) it is only a projection of details with varying degrees of detail where modifications are necessary on the basis of experiences and emerging scenarios; (e) it stresses a cooperative implementation mechanism between the Centre and the states; (f) it pleads for full involvement



of the community and the teachers and a constant process of consultation; (g) unlike other similar exercises, it goes into broad financial implications over a long period of time—covering not only the Seventh Five-Year Plan period but also the Eighth Five-Year Plan, and beyond.

The programme of action spells out clearly that the greatest emphasis will be on elimination of disparities in the educational system and on improvement in the quality of publicly-funded schools. Establishment of District Boards of Education, District Institutes of Education and Training, and Village Education Committees will go a long way towards school improvement programme, involvement of the community with the educational process, and creating a new form of accountability of the educational system. It attempts to make the system more democratic and socialistic by pleading for reorientation of the whole system to promote women's equality, special provisions for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, other educationally disadvantaged sections, minorities, the physically and mentally handicapped, and for the areas which need special attention. Attempt has been made to make strides towards the common school system to which the Education Commission (1964-66) gave so much importance, but which has so far remained only a distant goal.

#### LACK OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

It is true that bigger schemes of quantitative expansion and quality improvement take time to get formulated and processed, and even longer to get understood and implemented. If we critically analyse the evolution of learning systems, it would be clear that its structure and contents are determined by the requirements of education which are closely linked with the objectives and purposes as determined by the ruling elites. The situation has undergone a radical change. It is people's aspirations that should determine the contents and structure of education and training system and not the dictates of a few individuals. Political education is universally a weak element in adult education if the term education is used to mean, in accordance with democratic ideas, teaching designed to enable people to develop their capacities and their ideas in order that they may be self-determining individuals, making their own decisions and judgements and freely acting in accordance with them, then as a world-wide phenomenon the political education of adults is only a very minor part of provision for adult education. Adult education makes a significant contribution in effective democratic citizenship only when it is used more widely to include measures to instruct and mould people to ensure that they fit into the requirements of the

state--or, more precisely, a party which controls the states. The programme of action envisages long-term political patronage of one party and as much the whole structure will crumble down if the party complexion of the government changes. It cannot be ignored that in a large number of countries, adult education is a powerful instrument in the hands of Communist Parties which constitute a challenge to the liberal democracies. The challenge is not only direct but lies also in the fact that many developing countries have adopted types of adult education which resemble those in the Communist states rather than those in the liberal democracies. It seems justifiable to say that world adult education is one of the areas of activity in which the politico-cultural struggle between Communism and the liberal democracies is being fought. The creation of a political public should be the aim of adult education. The best kind of policy is one in which citizens are ready to participate actively in such ways as are open to them in the processes of government. Any system of political education should always have these possibilities in mind as a desirable ideal. Political education requires more than training to produce behaviour which will help to ensure the fulfilment of the plans of governments. The plans indeed should be affected partly by the educational activities of citizens.<sup>13</sup>

#### UNEXPLORED LINKAGES WITH ENVIRONMENT

The whole world of linkages between educational institutions and the environment has yet to be fully explored and mutually reinforcing schemes are still to become a way of life. Every policy statement on adult education emphasises linkages but how it is to be brought out, is a big lapse in the document. A few dovetailing of programmes have been identified and component of literacy in other development programmes have been recommended, but that is too inadequate. It is surprising that the power of institutionalised linkages with industry and life has been seen only too dimly. It is a common experience that a romantic view of the purity of knowledge and a self-imposed isolation have prevented higher education from joining the adventure of life. Possibly to cover up for the guilt and embarrassment, educational institutions perfunctorily respond to externally conceived projects on cooperative education, research and consultancy, science parks and knowledge industries. It is only through positive involvement in the implementation of these projects in the setting of real-life situations in the nation that the expected dividends from these projects will be realised.<sup>14</sup> The stigma of illiteracy can be removed through adult education when every productive setting is converted into a setting for learning. The schools which have been

built can provide a site for the purpose of open school operations. Both the learning schedule and programme content of learning have to be intelligently worked out to harmonise with the village or community life. The programme for adult illiterates should "acquire a clear focus by including a time-bound objective of eradicating accumulated illiteracy. An original approach of placing the adult illiterate in a course-team, where he functions at once as a learner and also as a teacher, will be pursued. The other members of the team would be local functionaries and professionals like environmentalists, micro-biologists, religious leaders, political leaders, etc. The student here is both a full-time student as well as a full-time worker. The teacher here is at once a teacher as well as a learner, learning from the illiterate adult the special life pattern of the community. The pedagogy for such an education would be developed through local geniuses, a meaningful dialogue and a genuine conviction that the illiterate adult is not inferior but only disadvantaged".<sup>15</sup>

#### A PACKAGE EFFORT: OVERSTRESSED

A comprehensive strategy to make adult education a mass programme has been proposed both in the policy document and the Seventh Plan. The mass approach envisages mobilisation of educated men and women to constitute a force to combat illiteracy through a well-planned literacy campaign.<sup>16</sup> A mass programme of functional literacy was launched on May 1, 1986. Adequate provision for motivating the learners by teaching them local skills and crafts have been proposed. Electronic and folk media will also be used for motivational and instructional purposes. After the introduction of the NAEP, implementation of the programme has always been closely watched. Kothari Review Committee recommended, "It is necessary to emphasise that in continuing this major programme of democratisation of educational opportunity, social mobilisation and national development, the country has dedicated itself, for the first time, to a gigantic undertaking which has the potential of effecting a social and economic transformation which will usher in the new order envisaged in the Preamble of the Constitution. Success in such an endeavour, although not easy, is essential because an indifferently implemented programme can lead to frustration and retard progress. Success will depend upon firm and sustained political commitment, development of the programme as a nation-wide movement and linking it with improvement in the standards of living of the poor, involvement of the educated persons and educational and other institutions of social services, harnessing the best talent available to improve the quality

of the programme, creation of an efficient and decentralised administration and provision of the needed resources. It is a deep concern for these basic issues which should inspire the development of the programme in the days ahead".<sup>17</sup> When we read the overall implementation strategy outlined in the Programme of Action document, there appears to be nothing new. It repeats what has been said before, not once but a number of times. It, therefore, does not give any evidence of creative or original thinking.

#### NEGATION OF DECENTRALISATION

Administrative Reforms Commission had said that delegations should be maximum possible and not minimum necessary. For the last few years, there have been more efforts at centralisation with the result that local initiative and drive is lost sight of. Many states have started feeling the pinch and the policy initiative and perspective has slipped out of their hands. It is a common complaint that not much weight is attached to the views of the federating units. A number of studies have shown that decentralisation helps the development process better.<sup>18</sup>

Education helps to relieve poverty by improving health and nutrition practices and has a lot of economic impact. Education, in addition, transmits cultural, religious and sometimes political values and helps to preserve national identity. Investment in adult education has been regarded by the World Bank as a very crucial input for development. A study undertaken and presented in World Development Report 1980 examined estimates of the economic rate of return on investments in education for fortyfour developing countries. It concluded that all the rates were well above the 10 per cent figure that the bank normally considers the acceptable minimum. A number of studies have shown a positive correlation between the illiteracy of the adults and the enrolment of the children. When education provides such an important input to development, why should there not be efforts at decentralisation. Policy-makers will soon realise that centralisation trends in education would add to their disillusionment.

#### ALTERNATE ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP

In India, the most prevalent and accepted form for implementing development programmes, including adult education, is a bureaucratic form of organisation. There are a number of studies highlighting that this form is unsuited to meet the developmental challenges. Efforts are, therefore, being directed to evolve alternate forms of

organisations based on different premises of future oriented, socially desirable models of change. The latest advances in organisation theory are being increasingly relied on for designing alternate frameworks, but in the field of adult education, such thinking has been conspicuous by its absence.

Alternate policy frame of adult education is intimately linked with development strategy to be pursued and the approach which is to be adopted in reaching the goals. Planning is essentially an exercise in the future and the supreme challenge lies in creating new structures for alternative forms for planning for human beings, forty-six per cent of whom are languishing below the poverty line. Many scholars have attempted to offer several different designs for future. New experimentation is possible only if the political leaders and administrators have a large and sharpened vision of social reality and show sensitivity to the pressures that are likely to generate in the coming decades from the under-privileged.<sup>19</sup> The programme only makes some suggestions for marginal adjustments in the existing system.

With the increase in uncertainty over goals and means-ends connections, there are now several new types of organisational forms likely to overtake bureaucratic design. The matrix, organic, loosely-coupled, multi-dimensional or circular organisations are being predicted for the future. In recent years, the desire to move towards non-bureaucratic organisations has been translated into several operationally meaningful innovations in organisation design. These new designs are not the only way of increasing organisational flexibility, responsiveness to change and collaboration. Further explorations should continue.

As an alternate organisational framework for adult education, efforts be made for adoption of ideal-typical non-bureaucratic organisation because its openness and information bondedness enables it to continually adapt itself to the environment and to create new structures as needed. C.Y. Wu (1979, p. 36) sums up the advantages as, "the common features of the non-bureaucratic forms include greater looseness and less centralised control in organisational structure, greater flexibility and less rigidity in rules and procedures; free communication and exchange of ideas, both from the top down and from the bottom up, both vertically and horizontally, greater emphasis on professionalism, individual initiative, participation and decentralisation; as well as special prominence given to interpersonal relationships, teamwork, interdisciplinary cooperation, group decision-making and sometimes also multi-group membership... adaptability is extended to environmental change, and prominence is given to inter-organisational relationships".

Efforts at reorienting and refashioning adult education can be successful only if there is a faith in the future for humanity. Any alternate design should be a conscious process, taking stock of the ongoing endeavours of today to create better tomorrow. The experience clearly gained, ideas, tools and strategies already implemented, provide clear and meaningful insights to reinforce faith and hope in administrative capability to undertake and sustain changes in the future. Adult education can unleash the contributions of science and technology to confront any challenge to human dignity. With proper literacy, awareness and functionality, bargaining strategies will be replaced by the mobilisation principle to activate collective benefits. There will be an end to socio-economic exploitation of man and depredation of nature. None can deny the above mentioned potentialities but how many are really serious to see adult education play this historic role?

#### NEW TRUST FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICY

The backlog of poverty and illiteracy is a legacy of the colonial rule which has been further made serious because of a number of other constraints. The education system must comprehend these constraints. "It must be able to develop the Indian mind, get it out of the colonial cast, make it much more outward thinking, make it more aggressive on intellectual questions. We must make it so, so that the solutions are found in India and not abroad".<sup>20</sup> What we need is a new dynamism and determination. In particular, voluntary effort must have a new resurgence. The programme of action has made useful suggestions and it is a challenge on the administrators and policy-makers to implement the policy in letter and spirit. If it is done with will and skill, it will be better for India of today and tomorrow.

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# Role of the Media in Distance Teaching\*

G. RAM REDDY

THE NATIONAL Policy on Education clearly recognises the importance of open university and distance learning and also the role of the media. It says: "The open university system has been initiated in order to augment opportunities for higher education and as an instrument of democratising education. The Indira Gandhi National Open University, established in 1985 in fulfilment of these objectives, will be strengthened. This powerful instrument will have to be developed with care and extended with caution."<sup>1</sup>

Referring to the media and educational technology, the policy document observes: "Modern communication technologies have the potential to by-pass several stages and sequences in the process of development encountered in earlier decades. Both the constraints of time and distance at once become manageable. In order to avoid structural dualism, modern educational technology must reach out to the most distant areas and the most deprived sections of beneficiaries simultaneously with the areas of comparative affluence and ready availability."<sup>2</sup>

While there is a resolve in the policy document to make extensive use of the media both in conventional and distance education; in the latter, dependence on the media is very high.

Broadly speaking, there are two types of distance education institutions in this country--correspondence courses and the open universities. The correspondence courses have been in vogue in this country for a little more than two decades. They are a part of the conventional system and, by and large, they have relied only on the printed material. Very few correspondence institutions have made use of other media. With the establishment of open universities, there is going to be a qualitative change in the situation because the open

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\*This article is based on the Media Foundation Lecture delivered in 1986.



universities adopt the multi-media approach, and the modern technologies have an important role to play in them. In this article, we propose to examine the role played by the media in the autonomous distance education, i.e., the open university system.

There are already two open universities in the country: one is in Andhra Pradesh which has been functioning for the past three years, and the other at the national level established last year by an Act of Parliament. At least six other state open universities are likely to be set up in the near future. All this is being done with a view to strengthening distance education in the country. In India, the importance of distance education is obvious in view of the widespread illiteracy, inequalities in education, and lack of high quality in education. In fact, distance education is being envisaged as an alternative system of education in the country. Realising the importance of distance education, a number of countries have set up open universities. They are now to be found in the UK, West Germany, Canada, Spain, South Africa, Israel, China, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Indonesia, Japan, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Iran, Netherlands and now in India.

Let us first deal with some of the important features of open universities. Second, we shall explain why the choice of media is important in an open university. Then we shall examine the various media in use in open universities. Finally, the criterion for selecting the media appropriate to an open university will be discussed. The article is based on the experience of various open universities in the world and their relevance to India.

#### THE OPEN UNIVERSITY--ITS FEATURES

The need for an open university in a country arises because of the existence of large numbers of people who do not have access to higher education. They, however, have the tremendous urge and motivation to learn. In Mahabharata, there is the story of Eklavya who wanted to learn under Dronacharya, who was the teacher of Arjuna and others. Because Eklavya was neither a Brahmin nor a Kshatriya, Dronacharya refused to take him as his disciple. Nevertheless, Eklavya was determined to learn. He set up a statue of the guru, Dronacharya, and practised archery at the feet of the statue. His motivation was so strong that he mastered archery and martial arts without the guidance of the teacher. What happened subsequently is not of relevance here. The point to be noted here is that a highly motivated student can learn without the personal supervision of a teacher. Those were the days when a Dronacharya could refuse to teach an Eklavya and the society could tolerate it. Today, particu

larly in a democratic set-up, the Eklavyas have to be educated and the Dronacharyas cannot refuse. The main problem is that they may not be available on a large scale. This is done generally through the distance education system and in particular by open universities.

An open university is a distance teaching institution and specialises in distance education. Like any other university, it is autonomous and is qualitatively different from many traditional correspondence teaching systems.<sup>3</sup> The open universities serve relatively dispersed student populations with limited emphasis on face-to-face teaching. "In so doing", argue Kaye and Rumble, "they liberate the student from the constraints of space, time (and often age), associated with conventional provisions permitting him a degree of flexibility as to the regularity, timing and location of his study activities".<sup>4</sup> Additional to these 'classical' features, they have a number of other characteristics which, taken as a whole, imply a radically new approach to educational provision. It is not necessary that these features be found in every open institution, but they all contribute to the overall notion of distance learning system. Important among these are:

1. Providing educational opportunities to those people who were previously deprived of such opportunities;
2. Identification of particular target groups and their key characteristics to enable appropriate courses, learning methods and delivery systems to be designed on a systematic basis;
3. Flexibility in the curriculum and the content of learning materials;
4. Systematic design of study materials for independent study and provision of feedback from students to learning system staff and vice versa;
5. Use of a variety of media and other resources suited to the needs of the students;
6. Flexibility in teaching methods and in student groups covered;
7. Centralised, mass production of standardised learning material;
8. Use of existing infrastructure and facilities as part of the system; and
9. Scope for lower recurrent unit cost per student than what obtains in the conventional system.<sup>5</sup>

#### NEED FOR MEDIA

The main objective of the open university is to provide wider access to education to a large number of people. In other words, it

aims at democratisation of education while maintaining high quality in instruction. To do this, choice of media becomes important in distance teaching institutions, like the open university. In a conventional system, it is well accepted that communication will be inter-personal in classroom lectures supported by print material. These have been the educational media for centuries in the conventional system. It is only recently that there is the talk of using the new communication technology to support the inter-personal communication and the printed book. The case of the open university, however, is different. In this system, the students are scattered all over the country or many countries and they are not required to attend classroom instruction. While there may be some face-to-face instruction, by and large, the system depends on teaching the students to learn on their own. As a result, choice of the media is crucial in this system. This has become crucial for another reason also. For a long time, the distance education institutions depended heavily on the correspondence or print material with occasional support from face-to-face instruction. This was so because the other communication technologies are of a recent origin. Thanks to the remarkable developments in the electronic media, today there is a broad range of media available for educational purposes. Depending upon the stages of technological development in a particular country, decisions can be made with regard to the choice of the technology. Such a choice in developed countries is different from that in developing countries--a point which has to be borne in mind by the policy-makers.

#### TYPES OF MEDIA

When we look into the functioning of the various open universities in the world - in the developed countries and in developing countries, in the capitalist countries and the socialist countries - we come across a variety of media in use in open universities. Some media like the print material and contact programmes are used in most of them, but some others are not so common.<sup>6</sup>

Let us now consider the media which are in use and their limitations.

#### Print Material

All the open universities in the world and other distance education institutions use the print material for instructional purposes.<sup>7</sup> In fact, this is the mainstay of their instructional system. Print material used in these universities is, however, different from the print material we usually come across. The lessons are specially

prepared keeping in mind the students whom the teachers do not see. Moreover, the background of the students also varies - some are old, some are young; some have more leisure, some of them do not have any leisure; some are well educated, some others are not; some are very poor, and some are rich. The teacher, therefore, has not seen his students and has no mental picture of them. The material is carefully prepared to suit them all and to help them learn on their own without much assistance from others. The materials prepared by the UK Open University, the Fern Universität and the STOU Thailand are good examples of this type of material. The material is so impressive that it is used by the teachers and students of conventional universities also. Print based media, therefore, will continue to play an important role in the open university. The printed material has several advantages. It is easy to carry, can be used according to the convenience of the student and is comparatively cheaper. Not surprisingly, the advent of other technologies has not relegated the printed material into the background.

We must, however, note the recent advances made in the use of print based media. There was a re-discovery of the flexibility of print; introduction of text processing and type setting by computer; harnessing the instructional design to course material development and better understanding of the use of lay-out, illustration and colour. In fact, some scholars think that the '70s were the decade of print."<sup>8</sup>

Besides this, there are also other forms of distance teaching materials in print, for example, those in the form of courses by newspapers.

### **Broadcasting—Radio and Television**

Broadcasting is another important medium used in education. Broadly, there are three objectives in the use of broadcasting in education.<sup>9</sup> Tony Bates points out that the use of television and radio can improve the quality of existing educational production. The focus in this approach is on the use of radio and television for improvement within the formal education system, the target groups being those already in full time education at school or college. The second perspective justifies the use of television and radio by arguing that it can equalise or spread more widely educational opportunities. The focus here is on providing educational opportunities beyond the formal school and college system, through part-time off-campus education for those outside the normal age range or geographical reach of the basic school and college system. Thirdly, use of television and radio is justified by arguing that they can be used as revolutionary forces to bring about radical changes in the social

structure and in the mobilisation of the poor and the oppressed.<sup>10</sup> Our concern here is mainly with the second objective, i.e., how radio and television can be used in an open university system.

### Radio

Radio has been extensively used for educational purposes all over the world. In fact, the technology is so advanced today that 'radio' means much more than simple broadcasting, i.e., to be heard directly as and when broadcast. It has two aspects: Radio broadcast for direct consumption or recordings of radio broadcast to be stored and used in much the same way as audio material which has to be put directly on to the cassettes by the producer without the intervention of broadcasting.<sup>11</sup>

In countries which have been anxious either to spread literacy or to give formal or non-formal education at various levels have found radio to be an effective medium. Australia started using radio to teach her children in the remote outback as early as 1932. Elsewhere in the world, radio broadcast has been both used in formal and non-formal education.

In distance education, radio has been used as an important component of multi-media approach. The advantage of the radio is that all over the world it is within the reach of the common man, and can be carried from place to place easily. As a result, we find that open universities in the West and in the Asian countries have relied on it quite heavily. Since its inception the British Open University used radio "as one of a handful of media in its multi-media courses".<sup>12</sup> In a typical, full credit course, in the early years of the university, week's unit of study consisted of one text unit, some broadcast notes, one television programme of twenty-five minutes, and one radio programme of twenty minutes. The radio programmes were intended to be heard directly as broadcast and each programme was broadcast twice to give more students the opportunity to listen it at least once and also to give some students the opportunity of listening to it twice.

In other countries, such as Thailand, China and Pakistan, radio is considered to be an important medium. In the STOU Thailand, lessons are broadcast for about 50 hours in a week. In the Andhra Pradesh Open University, it is used for six hours a week.

Generally, radio programmes have the following formats: (a) Lecture or radio talk by an expert, (b) interview/discussion, (c) source material other than a talk, and (d) radio vision.<sup>13</sup>

In recent years, it has been observed that in some open universities, like the British Open University, the use of radio is diminishing. It is also found that listening rate of the broadcast is

also declining. But experience in this regard is not uniform. For instance, in Thailand and China, it continues to be one of the important mediums for education. There are several reasons for the decline of its use in certain places. The most important one is the inconvenient time of broadcasting - it is either very early in the morning or late in the night. Both of them are not popular with the students. Secondly, use of audio-cassettes is on the increase because they remain under the controlled conditions of the students and can be used according to their convenience. Despite these limitations, we in this country are likely to rely on the radio for quite sometime to come.

### Television

Television has been considered to be an effective medium for spreading education. No wonder some of the universities of the world, such as the Chinese, are named as TV universities. The language of television is extremely rich, expressive and powerful.<sup>14</sup> W. Schramm considers television as one of the glamour boys of the media.<sup>15</sup> It has attracted the attention of non-educators to instructional media. In developed countries it has become available on a wider scale and is able to deliver audio-visual experiences to many classrooms, simultaneously, with an ease that 'films' cannot match. Instructional television can, says Schramm, not only transports the teachers, but could also bring with the teacher more elaborate illustrative material than any classroom teacher can possibly have at hand.<sup>16</sup> Its main advantage is its accessibility - it reaches every home—and it can be entertaining and attractive. It is, therefore, important for recruitment and motivation of students. Further, as Bates points out, it can make available to the learner educational resources that would be difficult to provide in any other way.<sup>17</sup> It can provide learners with useful resource material, including coverage of complex industrial equipment, expensive and/or dangerous experiments, drama, historical archive film, diverse geographical locations and interviews with famous personalities and experts.<sup>18</sup>

In the UK, the open university uses television for 35 hours a week. In China's Central TV University, it is used for about 32 hours and in STOU Thailand and the Athabasca University, Canada, it is used for about 12 hours a week. In Japan, television is used on a large scale.

It is felt that learning from broadcast television is a difficult process. In spite of glamour and appeal of the television and its ability to reach mass audiences, the experience about its use varies from country to country. In countries like the UK, it is found that now no course with television has more than 7000 students at the open

university. Of the 14 autonomous open universities which were operational in 1982, only a few made use of more than five hours a week 'through the air' terrestrial transmission. It is not surprising then that in most countries broadcasting tends to be used more for 'stand alone' and/or broadcast-led continuing education, rather than linked to an integrated, comprehensive distance education system.<sup>19</sup>

The problem with television programmes is that they are ephemeral, cannot be reviewed, are uninterruptable and are presented at the same pace for all students. "A student cannot reflect upon an idea or pursue a line of thought, without losing the thread of the programme itself. A student cannot go over the same material several times until it is understood".<sup>20</sup> In developing countries, there is, however, the problem of accessibility to television. In India, the vast majority of the students of open university are not likely to have television in their homes. In such circumstances, they have to use either a community television facility or go to the nearest Study Centre for watching the television programmes.

One of the important reasons for the trend which is away from the use of television for educational purposes is the lack of satisfactory cooperation between broadcast organisations and educational institutions. Secondly, lack of adequate transmission facilities and dissatisfaction with the quality of the times available are also responsible for using the television sparingly. Further, it is unwise to use television if there are no large numbers of students taking a particular course.

If a distance teaching institution wishes to use broadcasting in a central teaching role, it must obtain agreement for quality transmission times guaranteed for the life of the course. Overall, it appears that broadcast television needs to be used very selectively to provide students with experiences that may otherwise be inaccessible.<sup>21</sup>

### Video Cassettes

Though comparatively new and yet to become very popular, video cassettes are being thought of as a more effective medium than radio or television. Video cassettes are like broadcast television inasmuch as they combine moving pictures with the sound.<sup>22</sup> They are, however, unlike television in that they can be viewed in ways which are independent of pre-determined transmission timings. Video cassettes are more convenient than the broadcast television because they are under the control of the student who can watch the programme whenever he wants and watch it as often as he wants to. In addition, there is the advantage of pauses and replays. In the British Open University, they are switching over more and more to the video cassettes.

At the moment, the video equipment is costly even in developed countries and they are not within the reach of most of the students.

In countries, like India, we may have to use video cassettes for audio-visual programmes for different reasons. Since the television set is not within the reach of many students, they would be advised to go to the nearest Study Centre for their audio-visual programmes. If we build up a good library of video cassettes in each Study Centre and the Study Centre is also provided with VCRs, they would be of great help to students. Then the students can go to the Study Centre according to their convenience and make use of the audio-visual programmes. From the point of view of the students in India, video cassettes are more convenient than the television.

In a recent article, two Indian writers, Sashi K. Gulati and Manoj Dutta of the IIT, Delhi, make a forceful plea for video teaching for students of Engineering.<sup>23</sup> They argue that the video instruction is useful:

1. as a method of self-study especially for weaker students;
2. as a means for teacher training,
3. as a means for bringing industrial processes to the classroom particularly, and
4. for continuing education in the off-campus environment.

Talking of the relevance of the video instruction in formal engineering institutions, they argue that it is very effective and useful in a situation where 75 per cent of the engineering colleges have inadequately equipped laboratories. Secondly, 30 to 40 per cent of the faculty posts in these engineering colleges are lying vacant. In these situations, the video instruction can be of great help. What is relevant to engineering colleges is equally relevant to other colleges in the country. In fact, the distance teaching institutions can draw upon the resources of the video-based instruction much more than the formal institutions.

In their study of the impact of the video-based instruction, these writers found the following results:<sup>24</sup>

1. 100 per cent of students in Group 1 felt that after seeing the programme, they were competent to conduct the test on their own.
2. 60 per cent of students in Group 2 felt that the test procedure as explained in the video programme was better than the explanation given in the laboratory.
3. 75 per cent of students in Group 3 felt that they would have found conducting the test more interesting, had they seen the



programme earlier.

4. Many felt that in the time used, video programmes conveyed much more than is conveyed in the laboratory.
5. Some expressed pleasure that a programme of such quality has been produced in India by their faculty.

In view of its effectiveness for teaching-learning process, the video cassette is likely to be used extensively in open universities in this country.

#### Video Disc

Another recent addition to educational technology is the video disc. This medium is helping to increase the capacity of the television set.<sup>25</sup> The Laser Optical Video Disc represents the most recent advance in video technology.<sup>26</sup> The video disc resembles a silver colour, long-playing record which is usually made from a one-inch master tape. It incorporates two audio tracks (offering alternative narration problems, or narratives in two different languages) and preserves the original broadcast quality of the original, since it uses a beam of laser light to reproduce the audio and visual information stored on the disc. The video disc has the capacity to store 54,000 separate visual images on each side. The entire Encyclopaedia Britannica can be stored on a single disc with room to spare. The major educational advantage of this technology is in terms of learner control. Each frame of the disc is labelled and can be accessed at random. In addition to this rapid precise picture location facility, the video disc player offers comparable slow motion, forward and reverse, as well as rapid scan—forward and reverse—and the video disc probably addresses the adult learners with a new flexibility better than any other media.

Talking of the potential of the video system, a recent report of the UNESCO Regional Office says that it far surpasses the instructional capabilities of other technologies. No doubt its cost at the moment is very high. But "the use of video discs by educational institutions is just the tip of the video disc iceberg."<sup>27</sup> It should be noted that the cost of using video discs is very much influenced by the economy of scale; for example, if video disc courses were shared among students of a number of institutions, the costs begin to look quite reasonable. "If the video disc is widely accepted by the consumer, there will be a large new market for distance education institution", writes Susan G.D. Antoni.<sup>28</sup>

If the major objective of higher education is to generate efficacious educational process, then individualised interactive instruction is a necessary pre-requisite. Interactive video disc

offers the potential to achieve such an objective; and because of its durability may yet provide a cost effective solution, despite high production costs. Like some other technologies, it could be used 24 hours per day.<sup>29</sup>

### Satellite

Several countries have launched their own satellites. As a result of revolutionary developments in telecommunications, communication satellites are now becoming very common. "They are used for communications over long distances, particularly where normal terrestrial signal transmissions are difficult."<sup>30</sup> The satellite provides opportunities for universal television and radio coverage within the country. More channels for both radio and television are possible because of the satellite. It has enormous potential for education.

Launching of satellite in India is of tremendous significance. The satellite and television network offers a powerful medium for dissemination of knowledge, cultural programmes, and developmental information which otherwise remains restricted to educated urban population. This would also reduce disparities between urban and rural as well as literates and illiterates. As a Task Force Report of the Association of Indian Universities points out, "The advantages of the satellite communication are: wide area is covered without any loss of quality in the message sent, the communication channels are not affected by natural calamities as is usually the case with telephone wires".<sup>31</sup> "A network of communication", continues the Report, "through satellite is easy and far more economical to construct since it uses wireless beams and maintenance costs are far less and almost equal for any distance".<sup>32</sup>

There are at least three distinct forms of the use of satellite for tele-education:<sup>33</sup> (a) Telecasts of general educational programmes; (b) Telecasts of pre-recorded television component of a learning system; and (c) the live telecast of educational learning systems with two way interaction by regular telephone.

Satellite is regarded as a glamorous medium and there are grandiose expectations from it. In fact, it is known as "education's rising star".<sup>34</sup> The SITE [The Indian Satellite Instructional TV Experiment (1975-76)] showed the way in this direction. It is believed that "this was probably the largest communications experiment of modern times. It was used for non-formal education in agriculture and health aimed largely at rural and village dwellers - many of them are illiterate. It also provided formal programme for both children and teachers usually at primary school levels. Programmes were viewed by people in cities as well as in country locations."<sup>35</sup>

The problem with satellite and television is not so much from the

hardware, but from the software. Enough quality software is hard to produce. This requires patient long-term planning and training of professionals in this new area. There is quite clearly a temptation to build costly machines and then have no money left over with which to drive it. In an article on communication satellites, Bransford comments, "the key to effective utilisation of such resources ... is not hardware but meaningful and entertaining mediated software".<sup>36</sup> Thus, for educators, it is not the existence of satellite which should be our concern but rather whether the means are available to make use of them, in particular, in production of programmes. We, in this country, have learnt this painful lesson. The Joshi Committee is emphatic on this issue. The committee quite rightly emphasises not only on the production of software, but also the right type of relevant software. "Software planning must be a right conscious attempt to prevent the appropriation of television by the emerging forces of commercialism and consumerism."<sup>37</sup>

While the broadcasting media, such as radio and television have tremendous potential, they cannot stand on their own. As the Verghese Committee points out: "Radio and television are not teacher substitutes, but teaching aids, another blackboard or learning kit."<sup>38</sup> Further, the committee rightly argues, "The multi-media approach needs constant emphasis. Radio instruction and educational television must be properly backed up with print and other support, whether this is in the form of books, folders, fact-sheets, charts, diagrams, flip charts, slides, pictures or other illustrations."<sup>39</sup>

Looking at the trends in audio-visual media in distance education, Tony Bates writes:<sup>40</sup> (a) There is a clear movement away from using broadcasting by distance learning systems; (b) The range of audio-visual media suitable for distance education is rapidly increasing; and (c) Educational potential for audio-visual media still continues to be under-exploited by the distance learning systems. The potential of the audio-visual media is tremendous. If it is properly used, it can revolutionise the educational system. But as has been pointed out earlier, preparation of appropriate and relevant software is the crux of the issue. At the moment, there is a dearth of facilities for such preparation in the country. This is an area which needs urgent attention of the planners in the country.

### Telephones

It may appear incredible in this country, but it is true that in some countries telephones are being used as a medium for education. A number of factors have contributed to the extensive use of telephones. They are: long distances in travel, high cost of travel, new technological developments, etc. The advantage of the telephone in

teaching is that it provides interactive communication across distances. Where it is being used, the telephone is less complex and less costly. No wonder Schramm calls it the 'little media'. The telephone is mainly used for tutoring and feedback. The countries where they are used on a large scale are USA, Canada, European countries and Australia. The evaluation studies have shown that learning can take place as effectively, and in some cases, more effectively, of courses taught by telephone as of courses taught by other media. "No differences between face-to-face and telephone communication have been found for tasks involving information transmission, some kinds of problems solving and generating ideas."<sup>41</sup> This again is dependent on the easy accessibility of the teacher and the student to this technology. In India, this is unlikely to be considered as a medium in distance education.

### Computer

Computer as a tool is available to improve the process of teaching and learning. There are several qualities of the computer which are of tremendous use for teaching and learning in diverse situations. It is being used for teaching as well as administrative purposes. G. Kuppuswamy and R. Natarajan of the Indian Institute of Technology, Madras, indicate that computers are becoming a key element in the process of imparting education.<sup>42</sup> Computer based instruction includes a broad range of applications that can be divided into two general categories of direct instruction and instructional management. The former is usually referred to as computer assisted instruction and includes such activities as tutor simulation and gaming, enquiry and a dialogue information retrieval and problem solving, and the latter category, often termed as 'computer managed instruction', includes instructional support functions, such as testing, prescribing, record keeping, scheduling, monitoring and time and resources management.<sup>43</sup>

"Well-designed computer-based courseware has the capacity to generate continuous, adoptive, individualised interactive experiences for students, providing them with immediate performance--sensitive feedback; it has the power to simulate complex operational systems (e.g., engineering systems), complex intellectual problems (e.g., architectural design) and so on; it has the power to free academic staff from tedious record-keeping and the writing of possibly repetitive comments (in response to common, similar student errors) on student assignments. Additionally, computers are notably more patient and tolerant than majority of academic staff."<sup>44</sup>

The computer assisted learning (CAL) is a familiar system and its advantages are many. Already some open university courses in the UK provide students with a cheap micro-processor as a home experiment

kit. As in the case of other media, the cost of the use of computer has to be examined, but it is now becoming increasingly popular in many countries.

The major problem in the use of computers is not so much of possessing the hardware or its costs, but the costs of preparing and writing computer programmes, and the problems of compatibility between different domestic computer systems.<sup>45</sup> Further, because of the special skills and the time required to develop effective computer aided instruction, the target number of students must be large.<sup>46</sup>

### Audio Cassettes

Thanks to the reduction in prices of some of the technologies and large majority of the students having access to them, a shift is taking place in the use of media, particularly mass-media. Where radio was once very popular, audio cassettes are competing with the broadcast. In some of the open universities, such as the British Open University, audio cassettes are being extensively used. We understand that the British Open University is making "more material for use on cassettes than on radio." A fairly large per cent of the students prefer to listen to radio programmes on recordings. In Britain and other developed countries this preference is understandable because almost every student can afford to use the audio cassettes. This is not so in developing countries, like India, where fairly large number of students do not own cassette machines. Therefore, they have to make use of the audio cassettes only at the study centres.

Popularity of the audio cassettes in the open universities is understandable. It is easy to integrate the cassettes into the course design and the academics feel that they have better control over their use. Students like them because of the convenience, control over them, and informality. Therefore, it appears that in the years to come, the audio cassettes will play a very important role in the open university.

### Videotex

Videotex is one of the latest technologies which seem to offer tremendous potential for education. It makes the home television set to function like a computer terminal and retrieve text information and graphics from a remote data base.<sup>47</sup> The advantage is that it uses the television which is available in many western homes. As one writer puts it, perhaps, "the greatest social significance of the videotex is the possibility it offers for much wider access to information and conversely the much wider ease with which new concepts and ideas can be transmitted".<sup>48</sup>

The videotex at the moment is expensive. Only after some time it is likely to be made cheaper and when it becomes cheaper, several home services are likely to be made available, such as electronic newspapers, computer assisted instruction, electronic mail, travel information and reservations, correspondence courses, library access, etc. In the open university system, it is likely to be used for transmission of general or specific information; the transmission of courses; and two-way interaction. In India and also other developing countries, it will take a pretty long time for it to be used in open universities. But when it is available for use, it will be a great asset in a vast country like India to disseminate general information about courses and programmes available in the open university system.

### Study Centres and Tutors

In distance education, a certain amount of face-to-face interaction of the students with the tutor or counsellor is considered essential. This becomes necessary because the student would like to have the guidance of a teacher either in his studies or in understanding a lesson or both. Psychologically, he would like to feel that there is somebody to consult, in case he has any doubts in understanding the lessons. The feeling that he gets the personal touch is also essential. While some writers argue that teacher-student interaction is not sine qua non in distance learning, others stress it for psychological and motivational benefits. It is more so in India where the dependence on the teacher is very high.

In addition, it is thought that the study centre is an important component of the open university system. Study centre is a place where the student cannot only meet his tutors, but also make use of the library facilities and the audio-visual programmes. A study centre is generally located in an existing institution. It provides opportunities for students to interact with their fellow students and exchange ideas. Thus, in both developed and developing countries, they are being considered as an integral part of the open university system. In India, where sophisticated modern communication technology is not within the reach of the common student, the study centre will have to be used extensively for providing these facilities. It is costly to run a study centre, but it is an essential component of the open university. As one writer puts it: "Availability of modern, well-equipped media resource centres will become increasingly important to distance education students if technological developments are to be exploited to the full. Already heavy use is being made of such facilities".<sup>49</sup> The open university in India will have to think in terms of establishing study centres which should be within the reach of a sizable number of students.

## CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF THE MEDIA

What are the criteria for selecting the media appropriate to an open university? Any institution will have to choose its own media mix keeping in view the stage of technological development of its country. Media selection, therefore, is country specific. The report of the UNESCO Regional Office referred to earlier has laid down the following criteria for the media selection in a distance teaching institution.<sup>50</sup>

**Availability**

It is important that the technology selected should be well established in the local environment, so that sufficient trained manpower is available to facilitate the continued reliable use of the medium. In short, the chosen media must be both technologically feasible and practicable.

**Accessibility**

Ideally, the chosen technology must be universally available to all students. If all students do not have immediate access to the technology, then the institution must be prepared to provide resources to engender equality of treatment to students. This may be done, for example, by making the technology available in a distributed network of local area resource centres.

**Acceptability**

The attitudes of both academic staff and students must be favourably disposed towards the use of the technology. Without such a positive orientation, the success of the medium will be severely limited. Similarly, both teachers and students need to be skilled or trained in the use of the technology, if it is to be effective.

**Economics**

It is self-evident that the technologies will not be selected if they are overly expensive. In a sense, consideration of economies of scale and associated cost effectiveness is often the number one criterion.

**Validity**

The technology must be appropriate for the instructional objectives and subject matter content that constitute the focus of the courses being taught by the institution.

Once viable alternatives have been determined at the institutional level, the criterion of validity must then be applied to the selec-

tion of the media-mix appropriate to a particular unit of study. This is the point at which the skills of the instructional design specialist are particularly useful. In order to ensure the valid use of a particular media-mix and to maximise the efficacy of instruction, there is the need for a professional interchange between the subject matter expert and an instructional designer.

### Which Medium is Effective?

There is no straight answer to this question. No medium is all perfect and is useful under all circumstances. No one is superior to the other; each serves different functions. There has to be a mix and blend of the media so that a student gets the maximum benefit. In the conventional system, lecture and print dominate; whereas in the case of open universities, different technologies need to be used to provide access to knowledge and skills. One authority argues, "the reason why it is important to use a wide range of media including audio-visual media, is that different media serve different educational functions. Thus using a medium broadens the range and effectiveness of distance education." "There is no super medium."<sup>51</sup> Depending upon the availability and circumstances, a media-mix has to be evolved. What is good for one country is not necessarily good for another.

It is reassuring to hear from W. Schramm about the effectiveness of the media when he asserts: "... Given a reasonably favourable situation, a pupil will learn from any medium--television, radio, programmed instruction, films, film strips or others. This has been demonstrated by thousands of experiments. In general, the same things that control the amount of learning from a teacher face-to-face also control the amount of learning from educational media; among others, the reliance and clarity of the content, individual abilities, motivation to learn, attention, interest in the subject, respect and affection for the teacher, emphasis and replication of the central points to be learnt and rehearsal by the learner..."<sup>52</sup>

As has been pointed out earlier, at the moment there are two open universities in India - one at the national and the other at the state level, and a number of state governments have announced their intention to set up their own open universities. These open universities will have to make a conscious choice regarding the media-mix. This will depend on the stage of technological development and the availability of the technology in India. All of them will have to use print and radio, and the contact programmes at the study centre. They may also make use of audio and video cassettes by providing these facilities at the study centre level. It is likely that they will use television. Computers are also likely to be used



by the open universities for teaching purposes. The video disc, videotex, telephone and tele-conferencing will, however, have to wait for quite some time in this country until the technology is within the reach of the institutions and the students.

While using certain media, it should be taken into account that teachers have the necessary training relevant to the use of the chosen media. Unless there are properly trained teachers, it may not be easy to use certain media for education. Not only that, even to do tutorial work, teachers need to be trained in distance education. Training, therefore, has to be taken up on a large scale if distance education is to be effective.

We have come a long way from the days of Eklavya. Given the right choice of the media today, an Eklavya will learn with great ease, in a much shorter time not only for his own satisfaction, but also for the betterment of the society in general. Today's society cannot and must not tolerate the whims of Dronacharyas.

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# National Testing Service

AMRIK SINGH

ONE CRUCIAL weakness of higher education in India has been the comparative failure of the system to develop professional bodies outside or parallel to the government sector. The Indian Medical Council was established even when the British were here. So were the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and the All India Council of Technical Education. An important professional body established after the transfer of power was the UGC. There have been one or two others also but in their reach and impact their performance is limited. Each one of them was a government sponsored body. At the same time they all had considerable potential to play a professional role. Their impact, however, has been, on the whole, marginal and uneven. Nonetheless each one of them has played a useful role though in most cases they were far from effectual.

In any event, a crucial area, in which the requisite initiative has not been taken but should have been taken, is the area of examinations. All recognised examinations are conducted by universities. In fact, according to the UGC Act, 1956, no agency other than a university is entitled to confer a degree. Diplomas and certificates can be given by other institutions but not degrees. By making these awards the exclusive preserve of the university system, while we have solved one set of problems we have also created another set of problems.

## Falling Standards in Universities

The advantage of the existing system is that it is not open to any one to establish a university. That has, however, not prevented the state governments from going ahead with the establishment of what are usually accepted as sub-standard universities. More than a hundred of them are to be found in the country. Nominally speaking, they are universities: actually speaking, the label does not indicate the contents. Put bluntly, while we have preserved the chastity of the university system ( at what cost? ), we have blithely and blindly

ignored the existence of the red light districts that have sprung up all over.

Two developments in recent years have made this amply clear. The CSIR and the ICAR award fellowships to students for research at the doctoral and post-graduate level respectively. Till a few years ago, the awarding of fellowships was done somewhat casually. Then it was decided to conduct a test and one has been conducted for the last 4-5 years. Close behind came a similar decision by the UGC to conduct a test in certain other disciplines. Currently, some kind of a link up is being proposed amongst these various bodies and, within the next few years, whether the test is conducted by any one of these bodies or the UGC, there would be a centrally conducted test for those who have done their Masters degree from anyone of the various Indian universities and wish to compete for the doctoral awards awarded by a number of institutions interested in promoting research.

What has been the experience so far? It has been so dismal that none of these bodies is prepared to make the results public. In certain cases, results have been communicated to universities in a confidential manner. In one of the more prestigious universities in the South of India, when the matter came up for discussion in one of the university bodies, there was consternation. That university which had had a distinguished past was no longer able to keep up with what was happening in the rest of the country. Some of the more eminent professionals who were present in the meeting referred to the difficulties that they faced in upgrading the syllabus and introducing other academic reforms. According to them, there was opposition, if not sabotage, by other university bodies which were packed by individuals who were not academically committed. It remains to be seen what eventually gets done but clearly a new and disturbing element has been introduced into the thinking and working of that university and likely enough some good will come out of it. Perhaps the same thing can happen if more universities were to react that way and the information which is now kept close to the chest, figuratively speaking, is made public by these award-giving bodies.

If there has been unrestrained expansion and if standards have been getting relentlessly diluted, the question to ask is: Is that the end of the matter? The answer should be in the negative. It need not be the end of the matter provided other pressures can be generated. So far, granting of degrees and all that goes with it has been kept as a close preserve by the universities. No institution other than a university is allowed to award a degree. In consequence, all that we get here and there is some kind of a sporadic attempt to conduct a selection test and so on. A selection test is perfectly in order and has a role to play. But a selection test, all

said and done, is a selection test for purposes of being found suitable for a job. Nobody can take away the right of any organisation to conduct a selection test. While useful and important, it leaves out another sector of activity, which must not be left out.

### Need for NTS and its Role

This refers to the university sector. Were we to establish a national level body--tentatively to be called the National Testing Service (NTS)-- it can conduct tests both of an academic kind and for purposes of selection as well as placement. What it can do is to conduct the tests. To what use the results of those tests are to be put would depend upon the other educational institutions and the employing agencies. In fact, a kind of culture can be promoted in which even universities can attach weight to the performance of students in these various tests. What prevents a university from saying that those who do not qualify from 'our' university would be judged on the basis of the NTS performance? It would not be strictly honest to exempt one's own degree from being sat upon in judgement. But things being what they are, it may not be possible for a university to express lack of confidence in its own examinations. But then other universities would not show it that kind of consideration and would, both for its own sake and in order to get even, require those students to take the NTS tests. Within a couple of years, therefore, each university would get a feedback as to the quality of work it is doing and how it compares with others.

The point of seeking to establish a national testing body, to be called the NTS, is that what the universities fail to reveal today would get revealed through the intercession of that agency. The universities today do not reveal how grossly they are under-performing. Everything is done within the university, teaching as well as testing. All procedures are devised by the university concerned, including the allocation of grace marks to students. (Somebody once called them disgrace marks but nobody stops to take notice of this description.) By a whole series of manipulations, not all of them unintended, universities suppress the evidence of their under-performance. Whether they do it deliberately or otherwise, is a matter of detail. The fact remains that, judged by an objective criteria, not many universities would succeed in coming up to the required standard.

The irony of our situation is that while all this is known, and indeed known widely, there is little evidence for it. Consequently, the universities can get away, year after year, with the blatant under-education or miseducation that they are guilty of. There is no one to question them and there is no occasion for anyone to raise

awkward questions. What the CSIR, the ICAR and the UGC are doing is so marginal in its impact and so carefully hidden away from public gaze that 'business is as usual' and there is no pressure exerted upon anyone, including the teachers, to perform better. What we need to do is to create a situation whereby such a pressure can be generated.

The NTS can be one logical agency for it. To start with, it should be vested with power of conducting various examinations. It may start with the post-graduate examinations but it can soon come down to the Honours as well as the Pass level. It may even, at a subsequent stage, conduct the +2 examination or something corresponding to it. All these are possibilities and one cannot be firm about any of these things at this stage. In addition, there are a number of other technical and other professional examinations. These also can be handled by the NTS. What is required is to create an agency and a platform. To what use this agency is or can be put are matters that can be examined in course of time.

#### Structure of NTS

How is the NTS to be constituted? It is difficult to give a precise answer to this question. All that one can say at this stage is that the various all-India bodies concerned with different aspects of education should be made members of its Governing Board. In addition the Association of Indian Universities as well as the UPSC should also be involved. Perhaps it would be equally useful to have various State Public Service Commissions (two at a time by rotation) also represented on its Governing Board. Some way may also be found to get the representation of the public sector on it. The private sector should also be represented with a nomination of a couple of suitable people. Then there can be a few educationists and other professionals. All these are matters that can be gone into by a committee constituted for the purpose. What we have to agree upon today is that such an agency is not only desirable but also a necessity perhaps.

It may not be out of place to mention here that the NTS is mentioned in the New Education Policy. In other words, the possibility of such a body has been visualised. But whether one gets established or not remains to be seen. The note of diffidence comes from the fact that the need for such a body has been discussed and recognised for something like a quarter century. But nobody has really taken any step towards establishing one. This is largely owing to the good old Indian tradition of taking the word for the deed. We have lived long enough with this cast of mind. It is time that for a change we decided to act. The sooner we act the better it would be.

Three other issues may also be referred to. One, unless all calculations go wrong, a whole new sector of autonomous colleges is likely to get established within the next few years. Likely enough, by the end of the Seventh Plan period, there would be something like 1,000 of such colleges. Since they would be conducting their own examinations, which in turn will lead to greater involvement of teachers and mark a turning back upon the public examination system, the need for a body like the NTS should be regarded as not only obvious but even urgent. By definition, the NTS would be professional in character and would have access to every kind of scientific and pedagogic expertise. It should, thus, be able to render signal service both to universities and to autonomous colleges.

The situation in our country is going to be qualitatively different from that in other countries. A body like the NTS would, therefore, have to develop a good deal of indigenous expertise or, to put it another way, would have to adapt quite a number of procedures and practices which work in other settings but may not work in our setting. In other words, a one-to-one transplantation would not be feasible nor even advisable. As long as the essence of the innovation is not lost, it should be possible to indigenise it so as to make it conform to our needs in our situation.

This is something which cannot be done by a university which is subject to all kinds of pressures. These are not only political in character: these also flow from the fact that the culture within which our universities operate are not receptive to anything innovative or even different from what they have been doing for so long. All these difficulties would be overcome if a new professional body, with the charter of work described above is established.

Secondly, it seems to be taken for granted that we have little to learn from our experience. The fact of the matter is that each university office is full of a variety of raw data which, if analysed properly and scientifically, can give us a fund of information and a body of knowledge about the modalities of paper setting, marking of answer books, the need and the problems of scaling and a dozen other technical issues which as of today are not even looked at. The NTS, if established, should be able to develop professional expertise of a kind which would base itself on the abundant data available in each university office.

Thirdly, the NTS can go further and undertake the training of those who lay down syllabi, set question papers, mark answer books and the numerous tasks which today are handled by academics without any kind of guidance or training. It is assumed that anyone who is qualified to teach is also qualified to examine. This is correct only up to a point. The truth of the matter is that examining is also



an art which has to be learnt. Some people learn it because they have a flair for it or because they have had years of experience and have learnt a number of things through the process of trial and error. But like several other things, this art can be learnt and requires to be learnt.

Today, there is no agency which is equipped to undertake the task of training. Within a year or two, the NTS should be able to develop this expertise and, perhaps during the first few years, this would turn out to be one of its more useful assignments. Even if it is assumed, and it would be a questionable assumption to make, that those outside the universities and the autonomous college sector need not be trained, the number of people requiring intensive and systematic training would still come to almost 1,00,000. This is not a small number and this aspect of academic life should not be treated lightly or as of no consequence.

# Training of IES

R.P. SINGH

THE GOVERNMENT of India has accepted the institution of Indian Educational Service parallel to other such services in the fields of forestry, economics, statistics, etc. For once it would appear that they have acknowledged the necessity of having an all-India service in the field of education as well.

Not only for the purposes of giving the nation a uniform system but also for bringing about a national outlook has this service to be instituted. Even as it is, the present day IAS officers are made DPI's, Registrars and Vice-Chancellors, etc., in preference to academics and so far the struggle between the so-called technocrats versus generalists has been going on unabated, and until such time when the IES is really started, the bias in favour of the former will continue to remain pronounced. We all know that the IES did exist for a short period of time but it failed to take roots. Since then things have apparently changed. Education has become big business in which around a quarter of our people are directly engaged and many more who remain outside its ambit are willing to join in. We are spending more money on education today than on defence or for that matter on any other single item/service. The technicalities in educational planning and administration have increased manifold. While at one time we had very few teaching positions and even less administrative ranks, the present-day scene has completely transformed itself in the past three decades or so. At one time, we had the familiar formal schooling as the only accepted pattern but now the non-formal and distance education have also come to be regarded as equally respectable alternatives. In the colonial times, 'inspection' of schools held its sway but now it is 'supervision' which both in concept and practice has different connotations. Similarly, the class-room teaching is no longer an affair of rote-learning. It is largely based on logical understanding of facts and figures. The concerns of education have also changed with time. There appears to be greater stress on value-orientation, national integration, secu-

larism, etc., and less on other things. Preparation for life takes the pride of place in these concerns. In short, the entire scenario in education stands so transformed that it has almost become unrecognisable. University system, the examination procedures, etc., have been under fire and need suitable modifications. In such a climate, it is only logical that the new IES will have to be more socially responsible and committed than it was in the pre-Independence days. Whether they are technocrats or not, is not so much material but what is of great substance is the fact that they would not have to deal with the educational system as if it did not count or was a merely passing phase. The IES shall have to stay within the system and therefore learn both its content and dynamics.

It is difficult to say who would want to be an IES, but I take it that the common competitive examination will have a branch of education in which the prospective candidates shall have to give their options or preferences. The success of the IES would largely depend upon the weightage these candidates give to it. It is premature to cast doubts about the weightages but one suspects that the residues of the foreign and administrative services shall opt for education if due precautions are not taken. Let us hope these suspicions are ill-founded.

Let us for once assume that the IES gets instituted soon and that the prospective candidates are all eager to start their training. What is it that we shall give them in the form of training? Which special papers shall they be asked to take?

Perhaps it is essential that we appreciate the very nature of education. Education unlike business or industry is largely a political matter. It is totally controlled and influenced by the nature of polity a nation has. It can not operate or function independent of political motivations. It is subservient to these facts of life. Therefore, the prospective IES shall have to be trained how to discriminate between the 'common good' and the 'political good'. A politician is not evil but his dependence upon the ballot makes him an uncertain person. A man of principles will not always be perceived by his electorate that he is such and, consequently, he may become a victim of general inconvenience and may find himself eased out. Therefore, how he (a politician) would act vis-a-vis education cannot always be predicted. We know that universities, colleges and schools are opened first and the norms for setting up such institutions are modified later. The sanctioning authorities are coerced into accepting the *fait accompli*. What training would help an IES to resolve this problem or face the situation. In matters of admission and the declaration of results, it is easier to be objective but what objectivity could one show when the pressures are so indirect and

unseen? Similarly, in planning education, these forces can play a very great role and it is difficult to withstand that force. For example, what education would one like to plan for the tribals? What language are they to be made to learn? How does one determine these priorities? It is possible that we may leave these matters for the choice and wisdom of the prospective officer. But could we do so?

It may be remembered that such a sloppy and lackadiscial decision will land us in a soup. These decisions must be made at the level of training itself. We may go into this matter every year at the time of training and learn to modify this training course itself but then pre-service education of the prospective IES has to have a briefing on this point. We have experience of this matter in the case of several advanced societies, like the USSR, Australia, etc. But what shall we do?

In such countries, where education is part of the public administration, it is much easier to decide about the training to be imparted for all cadres. For example, in France, where teaching is civil service, they can impose such tests which would enable the administration to select candidates for various ranks and train them to undertake their jobs. In countries like the USSR and China, teaching is not only a civil service but the ideology behind teaching is exactly the same which guides national administration. In such cases, the civil servant is subordinate to the political party that rules and the decisions are absolutely binding because they are taken at the highest level in the political cadre. But, in India, we have very peculiar problems. For instance, we have multi-party system and we are not only a multi-rank people but also multi-religious. It is because of this reason that the Constitution also makes a special provision to safeguard the interests of the minorities. In number of cases, this clause protecting the minorities has been suitably modified by the vested interests. This would be a kind of challenge to the prospective IES, who may have to take decisions in the national context and not at the parochial or denominational level. Even within the formal system, we have three distinct qualitatively different sub-systems. The most common among these being the one that we have inherited from the British. The other two sub-systems which continue to exist cheek by jowl are the ones which are remnants of our past history, i.e., the Muslim system of the Maktabs and Madrasahs and the Gurukulas and Pathshalas of the ancient Hindu order. These sub-systems have tried to modernise themselves but even now they remain very much outside the ambit of the so-called modern system with which we are more familiar. Special laws have been enacted to sustain the sub-systems and no clear-cut political decisions have been taken to either modify them or overhaul them. I perceive

that these problems will have to be specially taught to the prospective IES.

I should also imagine that we shall have to acquaint these young officers about the nature of our society which is responsible for the type of politics we have today. For a pretty long time we have kept up the pretence of being a tolerant and humane society. We have also tried to convince ourselves and others that we are attempting to become an equal society. Every time when there is a riot these masks are put down and the real Indian society comes out in the open. We are then not in a position to give ourselves any excuses, therefore, it is very natural that the educational institutions supported by private interests reflect our basic intolerance of each other and also mutual exclusiveness in social and personal behaviour. It would be extremely difficult for any cadre of administration to remain impartial in such conditions. However, it is possible that if these methods are discussed at length during the pre-service training a semblance of objectivity could be imposed on the personal behaviours of these officers.

It is presumed that most of the training that the prospective IES will undergo shall have to be conducted on-the-job but it is necessary that from the very beginning we know as to which side or which branch of administration will these officers go. Unlike all other walks of life in the academic field, the officer should not only appear to be managing or administering the system but he must also really lead it. For instance, if from amongst these IES, a large number is going to end up as vice-chancellors, they will have to be given a type of training in which they shall have to appear scholarly or else they will fail to make a mark in the company of the academics. In case some of these are going to end up as Directors of Public Instruction, their training will have to be thought of on some other lines. What I am suggesting is that the IES should be given a choice to either remain in the so-called administrative stream or join the academic one. These two streams have also to be clearly defined. For example, in administration, the top positions should be of DPI, Education Secretary and the like, in the academic stream one may reach the position of a vice-chancellor, chairman of a selection committee, etc. The administrator may, therefore, not necessarily come to the academic side although one may not impose such conditions. We come across a rare variety of academics also who can be at home both in the administration and academics. But then no one can claim to train such persons. They have to be born with such gifts. Therefore, the options are necessary at the training stage itself.

Basing our programme on these assumptions, it is easy to prepare two sets of training courses for the IES. After all, the idea is

that these IES require two distinctly different types of training. It is not very difficult to visualise the type of training both sets of the IES shall have to have. For example, the evolution of Indian education history will have to form part of the core curriculum for both. The problems of education, research finding pertaining to these problems, methods of teaching and perspective planning, etc., will also have to be taught to both. Innovations and experiments, both current and past, would also have to be explained. Whereas the educational administrator will have to learn in addition to the above the codes of education, the constitution of various educational organisations, the statutes and the nature of autonomous organisation, etc. The academic administrators will have to learn more about theories of leadership, the management of universities and colleges, the status and problems of professional education, etc. It is also pertinent to plan carefully whether or not the practising teachers would be eligible for the IES. Perhaps it may be desirable to open up this additional avenue for the teaching community who may want to enter this administrative service.

In conclusion, it is possible to argue that since most of the advanced countries have no such service available for their administrators, why not we follow the system in which people switch or change over from one rank to another as and when they choose. This option is not altogether undesirable. India should also not forget the advantages inherent in such a system. The IES may be a desirable service, but it may not succeed unless a careful mix of the academics and the administrators is given a trial. We must also remember that education has to meet the challenges of a future society and it is not very wise to keep on perpetuating the status quo. Whichever system comes up to our expectations is what we should accept as a pragmatic people.

# University Objectives in Changing World

O.N. CHATURVEDI

IN THE modern world, a nation could develop in case its countrymen make all-round progress towards positive goals for "the basis of democracy is the belief in the inherent worth of the individual in the dignity and value of human life".<sup>1</sup> Education develops the human resources which is both an end in itself, and also a means for development of physical resources; without it no other resources can be developed. However, in a democratic set-up, as we have, the aim should be all-round development where human resources must be educated to advance the human good with particular attention towards the down trodden and the oppressed class. "He who treats those who are miserable and oppressed as his own kith and kin, him you should recognise as a truly good man (sadhu) and know that God dwells there".<sup>2</sup>

The aim of education is to bring an all-round development of a human being which includes one's personality, mental understanding, spiritual or moral development, etc. "A proper and all-round development of the mind, therefore, can take place only when it proceeds *pari passu* with the education of the physical and spiritual facilities... they constitute an invisible whole."<sup>3</sup> Such a person could only be self supporting. In the words of Swami Vivekanand "the education which does not help the common mass of people to equip themselves for the struggle of life, which does not bring strength of character, a spirit of philanthropy and the courage of Lion--is it worth the name? Real education is that which enables one to stand on one's own legs." At the same time it should not be considered as an easy one. "Education is not a luxury which can be afforded after development has occurred; it is an integral part, an inescapable and essential part of the development process itself."<sup>4</sup>

## DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

University, as the very word suggests, is a laboratory of ideas

relating to the universe. It was around the middle of the nineteenth century that the universities--at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857 and at Allahabad in 1887--were set up in India by British rulers for preparing natives for public employment and degrees from such institutions were treated as passport to white collar jobs. The primary function of these universities was, therefore, that of regulating and examining bodies. They undertook post-graduate teaching much later in 1920. However, the Government was attracted towards the plight of the University education, and in 1948, just after attaining Independence, the Government of India appointed an Education Commission, with Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan as its Chairman, "to report on Indian University Education and suggest improvements and extensions that may be desirable to suit present and future requirements of the country."<sup>5</sup>

Pt. Nehru had outlined the objectives of the university long back in 1947, which were as relevant then as today. We may modify the wordings but it would be difficult to suggest any major change in his maxim:

A university stands for humanism, for tolerance, for reason, for the adventure of ideas and for the search of truth. It stands for the onward march of human race towards even higher objectives. If the universities discharge their duties adequately, then it is well with the nation and the people.<sup>6</sup>

After careful consideration of all aspects, University Education Commission headed by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in its report entrusted universities with wide responsibilities. "They have to provide leadership in politics and administration, the professions, industry and commerce. They have to meet the increasing demand for every type of higher education--literary and scientific, technical and professional. They must enable the country to attain, in as short a time as possible, freedom from want, disease and ignorance, by the application and development of scientific and technical knowledge. India is rich in natural resources and her people have intelligence and energy and are throbbing with renewed life and vigour. It is for the universities to create knowledge and train minds who bring together the two material resources and human energies."<sup>7</sup>

The university system moved slowly towards the objectives set forth by the University Education Commission, and the progress made by them could be termed pathetic as could be judged from what an eminent educationist, Dr.K.G. Saiyedani said,"There is a general feeling of dissatisfaction with what the universities have been able to achieve. This is so, in spite of the fact that there is apparently



an impressive array of research work to their credit, faculties and departments have greatly expanded and much more funds are allotted to their budgets."<sup>8</sup>

Considering the importance of university education and its unsatisfactory state of affairs, the Government of India appointed another Education Commission with Dr.D.S.Kothari as its Chairman in 1964 as it was felt that Indian education needs a drastic reconstruction, almost a revolution. So far as universities were concerned the main recommendations concerning the universities were:

1. to strengthen centres of advanced study and strive to attain in some universities atleast, higher international standards;
2. to lay special emphasis on the combination of teaching and research; and
3. to lay particular attention to education; and research in agriculture and allied sciences.

The Commission in its report assigned the following functions to universities:

- to seek and cultivate new knowledges to engage vigorously and fearlessly in the pursuit of truth, and to interpret old knowledge and beliefs in the light of new needs and discoveries to provide the right kind of leadership in all walks of life, to identify gifted youth and help them develop their potential to the full by cultivating physical fitness, developing the powers of the mind and cultivating right interests, attitudes and moral and intellectual values.
- to provide society with competent men and women trained in agriculture, arts, medicine, sciences and technology and various other professions, who will also have cultivated individuals, imbued with a sense of social purpose;
- to strive to promote equality and social justice and to reduce social and cultural differences through diffusion of education; and
- to foster in the teacher and students, and through them in society generally, the attitudes and values needed for developing the 'good life' in individuals and society."<sup>9</sup>

In addition to above, it entrusted the following special responsibilities to the universities:

1. to encourage individuality, variety and dissent within a climate of tolerance;

2. to develop programmes of Adult Education in a big way and to that end, evolve a widespread network of part-time correspondence courses; and
3. to strive to assist the schools in their attempts at qualitative self-improvement.

The implementation of report of the Kothari Commission was done in a piecemeal way and there was a wide lag between the pace of development of society and the university education. In the words of Dr(Mrs.) Madhuri R.Shah, Ex. Chairman, University Grants Commission, "There has been remarkable increase in the number of educational institutions and enrolment in higher education during all these years. At the university level alone the number of colleges and universities has risen from about 700 and 18 to 5246 and 140 respectively from 1950-51 to 1983-84. Enrolment in colleges and universities in the same period has also increased from 2 lakh and 63 thousand to 33 lakh and 60 thousand."<sup>10</sup>

But in spite of this manifold increase, she herself has expressed dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the universities. It could only be called a paradoxical situation.

"This expansion, however, does not mean that all is well with our education system. It cannot be regarded as indications of advancement. In fact, this expansion is beset with tremendous problems of poor facilities, low quality and marginal relevance. It has also resulted in poor recruitment of staff, unsatisfactory relations between career and professional development and all-round decline in discipline and efficiency. The educational institutions are often divided by caste, communal, parochial and linguistic basis, thus strongly distracting from national integration. The number of institutions which are still able to function reasonably well is small."<sup>11</sup>

#### REASONS FOR NON-ACHIEVEMENT OF OBJECTIVES

Before we think of revised objectives, we should also make earnest attempt to find out various reasons which created hurdles in our path of fulfilling of the objectives. These could be:

1. Large number of students,
2. Lack of rapport with social needs,
3. Quality decrease in the standard of students,
4. Lack of funds,
5. Dual control,
6. Lack of employment opportunities for students,
7. Social pressures,

8. Inferior faculty, and
9. University turning into examining bodies.

### **Large Number of Students**

During the past twenty years there has been a tremendous increase in the number of students at the higher education level. The present enrolment in higher education is 3.3 lakh and 60 thousand. It is likely to cross the 6 million mark by the year 2000 AD. The national policy resolution on education adopted in 1968 laid down that number of full time students enrolled in university education should be limited in accordance with physical facilities and staff. But in spite of all these, there appears to be no check in this regard. There are at present about 6000 colleges and 140 universities with the meagre funds and available facilities. We cannot expect our universities to achieve cherished standards.

### **Lack of Rapport with Social Needs**

In most of the universities there is little or no representation from the society which keeps them away from judging the needs of the industry, agriculture, etc. Most of the courses adopted by the universities are mostly stereo-typed, having no relevance with the needs of the environment. Institutions of higher learning should be laboratories of democracies in which democratic way of life should be nurtured. "It is our college and university trained men and women<sup>12</sup> that our communities should be able to see with confidence for leaders."

### **Qualitative Decrease in the Standards of Students**

The foundation of students seeking admission to university education coming from higher secondary schools having extremely poor facility is very weak. In addition to this, it is felt that only those students like to continue post-graduate or research education who are unable to get openings elsewhere.

### **Lack of Funds**

On account of inadequate funds most of the universities lack proper class-room, laboratory, research, library, residential hostels, recreational, sports and games and other such essential facilities and these institutions then turn out sub-standard students. In addition lack of housing facility for staff affects a lot in attracting good faculty.

### **Dual Control**

Some universities are controlled by the Central Government whereas

some are under state governments. It results in different pay scales and emoluments of the staff which creates frustration amongst them on account of disparity in spite of the fact that their duties and responsibilities are completely identical to each other.

### **Lack of Employment Opportunities for Students**

It is seen that there is no proper perspective planning either at state government or Central Government level with respect to the requirement of a particular type of manpower trained by university. It results in the wastage of human resources where after obtaining degree students find themselves unemployed. A student feels that his future, is bleak. It also induces students to resort to strikes and undesirable activities.

### **Social Pressure**

On account of social pressures universities are forced to admit sub-standard students. Moreover such students resort to unfair means to compete with the intelligent ones which results in several ills. However, "the sympathy of the public and the government is clearly with those who seem to be denied college education. Perhaps, the government feels that young people denied admission will cause more trouble in the streets than they will in the institution."<sup>13</sup> But it ultimately affects the overall standard of the students.

### **Inferior Faculty**

Persons having poor background with no spirit of dedication and inferior qualifications are appointed to the faculty positions, such persons often resort to favouritism in marking, encourage factionalism, etc., and thus create hurdles for sincere and dedicated teachers. Now-a-days, it has become a fashion to go for collective bargaining for financial benefits. We would rarely come across demonstration on academic or research matters. During a discussion with one of the top administrators, it was commented upon by him rightly that he has yet to see a representation or memorandum from the faculty for improving academic or research standards. It all leads us to the idea that a proper attention towards teachers training is very essential "If the universities are to be assigned a major role in the human resources development plan of a nation..., then those plans must recognise that teacher education is at the very heart of the university."<sup>14</sup>

A teacher should be an example before the students, "In regard to college teachers who are no doubt members of a noble profession, and who are, amongst other things, to inculcate higher moral values amongst the students by the example of their own conduct, one finds

that unethical practices are on the increase..."<sup>15</sup>

### **Universities Turning into Examining Bodies**

Some of the universities are only examining bodies without having any responsibility for maintenance of proper standards in colleges affiliated to them. It is on account of increasing demand for social, political and other reasons. With a view to creating interest amongst the students and "to keep the growing demands for higher education while keeping the standards high, it is necessary that programme of non-formal education including distance education, should be strengthened and the enormous potential of modern communication technology should be pressed into service in a large scale. Such programmes permit flexibility in choosing subjects and freedom in learning at one's own initiative, pace and place of work."<sup>16</sup>

Universities should also instil a spirit of brotherhood and oneness in the society which is crying need of the present society. "The whole education system, not to speak of university education alone, should aim to bring out the intimate connection and close relation between the mind of the individual and the moving spirit of the universe. This makes it necessary to orient the whole education system so as to have a balanced growth of the individual as a useful member of the society."<sup>17</sup>

### **Effect of Environment**

An institution cannot remain affected of the environment it is serving and they play a vital role in its functioning. The following factors in new cultural pattern (see Fig.1) should be considered so far as the universities are concerned:

1. ZONE I : CULTURE OF THE SPONSORS
  - (a) Government
  - (b) Industry, and
  - (c) The Foundations
2. ZONE II : CULTURE OF THE VICE CHANCELLOR/DIRECTOR
3. ZONE III: CULTURE OF THE FACULTY
  - (a) Creativity
  - (b) Freedom and Flexibility
  - (c) Flat organisation based on trust
  - (d) Emphasis on Individuals
4. ZONE IV : CULTURE OF THE POLICY BOARDS
5. ZONE V: CULTURE OF THE AGENTS (Government and Private agencies)

The importance to these factors be given on the basis of priorities enumerated above.

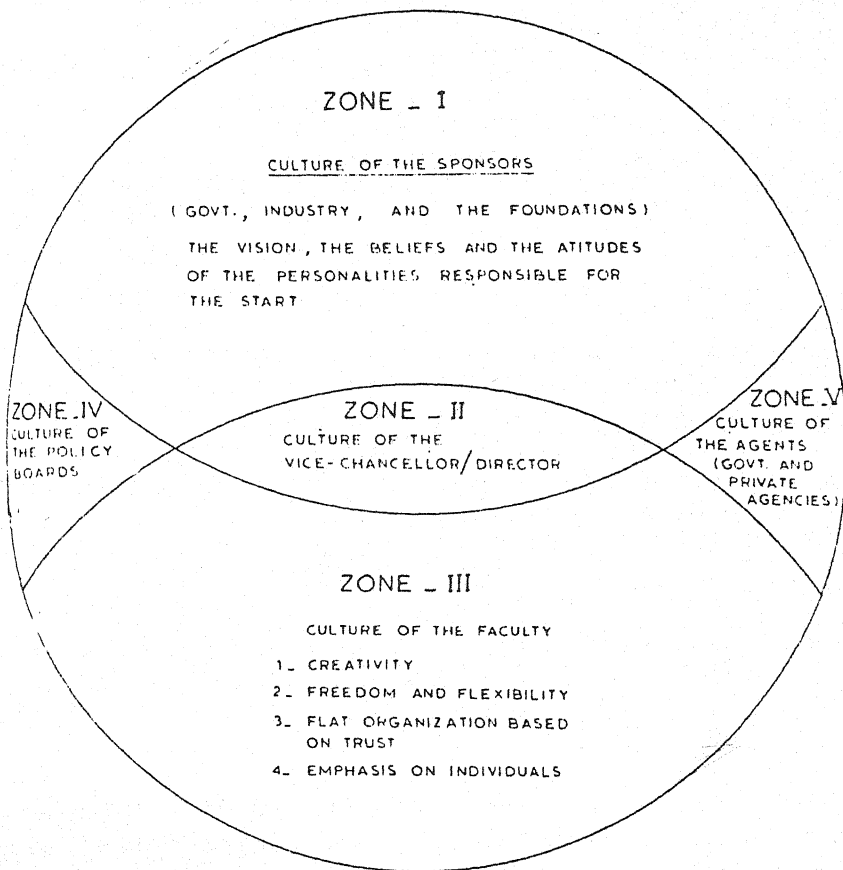


FIG. 1 - NEW CULTURAL PATTERN

## OBJECTIVES OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

The objectives of university education could thus be suggested as follows:

1. to cultivate responsibilities towards moral and intellectual values with a view to improving cultural pattern and "instil a spirit of self-confidence in Indian students so that they do not suffer from any inferiority complex vis-a-vis developed nations. In this context it is essential to indicate in them a pride of our ancient civilisation while developing a scientific temper."<sup>18</sup>

2. to impart gainful professional/training and creation of a feeling of dignity towards one's profession,
3. to identify gifted ones and help them in creating right awareness for developments,
4. to develop centres of excellence and to generate the kind of intellectual and professional environment in various fields of research in social sciences, basic sciences, agriculture and technology,
5. to develop integrated individuals with harmonious personality for establishment of a peaceful harmonious world having feeling of universal brotherhood. In a world where there is threat to human survival from all corners the university atmosphere should instil the feeling:  
 "Atmavat Sarva Bhutesh Yah Pasyati Sa Pasyati."  
 (He alone sees who see all beings in himself), and
6. to undertake the responsibility of adult education, community colleges and open university.

#### CONCLUSION

It is thus apparent to us that all is not well with our university which tends us to ponder over the problem how we should improve it. "The first and foremost consideration in any reconstruction of education in India is, therefore, the creation of conditions in which a fair proportion of the ablest men and women of each generation will be attracted to and retained in the profession."<sup>19</sup> It is impossible for the government to provide employment opportunity to every graduate passing out from our universities. A graduate could also be a 'perfect man' in entering into a gainful professional job which could only be possible by including the feeling of dignity towards profession.

"Education is an important input for development, and towards this end the universities are the key institutions in promoting the process of national development through their programmes, of teaching research and extension. The universities provide the required trained and educated manpower to implement activities/programmes relating to national development."<sup>20</sup>

The process of education is never ending and is a process leading up the inward nature to its fulfilment through knowledge and also undertake the social responsibility of upgrading the mankind through his deeds. "It is indeed the function of our university to provide an intellectual basis for our university including: (i) the proper cultivation of mind, and (ii) the helping of growing minds to develop to their capacity."<sup>21</sup>

Universities should keep in mind that public money is being invested in them in the form of grants, etc., and as such they are accountable to society in the broader sense that activities of the students as well as teachers ought to be determined to the interest of the nation.

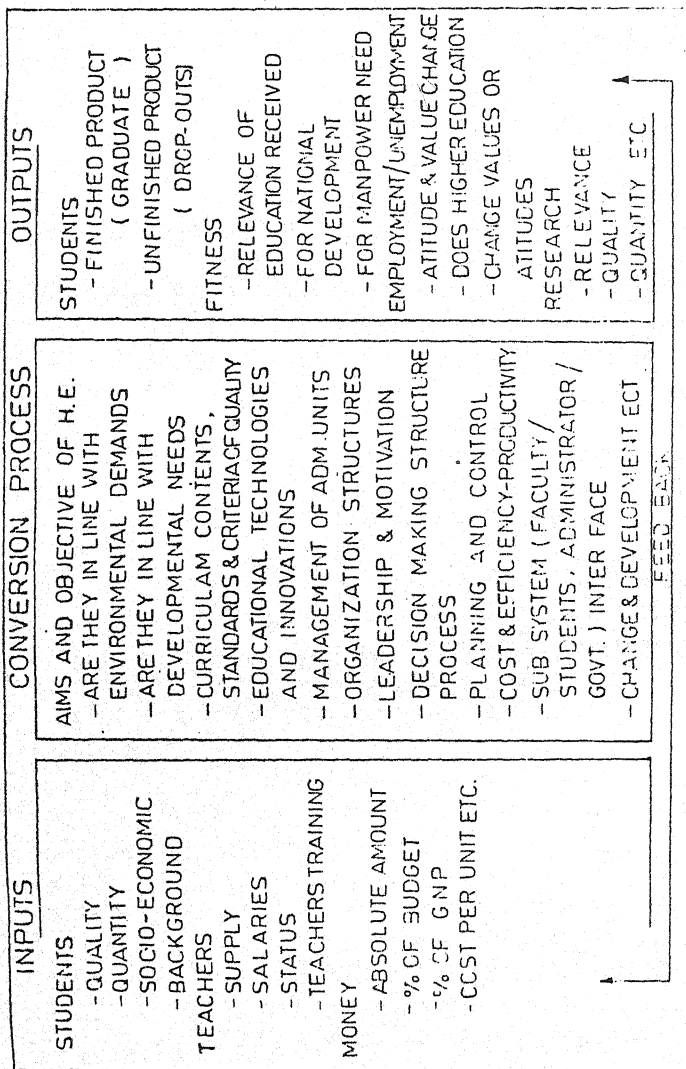
The appraisal of the functioning of the university including assessment of standards and their improvement could be judged by finding out the output with relation to input (Fig. 2) whether it is as per norms or below that. The shortcomings in the result could thus be detected and remedial measures taken to get the best results.

In the modern world unless university system is able to keep pace with the fast developments by achieving excellence, i.e., qualitative improvements, it would be difficult for it to improve the quality of human resources available in the society. Universities should feel that they are accountable to society, the investing agency. They should publish their balance sheet by way of its performance to enable the public/society to evaluate its result in comparison to other vis-a-vis the investments.

"No university can claim perfection in the realm of high standard. Our reach for quality may exceed our grasp since perfection may never really be attained, especially when financial resources are limited. It is also true that high standard of excellence are not reached at all times by every member of the university community but it remains an objective. Our primary mission is to strive towards the golden vision. The progress of a University can be no swifter than its progress in excellence."<sup>22</sup> It is special function of the universities to illuminate the minds of the young and to infuse into them a new spirit and aspiration to accomplish those tasks which are needed to build a fully integrated and harmonious India.<sup>23</sup>

History tells us that man is marching from time immemorial towards quest for unknown to satisfy its soul, by reaching the goal of unknown excellence, "The true university will be able to discuss, assess and evaluate our past. It will be able to project an image of our future. It will by the quality and excellence of its work, under this image a potential vision to the realisation of which all associated with it will dedicate every ounce of their energy and help to fashion for our people a future for more glorious even than the glorious past."<sup>24</sup>





## HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

FIG. 2

HIGHER EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION--ASCI--HYDERABAD 1978, SEMINAR OF THE  
REGISTRARS AND ADM. OFFICERS--READINGS

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# Power Structure in India's University System : Reflections of an Insider

IQBAL NARAIN

THE STUDENTS of political science in India and elsewhere are well aware of the maxim that real rulers of a state are undiscoverable. The same is growingly true of the university system in our country, where also the apparent rulers are not always the real power holders. It becomes all the more difficult to answer the question, 'who wields real power in Indian university system today', because of the changing and hence ever elusive nature of the answer. The elusiveness is rooted in a situational context orienting every answer, which by its very nature is assymetrical. The truth of the matter is that there is no uniform answer to the question, which differs from person to person, place to place and time to time. The combinations and permutations of person, place and time, besides accounting for variability in answers, also make them a matter of differing perceptions which, again, may be related to one's direct and/or indirect experience of a given situation obtaining in a university, at a particular point of time and at a specific place. There is, thus, always a possibility of a built-in bias in one's perception of power structure in India's university system from which the present article also may not be immune, all the more because it largely embodies an insider's reflections on the subject.

## POWER VERSUS AUTHORITY

At the outset, it may not be out of place to explain why the concept of 'power structure' is being preferred here over 'authority structure'. Even at the risk of digression, it may not be out of place to point out that this explanation is not for those who are inclined to use the two terms rather loosely as synonymous to each other.

Turning back to the question of preference, one can offer two explanations — one value-free and another value-based. As far as the value-free explanation goes, it may be recalled that authority has

been described in the literature as **institutionalised power**. It is, however, common knowledge that institutionalised power is not always 'real power' in a university system. Lot of it is informal or at any rate institutionalised power in a university system gets mediated through several informal structures that, more often than not, transform both its form and substance. In fact, dynamics of a university system in the context of its power structure can be understood and analysed and distortions explained (if there are any) with reference only to processes of transformation in the wake of pull and swing between formal and informal power structures. It will not be far off the mark to observe that today the University system has become a game of power which the concept 'power structure' reflects with clarity and boldness, though in a somewhat naked and brute form that may not always be pleasing to the eye of a beholder.

As far as **value-based** explanation is concerned, the concepts of authority and legitimacy go together and as such authority has come to be seen in the literature as power which can be rationally communicated or as **legitimised power**. It is, however, an open question whether there is any serious effort on the part of any of the concerned parties to associate **legitimacy** with **power** in the university system in India of today - for that purpose anywhere in the politico-economic and social system of the country, from which the university system as a sub-system cannot be divorced, particularly in a developing society where size of the cake is small and where, as such, there is primacy of unprincipled politics in its distribution. Thus, from the point of view of this somewhat philosophical consideration also, the concept of **power structure** is prefeable to "authority structure", the former being more suited to capture the rugged realities of university life in today's India than the latter.

### Approach

A word will not be out of place here about the approach-informing the present paper. A broad description of the power structure, both in a formal and informal sense, follows in the next section, together with posing of one or two questions in each case, which, at times, are umbrella-like in their scope and, as such, can admit of several sub-questions. Thereafter an attempt has been made to offer operational profiles of the power structure on a selective basis, which, to begin with, answer the basic questions that have already been raised earlier. Further, by way of case material, usually some most agonising examples have been picked up to illustrate the point, knowing full well that there are both other examples and also honourable exceptions, though the latter perhaps increasingly fewer and far between.

## THE POWER STRUCTURE: A DESCRIPTION

One can now turn to a description of the power structure in its broad contours, leaving out details of structural variations. The description would broadly cover: (i) the external parameters; (ii) the informal sector; and (iii) the internal structure. The cumulative upshot will at least approximate the power structure in India's university system today.

**External Parameters**

Let us now begin by identifying the external parameters.

**Constitutional Framework**

It is worthwhile to recall in the description of the constitutional framework that higher education (with which the present paper is concerned) is at present an entry into the Concurrent List. However, till January 3, 1977, when the Constitution was amended to bring education under the Concurrent List in the VII Schedule, it was a subject under the State List.<sup>1</sup> Higher education thus became a domain where both the national and state governments could initiate action. The re-listing aroused expectations of change emanating from the Central government in terms of institutional structures and processes on the one hand and policy planks and programmes on the other, particularly in areas where uniformity was necessary on a national scale. One of the questions in regard to the power structure in the university system in India today should thus relate to the study of initiatives, if any, on the part particularly of the Union government since higher education became a subject in the Concurrent List.

**University Grants Commission (UGC)**

It was in accordance with the Radhakrishnan Commission of 1948 that a University Grants Commission was set up in 1953. It is in charge of laying down guidelines for standards and of monitoring their maintenance. It evolves programmes of excellence and identifies the university departments which deserve to run them within the broad framework laid down by it. It finances the central universities entirely on behalf of the Union Government. It makes grants to state universities on a five-yearly basis provided the state governments are willing to treat the grants as a committed expenditure after the plan period is over. It decides the question of opening of new universities and of giving others the status of a deemed university and so on. Altogether, it is expected to oversee the working of university system in India within the confines of univer-

sity autonomy. The basic question here is, "what are the problems that the UGC has to face vis-a-vis the university system and vice versa"?

### Union and State Governments

As each university is created by a charter given to it either by Union or state legislature, the Union and state governments have a hand in the creation of a university. Thereafter, these are expected to work as autonomous organisations without interference by Union or state governments, as the case may be. The Union Government finances the Central universities and the state governments the state universities and thus there is a built-in situation of dependence of the universities on the respective governments, though indirectly, through the control of the purse. This raises the issue of reconciliation of competing claims of autonomy of universities with their financial dependence on the government, let alone that of growing political interference on the part of the State. Of course, the allied question is whether universities themselves have succeeded or failed in evolving a balance between autonomy and accountability and how far the allegations of state interference are related to a failure on their part in this respect, if it is at all there.

### The Informal Sector

One can now turn to identify the main components of the informal sector.

### Role of Political Parties

It is common knowledge that all the campuses, certainly the major ones, are being used by political parties to build up their cadres and groom leaders of the future from bottom upwards, particularly among students, though, more often than not, teachers and employees with political ambitions also get involved.<sup>2</sup> There are thus universities like BHU (Varanasi), Delhi and Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU-Delhi), Lucknow, Allahabad, Calcutta (again known after these cities), Rajasthan (Jaipur) and so on where students would openly bear party labels and try to enhance the influence of their respective parties by currying favours for their camp followers with the powers that count in the university system. They would not mind even disrupting the normal life in a university if their party interests would thus get served. This accounts for closure of universities (quite often sine die) and colleges every now and then. BHU and some colleges of Delhi and Agra universities can be cited as examples. Quite often, student leaders from one and the same political party, though belonging to different universities, would join hands and

start meddling in the affairs of other universities with a view to widening their areas of influence.<sup>3</sup> Further, student leaders of no political party or a political faction would decry the action of their counterparts, even if they are against it, in the name of students' unity. Again, the district authorities would also try to avoid confrontation with students. Still further, the so-called silent majority of non-political, innocent and well-meaning students would prefer to suffer rather than come in open conflict with party leaders on the campus. Similarly, teachers would also opt for an attitude of detached withdrawal on the plea that the university would not provide any security to them and their families against manhandling by student leaders. The vice-chancellor will thus be left alone to handle situations which student leaders would create, not in support of genuine student causes, but to enhance the influence of their respective political parties by brow-beating him in their power game and that also at the bidding and connivance of outside party leaders.<sup>4</sup> The complexity increases if even some teachers (and sometimes employees also) join hands, directly or indirectly, with the students in the effort to promote party interests. The situation tends to become almost grave if caste, communal or regional considerations begin to matter in the competition among political parties for influence and power in a university campus.<sup>5</sup> The crucial (and perhaps ever open) question here is whether there can be a gentleman's agreement among political parties to leave the college and university campuses alone and not try to fend their interests there through student leaders.

### **Trade Unions at the Campuses**

Another challenge to the formal power structure emanates from trade unions at the campus. These are none else but unions of teachers, research scholars, employees and the students, which are expected to be trade unions with a difference. While these may promote the interests of their constituents like any other trade union, the difference relates to the legitimate expectation that they would also be interested in the academic good of the university community at large. The expectation is seldom fulfilled, if at all.<sup>6</sup> Even when there are rival organisations either among teachers, research scholars, employees or the students, they would continue to bother just about their factional interests. Political parties would also try to reach out to the university campuses through the trade unions, thereby making these organisations political through and through. The process of politicisation would start from elections and would persist till their very last act. These trade unions would try to become rival power cadres and most of the time the vice-

chancellor will have to spend just in dealing with their charters of demand, which are not always reasonable and which, more often than not, cannot be met without breaking the rules.

This is specifically true of students' union. They, for example, would entertain admission forms, particularly from students whose cases cannot be covered according to the normal rules. They would then press for their admission after due date and also beyond the prescribed number of seats. Similarly, they would try to get examinations postponed. Such examples can be multiplied. Altogether they would try to show that, in the ultimate analysis, it is the students' power which counted and not of university bodies, let alone that of the vice-chancellor. With this end in view, they would not mind creating trouble on the campus every now and then, even leading to the closure of the institution itself.<sup>7</sup>

One could ask in the context of the role of trade unions whether it would help if they are involved jointly or singly through their representatives in university administration through a system of participative management.

### Shadow of Academic Politics

The vice-chancellor has also to contend with the imponderable of academic politics which exists almost in every campus, though not in as perceptible form as the trade unions do. The departments are, quite often, divided in hostile camps. This, in turn, affects their academic performance, besides creating problems of adjustment. There are also quite often, factions based on region, language, caste and community which cut across departments but pose as rival to each other. One can easily see this in the functioning of the university bodies as also in the choice of research scholars, recruitment of the faculty, appointment of examiners and the like. The web of academic politics caters to specific sectarian interests and that also at the cost of academic ethics and it operates on the vice-chancellor in a subtle manner with a view to ensuring that he also becomes part and parcel of factional politics. The question before the vice-chancellor is whether he is prepared to become an instrument for promoting sectarian interests or would like to act as an impartial arbiter of competing interests and thereby try to promote the good of the university community as a whole to the best of his perception and capacity. This is a dilemma which every vice-chancellor has to face in India today--of course, some face it more and others less.

### Internal Structure

One can now turn to describe briefly the internal structure of a university system, both in terms of institutions and functionaries



which, taken together, constitute the formal pyramid of power structure within a university.

### **Institutions**

The institutional structure can be delineated as follows:

1. Chancellor;
2. Vice-Chancellor;
3. Senate/Court;
4. Syndicate/Executive Council;
5. Academic Council;
6. Faculties;
7. Board of Studies; and
8. Departments.

A brief description of each of the above-mentioned institutions will not be out of place here in the specific context of the identification of key issues in their regard as part of the university system.<sup>8</sup>

The chancellors of the Central universities, though nominated by the Central government, are usually reputed public men or persons of academic distinction. They have, by and large, not evoked any controversy so far. In contrast, governors who are usually chancellors of state universities, have come to be criticised both when they have tried to act independently or as a mouthpiece of the party in power in general and of the chief minister in particular.<sup>9</sup> The governor as chancellor may become all the more suspect (rightly or wrongly) as a nominee of the Union Government when one party rules in a state and another at the Centre.<sup>10</sup> The vice-chancellor is not in a happy position when there is tension between governor as a chancellor of a university and chief minister of a state. The question to enquire here is whether governor as chancellor has any role to play independently of the chief minister of a state and what are its repercussions on the position of a vice-chancellor in the long run.

Despite all the formal and informal limitations on his powers, the vice-chancellor remains the king-pin of the resilience of a university system as "keeper of the university's conscience" according to Radhakrishnan Report, who should stand "for the commitment of the university to scholarship and pursuit of truth", as the Kothari Commission Report would enjoin him to do. The basic issue here is how best to equip the vice-chancellor to play the envisaged role.

Turning to Senate/Court (which quite often typify an either or situation), both of them today are primarily deliberative bodies; their major contribution being in providing a forum for members

representing teachers, government officers, students and public men to recommend measures for improving administration of the university and lay down its broad policies and programmes. Altogether, they are expected to play the role of constructive critics and helpful pathfinders without meddling into the day-to-day affairs of a university. The question to ask here is whether they have performed their role as envisaged here or have tended to transgress it.

The executive council/syndicate, whether nominated (as in BHU in regard to which the act is yet to be passed) or regularly constituted (which is the usual pattern), it is the most important body in university administration, enjoying and exercising (or better still sharing with the vice-chancellor) real power. It usually has three types of members--elected, nominated and ex officio. The elected members represent principals of colleges affiliated to the university, deans, members elected by the senate/court, etc. Some of its members are nominees of the government. The vice-chancellor is one of the ex officio members and chairs its meetings. Its usual term of office is three years. The key question here is whether a mutually respectful relationship obtains between the vice-chancellor and executive council/syndicate, which in the ultimate analysis may help the former in holding the fort firmly and with dignity.

The academic council, like the executive council/syndicate, again, has elected, nominated and ex officio members and is presided over by the vice-chancellor, though its activities are confined to academic field only. Its primary tasks relate to maintenance of standards of instruction, education and examination subject to formal approval of executive council. The moot point here is how seriously the members of the academic council address themselves to these obligations without yielding to pressures, particularly from students.

The faculties assist the academic council in the discharge of its functions on behalf of group of disciplines falling in their jurisdiction. It is presided over by a dean. It usually consists of all heads of departments, all professors, readers and lecturers by rotation and some academics from outside. Its membership is, by and large, confined to teaching community. Here, again, the question is how seriously the members of the faculty would take their obligations and how conscientiously they would exercise the powers that they have.

Coming now to the Board of Studies, it is usually to address itself to the task of formulation of syllabi and continuously updating it. Sometimes, it also sends representatives to serve on the committee which selects examiners. Besides the casual attitude of the members, which Amrik Singh has correctly highlighted,<sup>11</sup> the constitution of the Board is also presenting problems because it

tends to be overweighed either in favour of university faculty or college teachers, particularly the latter in affiliating universities.<sup>12</sup> The problem here, therefore, is how to bring about a balanced partnership between the university departments and the college teachers, the former providing academic leadership and the latter pointing out to the limitations of the colleges, besides the aspirations of their colleagues there.

Finally, the department is the key unit in every university system both for teaching and research. In fact, a university tends to shine in the reflected glory of its departments. It will, therefore, be worthwhile to study how far the fall of the university system is due to its departments and vice versa and what can be the mechanism to ensure that departments continue to provide leadership both in the fields of teaching and research.

### Functionaries

Besides the vice-chancellor, the other important functionaries in the university system are rector/pro-vice-chancellor, Registrar, Controller of Examinations, Finance Officer, Dean and heads of the department. One of the challenges that faces every vice-chancellor is, not merely to decentralise power among them, but to ensure that they exercise it and that also in a manner as to strengthen his hands in the ultimate analysis.

The rector/pro-vice-chancellor is expected to share the responsibilities of the vice-chancellor in areas where the latter deems it proper and necessary to decentralise them to him and also to officiate for him when he is either away from the headquarters on official business or is on leave. The question to investigate here is how the partnership between the two has worked and how to operationalise it in a manner that the two offices re-inforce each other.<sup>13</sup>

The next in the hierarchy is the registrar who is normally the single permanent administrative head of a university, while vice-chancellors as chief executives come and go. The very fact of permanency gives the Registrar an advantage over the vice-chancellor who, therefore, has to depend on his advice in good measure for the exercise of his powers as also for handling both normal and crisis situations in the university. The more the two go together, the more is the strength of the university system. The point at issue, therefore, is to find out what had, by and large, been the experience on this score so far and how to bring about a smooth relationship between the two.<sup>14</sup>

Another important official is the controller of examinations in a university system. As smooth, timely and honest conduct of examinations is one of the significant criteria of the efficient functioning

of a university, the official can make or mar the performance of a vice-chancellor<sup>15</sup> It is, therefore, worth investigating how the two functionaries have worked together and what steps are necessary to make the relationship between the two mutually re-inforcing.

Still another important officer, usually on deputation from the government, is the finance officer. He generally has the perspective of accounts office which he brings to bear on educational administration in a university. There are exceptions to this rule also, particularly in the Central universities. In the state universities, however, they are emerging as overlords---too overbearing even for vice-chancellors, let alone other functionaries. They add to problems in the functioning of state universities which are always short of funds. It will, therefore, be pertinent to enquire whether their behaviour pattern has been functional or dysfunctional to the working, particularly of state universities.

Now coming to the deans, they are usually academics who are appointed by the vice-chancellor on the basis of seniority. They are to exercise powers decentralised to them by the Act or by the vice-chancellor in relation to their respective faculties and thereby share his load of responsibilities. One has, therefore, to ask whether and to what extent they have done so.<sup>16</sup> Steps are also necessary to ensure that they act as they are expected.

Finally, there is the head who is responsible to plan, execute and monitor the working of his department in the fields of teaching, research and extension and also take steps to enforce discipline as and where necessary. He enjoys substantial powers under university acts in this regard as also in terms of powers decentralised to him by the vice-chancellor. His behaviour pattern has not been very different from the deans in regard to the exercise of powers vested in him.<sup>17</sup> The heads, in fact, feel all the more constrained in the wake of the principle of rotation of headship, which is getting introduced in more and more universities. It will, therefore, be worthwhile to look into the experience with regard to the functioning of the principle and suggest remedial measures in the light of the result of the enquiry.

#### OPERATIONAL PROFILES AND POLICY POINTERS

A bird's eye view in terms of operational profiles and even policy pointers has been provided in the discussion of the basic questions in regard to the description of power structure in India's university system today. The present section primarily aims at elaborating the points already made and adding a few new one's as and where necessary. Similarly, an attempt has been made to add just a few more

important questions to make the empirical profile of power structure in the university system as complete as possible together with some plausible suggestions to handle them.

One could best begin handling of the questions in the same order in which these had been posed earlier.

#### **Questions with Regard to External Parameters**

As far as Concurrent jurisdiction is concerned, the Central government has so far taken hardly any initiatives. The proposal in regard to Indian Education Service<sup>18</sup> is being resisted by the state governments (particularly non-Congress ones) in the name of state autonomy. In fact, a movement is already afoot to withdraw higher education from Concurrent to State list as before. There are, however, areas in which Union government should act in the larger national interest--for example, application of 10+2+3 system, enforcement of three-language formula and so on. It is, however, an open question whether it would be up and doing or allowed to be so, even if it wants to be. This is so because any initiative on the part of Central government is likely to get bogged down in the politics of Union-state relations today and, more so, perhaps in future.

The UGC, itself an unwieldy body, is finding it difficult to cope with the ever-growing number of universities and colleges, in the opening of which political considerations would matter more than genuine academic needs. It evolves programmes of academic excellence which crash in the wake of academic politics or bureaucratic red tape at the university level. For example, the UGC programmes of departmental assistance or advanced centres would get vitiated in the tensions between the head of the department and the coordinator of the programme.<sup>19</sup> The UGC has done precious little to come out with clear cut outlines to regulate the relationship between the two, as it is always face to face with the China Wall of the concept of university autonomy. It has lacked in teeth to assert itself even when the universities have failed to keep their respective houses in order. This does not mean that all is right with the UGC. The usual complaint is that the organisation has become too bureaucratic to take creative initiatives and too unwieldy to move with speed. It would appoint visiting committees to the universities rather late and by the time their reports would be approved at least half of the Plan period would be over. The visiting committees are so constituted that they would not have adequate personnel to do justice to all the departments of a university. It would be just a hit and miss chance for the university departments, depending on the membership of a committee which would usually undertake just a routine exercise, as they would always be short of time to attempt a detailed evaluation

of any department, let alone of the university as a whole.<sup>20</sup> There is thus a case for zonal UGCs for which initiative should come from the UGC at the national level and to which it should decentralise some of its responsibilities.

Finally, there is the growing phenomenon of state interference in the working of the universities. The universities have also failed to strike a balance between autonomy and accountability. This failure on the part of the universities is often used as an excuse for state interference. Quite often, the teachers themselves would go and tell the government of the day that every thing was wrong with the functioning of a university and would thus invite state interference. It is, however, painful to note that, more often than not, there would be no co-relation between state interference and malfunctioning of a university, as the powers that be would also interfere just in pursuit of their not so enlightened self-interest.

### Questions Concerning Informal Sector

As one turns to the informal sector, the picture appears to be all the more bleak. As already indicated, there is hardly any possibility of political parties leaving the university campuses alone. Nor there seems to be any prospects of the trade unionism in the campus getting mellowed down through a system of participative management, with the joint committees of representatives of teachers, employees, and students forming one united block and university administration another with no meeting ground between the two. The mechanism would thus result in a joint front among teachers, employees and students instead of each trying to import rationality in the resolution of the grievances of the other.<sup>21</sup> In another university, teachers representatives would hackle the vice-chancellor by putting questions to him in the Executive Council meetings as if they were members of a legislature, particularly belonging to the opposition, and in the process justice may not be done to the main agenda.<sup>22</sup> Such examples can be multiplied, which would make one pessimistic about the success of participative management in the university system obtaining in the country today.

### Questions Pertaining to Internal Structure

Now one can turn to examining the numerous questions raised in the context of the internal structure of power in a university system in India.

#### Institutions

One can begin with questions relating to institutions sharing power in a university.

As far as the issue of the independent role of the chancellor is concerned, it may be unequivocally stated, even by an amendment of the constitution, if necessary, that, as it is expected of a governor during normal times, the vice-chancellor would also act on the advice of the chief minister who can thus be held responsible for the acts of the chancellor on the floor of the legislature as also in the public eye. Another advantage would be that vice-chancellors would not be in a position to play the chancellor against the chief minister or *vice versa* nor they will be used by the two as a shuttle cock in their game of power politics. Finally, the chancellors would not be suspect as agents of Union government. They should thus be content with the exercise of influence rather than power.

One can now turn to the office of the vice-chancellor. It is difficult to suggest any hard and fast rule for his appointment and functioning. Every vice-chancellor has to fight his own battle, almost lonely, and that also in his own style. It may, however, be worthwhile to point out that the office, in spite of all the constraints, does not lack in powers, though it is becoming growingly difficult to muster up will and courage to exercise them. Still even today it is possible to do so.<sup>23</sup> The point at issue, therefore, is how to widen the prospects of the exercise of powers that already vest in a vice-chancellor rather than the question of further increasing them. Some rules of the thumb may be mentioned here. First, no one should be made a vice-chancellor who is keen on holding the office, for such an aspirant is always prone to make compromises with a view to continuing in office. Secondly, the incumbent of the post should be prepared to resign than to compromise with what he considers to be essential in the larger interest of the academic good of the university in his charge. In turn, it is essential that vice-chancellor is not usually a retired person or a man nearing retirement. It should also be ensured that he has a job to go back to, in case he has to resign before his tenure as vice-chancellor is over or after his retirement. If he is a professor drafted to the office (which should normally be the case)<sup>24</sup>, he should simultaneously also be made a supernumerary professor so that he has the option to join any university later. Further, he should normally have just one non-renewable term of five years as vice-chancellor, so that he is not motivated to compromise under the lure of a second term. Finally, he should not be made to serve in the pleasure of the chancellor, as in Bihar today<sup>25</sup> because this would either make him too dependant on him or make him follow the behests of the chief minister, if the chancellor acts as his mouthpiece. Both situations are not conducive to functional autonomy of universities. There may, however, be enough safeguards to ensure that a vice-chancellor does not act arbit-

rarily.<sup>26</sup> For example, he may be removable by the chancellor/visitor after an enquiry by a supreme court judge.

As far as the senate/court is concerned, far larger instances of transgression of powers by the court have been noticed than by the senate. One glaring example of this nature relates to Gauhati Court. It levelled charges on September 16, 1961 against the registrar and got him removed. The same court elected the same person as vice-chancellor with absolute majority on January 23, 1962, six months later demanded his removal and, in fact, threw him out. Besides, the question of its strange mercurial behaviour, the demand for removal of vice-chancellor was absolutely not within its powers. Such examples can be multiplied.<sup>27</sup> The representation of political leaders and students would often make the behaviour pattern of these bodies all the more difficult to comprehend. Despite all this, there is need of a deliberative body which may offer overall guidelines, particularly from a futuristic perspective to the university, besides offering an overview of its working in the vain of a constructive critic. Of course, this pre-supposes that the senate/court is constituted in a manner that it is in a position to perform this role and the vice-chancellor has the qualities of leadership to give its functioning a proper direction. If this happens, it may not be necessary to abolish it as the UGC report on the working of central universities has recommended.<sup>28</sup>

As far as the relationship between the syndicate/executive council is concerned, the experience has been a mixed one, depending in the qualities of leadership of a vice-chancellor and the type of membership of these bodies. It cannot be denied, however, that unless a vice-chancellor has the support of the syndicate/executive council, he would find it extremely difficult to run a university these days. It is, therefore, necessary, that, while the syndicate/executive councillors have the capacity to call spade a spade they should not be amenable to pressures.<sup>29</sup> Whatever the mode of constitution of the syndicate/executive council, it should be so structured as to have this quality. Then alone it would be in a position both to help and correct the vice-chancellor in the right earnest.

Turning now to academic councils, these can be the backbone of innovation and change in a university in terms of new thrusts to courses, evaluation and the like. Most often than not, this has not happened. Sometimes, the members are too conservative to change. At others they succumb to pressures, particularly from students. They would thus give up experiments in regard to semester system and grading before there is enough experience to guide them either way and also change their stance on attendance, admission rules, date and schedule of examinations and the like. At still others, they are



more interested in academic politics than in academic rejuvenation. For example, the Academic Council of Gauhati University<sup>30</sup> passed a resolution on January 21, 1971, appointing a person to the post of a Reader without his having a degree in the basic subject. Again, on August 26, it passed a resolution for promotion of teachers who had done outstanding work. They would, however, not define the nature of outstanding work, nor prescribe a *modus operandi* for its evaluation. Consequently, 27 undeserving persons were promoted. Such examples are there in other universities also. Yet, it cannot be denied that a university in the ultimate analysis is what its academic council (with its faculties and boards of studies) would want to make of it. It can serve as a path finder for a vice-chancellor groping for a way out as also curtail his initiatives. Still one has to have an academic council so long as universities are an academic institution. One can only hope that under the leadership of the vice-chancellor it would play the role expected of it.

The faculties and the boards of studies have, by and large, not behaved differently. They have also preferred to lead a routinised existence instead of becoming agents of new spurt in university life. The dominance of college teachers, particularly in Boards of Studies in a residential-cum-affiliating university, makes academic excellence a function of votes that a person may muster, though it is also possible that a teacher belonging to a university department may also be no better. A vice-chancellor may thus as well find that he cannot draw upon academic inputs from these bodies also and yet he cannot do without them either. The vice-chancellors may be given the power to remove the deans if it becomes necessary in the university's interest. Similarly, a certain quota of *ex officio* members from the university departments may be there in every board of studies, which may include professors and heads.

Finally, one reaches the end of one's sojourn at a university department which also happens to be the proverbial edge of a precipice. Unmindful of the imminent fall, the academics seem to be self-propelling towards it owing to crisis of values among them-- sometimes on account of lack of leadership, particularly in large sized departments, at others due to academic politics, at still others owing to lure of false models set by other professions, specifically those where promotion is automatic. Whether every promotion made in a university department today is just rooted in seniority, irrespective of merit or not,<sup>31</sup> it seems to be a fact that merit promotion scheme, which has broken into stagnation in the teaching profession, has not necessarily improved the academic ethics of a university, if it has not deteriorated it further. Of course, there are numerous exceptions to the general scenario of decay, who, in fact, are sustaining

the vitality of teaching profession in a university. The irony, however, is that even these serious academics, instead of providing the much needed leadership, are opting for a life of withdrawal, yielding place to internal pressures which have a field day at the cost of academic ethos in a university. There is little appreciation on their part of the ever haunting poignant question, "how long can serious scholarship survive in the wake of dwindling academic ethos?" Altogether, the departments in a university today would like a vice-chancellor to fight their battles also, both internal and external, instead of acting as a buffer between him and a growingly inhospitable environment. The vice-chancellors have to be discreet and extremely careful in the appointment of teacher, (particularly lecturers) to departments, if these are to vibrate with academic life.

### Functionaries

The scenario of mixed experience continues as one takes up offering empirical profiles of the key functionaries in the university system. Here also, as elsewhere, attention is being drawn to the negative dimensions, not because there is nothing on the positive side, but because these help us in identifying problem areas in the university system today.

Beginning with rector/pro-vice-chancellor, he either emerges as a rival nucleus of power, or as a potential successor, who prefers to be docile and compromising so that his acceptability increases or as a real partner, sharing the vision of a vice-chancellor and working for translating it into actual life. The chances of last eventuality would increase if he is appointed by the vice-chancellor himself and serves in his pleasure and his term of office is made co-terminus with that of the vice-chancellor with the specific provision that he may hold the charge of the office till a new vice-chancellor is appointed.

The registrar, more often than not, can become a real and, quite often even a rival, centre of power and it is always a prerequisite for the success of a vice-chancellor that he commands the goodwill and cooperation of a registrar. Nothing works better in this respect than offer of a humane and dignified treatment to the registrar on the part of a vice-chancellor, with both recognising that unless each reinforces the status of the other, the university cannot be run properly.<sup>32</sup>

The Controller of Examinations is another important functionary whose efficiency can make or mar the future of a vice-chancellor today when his success largely depends on holding examinations fairly and on time and declaring their results as per schedule. If he is

committed to a given tradition or a stereotype, he can inhibit new initiatives and experimentation on the part of a vice-chancellor. This may be one of the reasons, besides pressures from teachers and students, that examination system has not changed in the country over the years. A vice-chancellor's leadership is, again, on trial in ensuring that the Controller of Examination cooperates with him. His task is relatively easy if Controller of Examinations and the Registrar are not equal in administrative hierarchy.

Similarly, the overlordship of a Finance Officer can be checked by the vice-chancellor if he himself is above board and succeeds in making the official realise that he applies financial norms keeping in view the requirements and sensitivities of educational administration, which are different from those obtaining in a governmental department.

The deans do not always exercise the powers delegated to them as they do not want to take unpleasant decisions. The vice-chancellor thus has, more often than not, to fight their battles also, all the more because in quite a few universities deans are to be appointed on the basis of seniority and the vice-chancellor cannot remove them before their term of office is over.<sup>33</sup> As already indicated, the deans should serve in the pleasure of a vice-chancellor.

Finally, as one comes to the heads of departments, one finds that today they resemble gods who have failed largely due to system of rotation which has tended to eat into the vitals of their office. They are today birds of passage for whom neither the vice-chancellor bothers, nor their colleagues nor the bureaucracy in the department; let alone in the university. The principle of rotation has deepened factionalism where it existed and created where it was non-existent. The term of a new head of the department is passed in undoing what his predecessor had done, if not in settling scores with him. Altogether, there is no continuity of perspective in building a department.<sup>34</sup> The principle has not been that harmful where it has been limited to professors only and, where there is no second professor, from professor and seniormost reader in the department. This is thus the plausible limit of democratisation that university system in India can put up with. One need not go beyond this even if the experiment of rotation is to continue.

### **Some New Questions**

It will not be out of place to pose a few new questions here and also discuss them briefly. One of them relates to external parameters and two of them to the informal sector.

Among the external parameters, one may add the phenomenon of judicial review. As citizen of an independent democratic India, the

teachers, employees and students of a university are naturally free to go to the courts and seek the protection of their rights. It is common knowledge how a stay from the judiciary would stop on-going processes in a university in terms of rotation of headship, interviews, appearance at examinations, admissions and the like. A vice-chancellor is cut to the quick even if the decision is ultimately in favour of the university and justifying his stand because the normal functioning of the university has at any rate got disrupted.

As far as informal sector is concerned, one may add the role of local press and district authorities which would quite often act under pressure, particularly of the students, the former placing the vice-chancellor in the dock even when he does not deserve to be there and the latter leaving him alone to fight the battle with anti-socials all by himself. It is too common an experience to need any corroborative empirical evidence.

#### POWER STRUCTURE IN A UNIVERSITY SYSTEM : AN OVERVIEW

Thus one reaches once again, the question from which one had started, "What is the nature of the power structure in India's university system today?" The foregoing search for an answer seems hardly to have made one wiser. One is still in a twilight zone, where colours are dim and outlines of emerging contours of a reply rather hazy. [The power pyramid in a university system, though formally structured and neatly built, yet remains too diffused, overlapping and self-defeating in operation] to admit of visibility, symmetrical characterisation and harmonious and responsible working. As Programme of Action on National Policy of Education, 1986 lays down:

In order to make the system work more effectively, it will be essential, not only to distinguish carefully between roles and responsibilities, but also to define for each of the functions performed, section or group towards which various authorities will be accountable. In addition, to perform the functions for which accountability has been defined, operational autonomy and the requisite authority and powers for the management of institutions will have to be matched with each other. In this context, some institutional arrangements will have to be established which would have the authority as well as resources to encourage institutions with a good record in respect of innovations and adherence to academic schedules, processes and programmes and the attainment of students, and, in an appropriate and effective manner, ensure that those not fulfilling their obligations come to adverse notice of

all concerned. Rigorous systems of performance audit against practical and objective performance will have to be laid down and enforced through incentives and disincentives.<sup>35</sup>

Can this really be done in the face of the dynamics of power structure in the university system in India today? This remains an open question which only the future can answer.

#### REFERENCES

1. For details see A. Biswas and S.P. Agarwala, **Development of Education in India - A Historical Survey of Educational Documents Before and After Independence**, New Delhi, Concept, 1986, pp. 637-654, particularly p. 654. The reference here is to 42nd amendment of the Constitution.
2. As far as author's experience goes, all political parties are equally involved in this effort and, as such, it is difficult to apportion blame.
3. The author came across such instances in Uttar Pradesh when he was vice-chancellor of BHU, Varanasi.
4. This would often happen in BHU and such neighbouring universities of Uttar Pradesh as of Lucknow, Allahabad, Varanasi and Gorakhpur.
5. It is quite common in universities of eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Jat-Rajput rivalry in Rajasthan University, Jaipur even led to a murder in the campus, of which the author (who was then the Chief Proctor there) has still living but harrowing memories.
6. The author does not remember a single occasion as vice-chancellor when any of these trade unions would have come to him with an academic demand. Arun P. Bali in his book **College Teachers: Challenges and Responses: A Study in the Context of Delhi University**, New Delhi, Northern Book Centre, 1986, also notes on p.189: "The issues and strategies were influenced by the dominant ideology in the DUTA and one witnessed the gradual movement from a pure professional association to a trade union. DUTA increasingly resorted to the use of strikes, dharnas, protest marches, demonstrations and hunger strikes to press for their demands."
7. It has been reported that BHU (Varanasi) had to be closed sine die during August-September, 1986 as the vice-chancellor had opted for centralised admissions because the departments and the faculties would otherwise drag on the time span of admissions under students pressure which, in turn, would lead to postponement of examinations on the plea that the courses could not be finished owing to continuance of admissions for extended period of time. (For details see **Statement on the Closure of the Banaras Hindu University**, released by Public Relations office, BHU, Varanasi, September, 1986).

Similarly, a recent news item in *The Times of India*, September 21, 1986, reads:

The district authorities today clamped prohibitory orders at the Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) campus.... This measure has been taken because of the 'inflammatory pamphlets' appearing in the university campus accusing the vice-chancellor...of being 'unfair towards the Muslim Community' regarding admissions.

And the *Hindu*, September 23, 1986, has reported that Delhi University's Law Centre No.2 was closed as "some newly elected office bearers of the students union had been demanding that six candidates who did not fulfil the eligibility requirements be admitted..."

8. The descriptive details which vary to a large extent are being consciously omitted here for paucity of space.
9. Both the models have been available, though, more often than not, the governors as chancellors have preferred to be mouth-piece of chief ministers. In the recent past, O.P. Mehra, Governor of Rajasthan, is reported to have acted independently of the chief minister as chancellor of the universities in Rajasthan and governors of Maharashtra and Gujarat as mouth-piece, of their respective chief ministers.
10. The case of universities in West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh can be cited as examples. In fact, vice-chancellor of a university in Andhra Pradesh referred to this phenomenon in a recent conversation with the author.
11. Amrik Singh, *Asking for Trouble: What it Means to be a Vice-Chancellor Today*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1984, pp. 158-168.
12. It is common knowledge how in the residential-cum-affiliating universities like Rajasthan, some Boards of Studies just have college teachers as members since no one from the university departments would get elected as the college teachers have a majority in the electoral college.
13. The experience so far has been a mixed one, more corroborating the negative rather the positive aspects of partnership. It is for this reason that, more often than not, the vice-chancellors would prefer to appoint Rectors/Pro-vice-chancellors at a time when they are about to lay down the reins of office so that they can hand over charge to them. The task of the vice-chancellors in universities like BHU is all the more complex because they have caste and regional orientations on account of which it becomes difficult for the vice-chancellors to choose a Rector/Pro-vice-chancellor and thereby risk annoying academics of different casts or region. Of course, there are also happy exceptions as in AMU during the time of the outgoing Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Hamid Ali.
14. Here, again, the experience has been a mixed one. As most of the campuses are ridden with students' unrest and as the registrar has to stay in a university permanently, he has a natural inclination to avoid coming into clash either with students or the employees and would like the vice-chancellor to face the

brunt on these two fronts. He is also not always sure how far vice-chancellor would support him and that also makes him a reluctant adviser.

15. By and large, the relationship between vice-chancellors and controller of examinations have been reported to be smooth. Sometimes a vice-chancellor would have really to work hard to keep both the Controller of Examination and Registrar on his right side, if there is tension between these two officers.
16. At least in some universities they would prefer to pass the buck back to the vice-chancellor as they would not like to displease the teachers and, more particularly, the students by exercising the powers delegated to them. At times, they would just act as the students would like them to do; for example, they would go on recommending postponement of the examinations till the vice-chancellor (as it happened with the author at BHU) will have to intervene to stop the process.
17. What has been said in foot note no.16 about the working of some of the deans equally applies to quite a few of the heads of the departments also.
18. **National Policy on Education--1986**, New Delhi, Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, p.27.
19. The experience of the author has been that it is ultimately left to the initiative and courage of the vice-chancellor of a university to resolve the dilemma under reference.
20. A two to three day visit by a Committee to large universities like BHU will hardly do justice to its developmental needs and would create more disappointment than satisfaction among its faculty. This at least has been the experience of the present author.
21. This is borne out by author's own experience in BHU, Varanasi as its vice-chancellor.
22. The practice obtains in Delhi University, on the executive council of which the author has the privilege to serve at present.
23. The present Vice-Chancellor of JNU, among several others, is an instance in point.
24. The country has had a mixed experience on this score. While some universities will have IAS officers as vice-chancellors, others, as in Madhya Pradesh today, will prefer academics. It has also been noticed that teachers, employees and students would lie low when an IAS officer is occupying the post, while they would try to foment unrest and trouble in the case of an academic holding the post. Despite this, one may like to argue that the post should go to an academic as then alone the qualitative distinction between educational administration and administration per se will be maintained. (For details of the distinctions, see, Iqbal Narain, "Reforming Educational Administration in India: Some Observations Specifically in the Context of Higher Education", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3, July-September, 1985, pp. 941-943.
25. According to an ordinance promulgated in Bihar, on October 13, 1985, vice-chancellor's hold office solely and completely in the pleasure of the chancellor.

26. This fear has been expressed in an editorial on the demand of Association of Indian Universities for ensuring autonomy of the vice-chancellors. The basic question raised here is "can a political appointee be autonomous? Can he do without returning the favours to his political mentors?" ('Autonomy or Autarchy', *University Today*, September 1, 1986). One is inclined, to agree with the contention that academic excellence with administrative capability should be the criterion for appointment as vice-chancellor and the method of recruitment and the person chosen should be such as not to be construed to be a political appointee.
27. For this and other examples, see Dibya Hash Goswami: *University Administration in North East India* (a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Gauhati University 1979, mimeographed).
28. *Report of the Committee to Enquire into the Working of Central Universities*, New Delhi, University Grants Commission, 1984, p. 99.
29. In the experience of the author in Rajasthan, representatives of the people and members belonging to the civil service will not always find it easy to hold their own against pressures. Of course, there were honourable exceptions in both these categories.
30. Dibya Hash Goswami, *op.cit.*
31. The author on the basis of his experience in BHU, Varanasi is prepared to say that 80 per cent (if not more) of the promotions there were well-deserved.
32. This is how the author as vice-chancellor would always try to treat his registrars and would, in return, most often, get the required help from them. Other experiments had also been afoot. For example, some vice-chancellors (as one of them did so in the Rajasthan University, Jaipur) would by-pass the registrar with whom they were not happy and work through other subordinate officers. This would weaken the institution of Registrarship itself, which is not in the long-term interest of the university system *per se*. Others would prefer to have IAS officers as Registrars who may try to by-pass the vice-chancellor himself because of their direct links with the government. Sometimes the office of the Registrar is made transferable from one university to another on the recommendation of a vice-chancellor, as in state universities of Uttar Pradesh. This makes the Registrar too dependent on the vice-chancellor to render any independent advice, besides weakening the process of continuity in the university system. In the Indira Gandhi Open University, several officials in the same grade as that of the registrar are there and thus no pre-eminence accrues to the registrar from the terms and conditions of his service. Perhaps any one can be asked by the vice-chancellor from among a team of equals to act as Registrar. We are too near the experiment to draw any empirical lessons from it.
33. This has been author's experience in BHU where he wanted to remove couple of weak deans but could not do so on account of the statutory protection that they enjoy.
34. The story of the fall of the Rajasthan University can be traced,



among other factors, to the principle of rotation which would go down up to a lecturer of 10 years' standing. In fact, the legend has it that a professor, who did not want any rotation, finding that he was fighting a losing battle, ensured that it went down up to a lecturer of 10 years standing and thus became ridiculous in operation. He succeeded in his effort, though even the Teachers Association which was pleading for it did not expect that to happen. Such examples can be multiplied. It is significant to note that the University of Rajasthan, in the light of experience has gone back on the principle of rotation which is now confined to first four teachers in a department.

35. **National Policy on Education, 1986: Programme of Action**, Government of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education, New Delhi, August 1986, pp. 196-197.

# Recruitment of Teachers : Problems and Remedies

HARBANS PATHAK

RAPID DEVELOPMENTS in science and technology coupled with new political and economic pressures are bringing about unprecedented changes in the world much faster than at any time in the earlier history of mankind. The developing societies are as much affected by these changes as the advanced countries of Europe and North America. In fact, the speed of socio-economic transformation in the developing societies is even faster than the latter. This demands a constant review of education at all levels. In our own country we have to ask the question whether our programmes of education are sufficiently geared to the national objectives, the principal among which is to relate education to the life needs and aspirations of the people and thereby make it an instrument of social, economic and cultural transformation necessary for the all-round improvement in the standard of living.

Therefore, among the things of vital public concern, education occupies the very centre. It is wholly appropriate that education should be the object of anxious consideration and careful planning. What educational planning has achieved in the post-Independence India is strikingly visible all over the country. That is why, our young Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has given top priority to reorganise the educational system of the country. It is all the more appropriate to have a special issue of this journal focussed on 'Education Policy and Implementation'.

The document 'Challenge of Education--A Policy Perspective' issued by the Union Ministry of Education has two aspects: participative and evaluative. There are three basic parameters of the new policy--equity, efficiency and excellence. Within this framework, the authors of the document have suggested the opening of model schools for brilliant students from the rural areas, the setting up of universities and colleges, some definite improvement in foundational schools, the depoliticisation of education at all levels, the updating of management systems, the accountability of teachers and a

greater role for the Central Government in the educational sector. Special emphasis is also laid on value education, education for productivity and employment and quality education. Everyone, in fact, is aware of the present system.

The crux of the problem is how to implement the lofty ideas and ideals suggested in the policy document?

The variegated field of education involves three factors. They are Educand, Educator and Subject matter. Educand is important because all educational activities are directed for his wholesome and allround development. But educator also holds an equally important place because of his inevitable role in the process of education. In his hands lies the fate of our future hopes and as such he can make or mar their career. That is why they are rightly called 'Nation Builders'.

To implement the ideas and ideals of the educational policy, the supply of well-qualified teachers is a basic and most critical factor in education. The strength of an educational system depends largely upon the quality of its teachers. However enlightened the aims, however good the building, however up-to-date and abundant the equipment, however efficient the administration, the progress of the students is determined by the teachers. There is, therefore, no more important matter than of securing a sufficient supply of the right kind of people to the profession providing them with the best possible training and ensuring to them a status and esteem commensurate with the importance and responsibility of their work.

The demand all over the world today is not only for more teachers at all levels but for better teachers. This calls for concentration of effort right at the entry level. The article shall focus upon the problem of recruitment at the level of institutions of higher learning.

As the quality of education depends on the ability and professional commitment of teachers. Therefore, one of the questions of capital importance for any system of education is how to ensure teachers of quality and character. Incidentally, this was a question which Plato described in his 'Republic'. Plato said that the relationship between man and the society is that between microcosm and macrocosm. And he concluded by saying that the evils of society would not be removed until philosophers become kings and kings become philosophers. His quest for the philosopher led him to the concept of the community of wives and property and to his theory of education. In the fulness of time, the gifted ones, having gone through the ordeal of denial and fulfilment become philosophers. The question as to who will teach a teacher, however, remained and remains unanswered.

But that a part, everyone insists that we have to have good teachers, sound teachers, learned teachers, honest teachers, teachers of exemplary character. One can have these qualities according to one's own values. The teacher is the spark that kindles, the torch that guides, the light that leads, for good or for bad. As Goethe said:--"Give me the control of education of a nation and I will govern that nation".

That means, the question as to how a university or a college teacher is recruited become crucial. If we confine ourselves to the state universities, we find that on paper, qualifications are prescribed which include a Master's Degree, some teaching experience, research and published work. These qualifications are advertised in 2 or 3 dailies and in response to them applications are received which are processed by institutions concerned. In the case of universities, the selection committees usually comprise of the vice-chancellor as the chairman, the head of the department and 2 or 3 experts from outside. In the case of affiliated colleges, the selection committees consist of the president of the managing committee, the principal of the college, a representative of the teaching staff and 2-3 experts nominated by the vice-chancellor. The candidates are called for interview and those selected have to be approved by the appropriate authority which, in the case of universities is the executive council and in the case of affiliated colleges the managing committee and the vice-chancellor. Every university and every college has its own mechanism based on this pattern.

Now, this system is open to abuse. Sometimes qualifications are laid down to suit certain candidates who have already got into favour of the appointing authority. Advertisements are sometimes given to papers which do not have wide circulation. Applications are, at times, invited on short notice so that quite a few qualified and interested candidates may not even think of applying. Sometimes, qualified candidates are not invited for interview. The list of experts is drawn by the official hierarchy at the government headquarters and these lists are transmitted to the universities. Out of these lists, experts are selected by the vice-chancellor. If the vice-chancellors are interested in some candidates, experts may be appointed to suit them. In the case of universities, the vice-chancellor and sometimes the heads of the departments, play a dominant role in determining merit. Sometimes preference is given to seniority when it suits them; sometimes weightage is given to merit. These processes are applied to similar situations on different occasions leaving an observer gaping in amusement and wonder.

Although by this order, the power of appointment has been made distributive yet there is scope for nepotism and favouritism. The

Head of the department leaks out the names of the experts to the candidate in whom he is interested and by his virtual influence gets his candidate appointed if qualified on probation and if not on ad hoc. Sometimes either of the experts has in his pocket his own candidate and thrust him at the cost of deserving candidates if he fulfils the conditions, if not ad hoc by rejecting the qualified ones as declaring them unsuitable. This is what we find today in affiliated colleges, where absolute power has already corrupted the management and their stooge, principal and the heads of the department.

In the case of affiliated colleges, the managing committees also cajole the experts, flatter them, sometimes even intimidate them, threaten them, and browbeat them into submission. Some experts stand up to their responsibilities, others succumb to these tactics. There are institutions of denominational character where even today caste, communal and regional considerations prevail not only in the matter of selection but also in the matter of promotions. There is hardly any objective criteria to determine whether a person is really fit to be a teacher. It is said that teachers are not made; they are born. We are aware of dozens of third class M.As, who rose to the height of profession and attained distinction all over the world. A Ph.D. is a Ph.D., a D.Litt is a D.Litt; it does not matter as to what the quality of his thesis is. Nobody even bothers to find out as to who have been examiners of these thesis. Some research journals are not worth the paper they are printed on. There is a craze among teachers about the number of Ph.D.s they 'produce'. The rat race goes on unchecked. There are fixed examiners who receive thesis for evaluation and it is rare to see a person who, if offered a thesis for evaluation, refuses it on the ground that he is not conversant with the topic. In such a setting, to adjudge research work becomes a futile exercise. As for experience, mere lapse of years hardly means anything. A donkey becomes an experienced donkey; it does not become a horse after a lapse of 20 years.

In situations of this kind, how can a nation survive? How can society expect leadership from the institutions of learning? How can the curiosity of the young be satisfied? How can the lamps be lighted? How can a teacher without a mission or even without a goal impart direction to his pupils? The tragedy of not having a goal is that you can spend your life running up and down the field and without scoring. If the youth looks ahead and middle age looks nowhere, old age looks back. If a teacher does not have enthusiasm or curiosity, he cannot deliver the goods, and if he has it, the whole pageant of life engulfs him not only as a spectator but as an actor. A teacher has to give everything that life has to give,

through his work, his utterances, his conduct and his demeanour.

The current method of recruitment of teachers in this country puts the premium on ignorance, apathy, factionalism, spuriousness and inertia. His learning is a foil to originality, a substitute for knowledge. He wraps himself up in his web and prefers generalities and sees only the glimmering shadows of ideas reflected from the minds of the others. It seems that nature has put him out. He is a borrower of sense, he has no ideas of his own. The faculties of the mind when not exerted or when cramped by authority, become useless, torpid and unfit for the purpose of teaching. He prides himself in the knowledge of the names and dates and not of man or material. He may have no knowledge of the streets next to his although he may give you the exact population of Tokyo or the exact dimensions of New York. He may be an expert in all the different languages but he may neither speak his own fluently nor write it correctly. He is a learned pedant who is conversant with books only as they are made on other books and he parrots those who have parroted others. He stuffs his head on authorities built on authorities, with quotations quoted from quotations. He has entered the profession through the back-door or through the ventilator; he can never face the entrance.

There are exceptions here and there, who keep the torch burning, but they do not count. The multiplying mass of students, the craze for degrees and diplomas in a society which doubles its number in two decades has led to the production of an army of untaught and unteachable teachers. Assuming this pathology, what are we to do? One step is connected with the other. If you can reduce the population you can reduce the number of students and you can then reduce the number of teachers. But this does not answer the basic problem. At least the best must be selected and one must have the mechanism where the second best will have no chance. If the ministry of education or the government were to set up an educational public service commission, entrusted with the duty of holding competitive examinations with a personality test on the lines of which Indian Administrative and allied services personnel are recruited, the results may be satisfactory. A written test in the following papers may be conducted:

- (a) The subject for which the candidate applies,
- (b) General knowledge,
- (c) Hindi essay,
- (d) English essay, and
- (e) Intelligence test and aptitude test.

Those who qualify it should be called for the interview before the selection board consisting of one subject expert, one eminent edu-

cationist, and one psychologist. The honourable members of the Board should test the speaking power and command over the subject of the candidate through group discussions and micro teachings over and above general questions.

After selection through this process, the candidate should be given the appointment only when he is found physically fit by a panel of doctors. It is to ensure immunity of the candidate from any physical defect and diseases.

Leaving it to the state governments will not lead to any appreciable improvement. If the lecturers are appointed in this manner, promotions will be simple. The commission can ask them to appear for an interview of about an hour's duration so that their work may be assessed. The disease has become so grave that a surgical operation is necessary. Society has nothing but contempt for our institutions of higher learning as they are functioning today. They have lost faith and confidence in the community of teachers. Let it not be too late. If it is done, I am sure this present-day educational malady which is eating away the very vitality of our national life and educational standard will be automatically remedied. The ideals and ideas of our educational policy can also be easily implemented and the quality of education too can be ensured.

# Training of Teachers and the New Education Policy

A.K. JALALUDDIN

THE NATIONAL POLICY on Education--1986 (NPE)<sup>1</sup> popularly known as the New Education Policy, alongwith the programme of Action (POA)<sup>2</sup> as passed by both the houses of the Parliament, provide a comprehensive basis for educational reform in the coming years. While setting up of several new institutional structures and strengthening of the existing institutions and networking them at the local level have broadly been visualised as major strategies for the implementation of the NPE, the teacher has been visualised as the key figure in all intervention programmes. The policy visualises a qualitative shift in the role perception of teachers--both personal and professional.

The NPE was passed by the Parliament in May and the POA in August 1986. The POA, in the present form does, not contain an integrated organisational design of the intervention programmes proposed by twenty-three separate Task Forces constituted by the Ministry of Human Resource Development. However, a careful analysis of the individual programmes will no doubt enable a student of planning and public administration to discover the linkages between the different programmes.

Education being a soft area and the role of the teacher being qualitatively different from that of most other developmental functionaries, these linkages are more ideational than structural. Any programme for the improvement of school education, in order to be effective and meaningful, cannot be planned in isolation or only in terms of physical and monetary inputs. It has to be planned in an integrated manner in order to encompass the three well known dimensions of education:

1. curriculum and the instructional materials,
2. the method of instruction or transaction, and
3. the nature of evaluation and the public examinations.

At present, the teacher does not figure in any significant manner



in developing or supplementing the instructional programmes. His methods of teaching and evaluation are strongly influenced by the demands set by the public examinations at the end of the elementary, secondary and higher secondary stages.

This and other factors which inhibit the creation of a healthy and caring environment in Indian schools have been elaborated in the document, 'Challenge of Education--A Policy Perspective'<sup>3</sup> which was brought out by the Ministry of Human Resource Development in August 1985 as a Status Report on Education and also as background material for provoking a nationwide debate, leading to the formulation of the new education policy. Besides the limitations imposed by the present school curriculum and the public examinations, the other two inhibiting factors highlighted in the above document are a highly directive, non-participative and impersonal school administration and institutional management culture and predominance of extraneous factors in the educational decision-making process.

Keeping in view the present 'state of disorder' in the system of education, the NPE makes a bold pronouncement in part VII of the document under the title 'Making the System Work'. The document admits that "education needs to be managed in an atmosphere of utmost intellectual rigour, seriousness of purpose and, at the same time, of freedom essential for innovation and creativity". The policy objective: "all teachers should teach and all students study", is sought to be achieved by following several strategies for implementation of the policy, including "a better deal to teachers with greater accountability" and "provision of better facilities to institutions".

#### AWARENESS OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONSTRAINTS

In the background of the above mentioned policy statements, the POA makes cautious appraisal of the linkages between the forces working within the school organisation and the society at large, i.e., the external environment. The POA states:

Unless the system of education works properly--at all stages of education, in all parts of the country--the ambitious programme of educational reform envisaged in NPE will come to a naught. As pointed out in the document "Challenge of Education--A Policy Perspective", brought out by the Central Government in August 1985, the system of education is an integral part of the total socio-economic system and that transformation of the system of education will have to go side by side with critical changes in the rest of the system.

The POA also admits:

One of the malaise which has eaten into the educational system is unwarranted interference by political and administrative centres of power. While it is not possible to insulate the educational system from the socio-economic and socio-political forces, it will have to be ensured that the working of the system is not undermined by the political, bureaucratic and anti-social elements--within or outside the educational system.

Broadly speaking, the NPE envisages a multifaceted approach to the overhauling of the organisational structure for education and training of school teachers. Creation of an objective condition for the participation of teachers in the total process of educational reorganisation occupies the most prominent place in this task. What is implicit in the policy is a deeper understanding of the role of professional freedom of teachers as an important source of motivation of teachers and consequently educational change. The issue of professional freedom of teachers, which is no doubt related to the broader issues of decentralisation of educational administration and institutional autonomy and accountability, in its real essence means much more than such administrative reorganisation.

The genuine perception of professional freedom by a teacher leads him to the profound realisation of his professional and social role as a teacher and his own learning needs. This behavioural imperative on the part of teachers is intimately linked with the realisation of the new curricular objectives of making the process of teaching and learning 'child-centred'. The National System of Education, as articulated in NPE, envisages a qualitative reorganisation of the school curriculum under a National Curricular Framework with a common core and a high degree of flexibility in terms of providing locally relevant learning experiences to the learners and making use of local resources. There is also a greater emphasis on the integration of content areas and flexibility in the method of their transaction. Demonstration, discussion, group activity, field visits, and similar other methods, in contrast to the traditional lecture method of teaching are sought to be highlighted in the National Curriculum. Similarly, the exclusive use of written tests as the instrument of evaluation of pupil learning is sought to be replaced by a mix of techniques, including oral tests, observations, cumulative record of class work, etc. This qualitative shift in the curriculum transaction and evaluation demands a corresponding reorganisation in the teacher development methodology.

## DIMENSIONS OF PROFESSIONAL FREEDOM

In 1966, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and UNESCO adopted a recommendation concerning the status of teachers. Subsequently, in 1970, a joint ILO-UNESCO Committee reviewed the application of the recommendation by the member-states. During this review, it was revealed that the national legislations and practices in most countries did not provide a sufficiently clear and comprehensive definition of the nature and content of the academic freedom of primary and secondary teachers. As a follow-up of this review, the above committee requested the UNESCO to undertake an international enquiry designed to clarify this issue. The task was conducted by Ben Morris<sup>4</sup>, who obtained views of individual teachers, teachers' organisations and national agencies responsible for policy formulation in education. The countries included India.

The enquiry revealed the perceptions of a cross section of Indian head teachers and assistant teachers regarding teachers' freedom concerning their classroom behaviour, the school community, pupils' rights, parents' rights, teachers' own career, and employment, teachers' personal and civic rights, etc. The heads of institutions and class teachers gave the most negative picture in the clearest terms about their involvement in policy formulation and educational planning. They perceived no normal entitlements to participate in decision-making. By and large, they felt that it tantamounted to the infringement of their professional freedom.

Indian secondary teachers felt that they had virtually no say over any of the five institutional issues, namely, use of resources, appointments, dismissals, promotion and participation in externally initiated research. Strangely enough, while the Indian teachers resented their non-entitlement over the above issues, they did not consider it necessary to accord any normal entitlement to the pupils or parents over any of the above institutional issues.

Similarly, the respondent Indian teachers believed that the existing educational system infringed over their freedom of choice of methods of teaching and evaluation within the class. However, the head teachers saw no such infringement over methods of teaching either in the classroom or in the school community. Over curricula and syllabus, both heads and class teachers held by large majorities that no normal entitlement to participation existed within the classroom. Over textbooks and materials, there were clear majorities among both heads and classroom teachers that there was no normal entitlement to freedom within the classroom. Over both these issues—curricula and textbooks—large majorities of heads and class teachers perceived infringement of professional freedom so far as the class

room is concerned.

In its response, the All India Federation of School Teachers' Associations offered the following comments:

Decisions are taken at the level of government in consultation with the Education Department. Decisions taken by them are thrust on teachers. Teachers or their organisations have no role to play in these matters even now.

Teachers in schools both primary and secondary levels adopt methods prescribed by the government.

Pupils' progress gets evaluated by teachers but the rule that 80 per cent of the children should get through the examinations stands in the way of actual evaluation.

There is very little contact between pupils and teachers with regard to the issues raised in the questionnaire.

Very little contacts between parents and teachers prevail.

No special right is given to teachers whatever be their sex, religion or politics. But employees belonging to the ruling party or parties have special privileges in every sphere.

Political parties use teachers to support their candidates in elections, both civic and legislative, while they are in service. It is a plain fact. Teachers may become members of professional organisations but the ruling parties adopt discriminatory attitudes.

Except when invited, teachers cannot participate in any of the discussions concerning planning and policy and these invitations are not forthcoming to teachers in general.

The NPE and the POA seem to have taken note of the sense of isolation of Indian teachers and also the widespread disparities among the states in the management of institutional matters as raised in the international enquiry. According to the NPE, "the methods of recruiting teachers will be reorganised to ensure merit, objectivity and conformity with spatial and functional requirements". The policy also makes a bold statement regarding the need to evolve a participative and data-based system of teacher evaluation. The POA envisages "Involvement of teachers in the planning and management of education" and "creation of opportunities and atmosphere to promote autonomy and innovation among teachers". The NPE and POA give much stress on evolving an institutional mechanism for redressal of grievances of individual teachers and the teaching profession. The instrumentality of joint consultative committees at the state and district levels has also been suggested for achievement of these objectives.

The professional associations of teachers are expected to perform

a dual role, according to the new policy. While "strong unified and responsible teachers' associations are necessary for the protection of the dignity and rights of teachers", the policy also expects these associations to assist the educational authorities in evolving a code of professional ethics for teachers and its observance.

The NPE--1986 has gone several steps ahead of the previous policy in guaranteeing openness of the examination system in order to promote its credibility: "It has to be recognised that students have the inalienable right to scrutinise their answer scripts and its evaluation and also compare them with those of others". The NPE visualises a major role of the local communities, including the parents of students in school improvement programmes and "effective use of the pupil evaluation process in schools". Much emphasis has also been given in the NPE on evaluation of the performances of institutions and their accountability. This, in turn, demands a reassessment of the role assigned to the head of educational institutions. The leadership role of heads has been recognised and separate programmes are visualised for their professional growth.

#### OVERHAULING THE SYSTEM OF TEACHER EDUCATION

A commitment has been made in the policy to overhaul the existing institutional infrastructure for teacher education. In all the documents published in the context of the new policy, a high degree of dissatisfaction has been expressed about the large number of sub-standard teacher training institutes which have come into existence in recent years. Under the new policy, while a concerted effort is planned for strengthening selected teacher training institutions, there is also a firm direction to wind up the sub-standard institutions. Since majority of the private teacher training institutions do not depend on grants-in-aid from the government, the strategy suggested for regulating such institutions is through a policy of standardisation of the norms for accreditation of teacher education degrees and diplomas. The National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE) has been identified as a regulatory and accrediting body at the national level with statutory powers. All recognised educational institutions will be expected to employ teachers holding degrees which are accredited by the NCTE or by the universities which will offer teachers education courses in conformity with the guidelines provided by NCTE.

The District Institutes of Education and Training (DIET), as planned in the NPE, will be responsible for coordination of all primary teachers' training programmes in each district. This will include the preparation of teachers for non-formal education and

adult education programmes. A similar selective approach has been proposed for the improvement of secondary teacher education and training by strengthening a limited number of training colleges and encouraging them to establish strong professional linkages with university education departments and similar other resource institutions.

At the rate of the present expansion of school education in the country, the annual requirement of additional teachers may not exceed four per cent of the present strength at the primary level and slightly more at the secondary level. While a process of restructuring of the pre-service teacher education curriculum in conformity with the new policy objectives will no doubt create a more appropriate foundation for the professional growth of teachers, a qualitatively different strategy needs to be adopted for the reorientation of the in-service teachers, particularly those belonging to the younger age group, in order to bring about a meaningful change in the content and process of school education, as visualised in the NPE. Since the NPE highlights the importance of the so-called non-scholastic curricular areas, like work experience, art education, health and physical education, for all-round development of personality of the child, there is an urgent need to provide additional resources and to make special effort to develop teacher competence in these areas, both as part of general pre-service and in-service training programmes and also through specialised programmes. Since all the above three areas are action or activity oriented, there is also a need to provide additional physical resources to the educational institutions and the training institutions. At present, such specialised facilities are almost non-existent. As in the case of education of the physically handicapped, very little resource support structure is available in the form of specialised institutions outside the normal training infrastructure. The situation, therefore, demands adoption of an integrated approach to the teaching and learning in relation to the non-scholastic areas, as it has been earlier planned in the scheme of Integrated Education of the Disabled (IED).

#### NON-TRADITIONAL METHODOLOGY

This brings to light the importance of evolving non-traditional methodologies for the in-service training of teachers. The present strategy of acquainting the in-service teachers with the new ideas and activities incorporated in the revised curriculum and instructional materials through content-oriented in-service training programmes may not enable the teachers to take advantage of the local experience and resources. Educational innovations can hardly be

replicated as a turn-key job. Instead, what can be replicated are the desirable and generalisable teacher capabilities which will enable the teachers to improvise to achieve the curricular objectives. A very clear understanding of the curricular objectives is, therefore, a pre-requisite at the level of teacher educators and educational administrators for transfer of such capabilities to the classroom teachers.

The National Curriculum Framework<sup>5</sup> as designed by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) highlights these inherent linkages between curricular reform and methodologies for orientation of in-service teachers. The National Framework is based on defining the minimum levels of learning in specific behavioural terms for each stage of school education. While such detailed definition of learning outcomes may not be easy to evolve at the school or local level, there is a rationale in making a serious attempt to evolve such learning objectives in close cooperation with the classroom teachers in the process of in-service training programmes.

A macro-level experiment in this direction has already been initiated by NCERT under a recently formulated National Scheme for the Orientation of In-Service School Teachers<sup>6</sup>. This scheme, popularly known as the massive teacher training programme, was launched in all states and union territories during May-June 1986 to cover 500,000 primary and secondary teachers through 10,000 orientation camps held in 2500 training centres. A massive mobilisation in this direction was initiated in February 1986 and in the preparatory stage 450 key persons at the level of Directors of Education, Directors of State Councils of Educational Research and Training and principals and heads of departments of training colleges met in orientation conferences for evolving the above strategy and to finalise 35 training modules based on the participatory methodology. These key persons were responsible for conducting 3-day orientation camps for 10,000 resource persons who were in turn responsible for organising the teacher camps. The INSAT-1B facilities alongwith the high power and low power transmitters of Doordarshan network were utilised from 9.00 a.m. to 4.00 p.m. for eight weeks in 13 languages with programmes directed to the teacher orientation camps in their respective regional languages. The thrust of the orientation camps was on the participation of primary and secondary teachers in discussions related to educational policy, planning and classroom problems. Large and small group discussions and lecture-demonstrations were adopted as the training methodology and background materials were made available to each participant teacher. The participants were encouraged to raise the issues relevant to the local areas and teaching-learning strategies in the respective areas of interest to the teachers. The parti-

cipation of teachers was nearly 95 per cent and the general atmosphere was that of a high motivation and expectation. However, the quality of the resource support services in terms of programme direction and leadership in the training centres varied from centre to centre. One factor which came out as an obvious weakness of the programme was inadequate preparation of the resource persons in handling such a flexible methodology in the orientation camps and also the uneven quality of the training modules. In spite of its inherent limitations, the programme has created a sense of confidence in the state Education Departments, training colleges and institutes, and also among a large number of non-government agencies who were associated with the development of the new ideas in the field of teacher training. It is expected that the sponsoring authorities will take advantage of their experience in conducting local in-service programmes. In contrast to the traditional selective approach, the programme which took a massive shape enables the teacher educators to evolve an appropriate linkage between the institutional support system and the local schools and also to create an awareness of the imperatives of the new policy. In the absence of such an awareness and a favourable environment, the institutional reforms as visualised in the policy and the POA cannot be intimately linked with the teacher preparation programme in the country.

If the teacher has to perform the key role as the change agent, there is a need to orient the existing educational administration in favour of the strategies advocated for the reorganisation of school curriculum and for the reorientation of teachers. With a view to forging such linkage between the teacher training programme and the orientation programmes designed for other educational functionaries, a collaborative programme has been initiated between the NCERT and the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA). Similar institutional linkages have been envisaged at the state and district levels under the new policy. The total resource support network for the orientation of teachers and other educational functionaries need to work in a concerted manner in order to drive maximum benefit in terms of the effectiveness of such training with the limited resources available. Such linkages are also important from the point of view of strengthening the infrastructure for the continuing education of teachers which is no less important than the pre- and in-service training programmes. The personal growth potential of primary and secondary teachers on the basis of their participation in continuing programmes has been adopted as a major policy initiative for enhancing the motivation of teachers and other functionaries.

As it has been mentioned earlier, the concretisation of each



programme in the context of an overall implementation strategy is yet to be taken up by the state level organisations. It has been observed in the past that if these programmes are planned in isolation by the different states and also in isolation from each other, an optimum utilisation of the resources becomes a formidable task at a later stage. The policy documents have, therefore, highlighted the importance of multi-level planning, starting from the micro level so that the central level agencies can also participate actively in the concretisation of the state and district level plans with as far as possible, active participation of teachers and head teachers of the local schools. The process of formulation of such detailed plans is also a valid methodology of participatory training of the functionaries and generation of professional competencies at different levels. The process of articulating the local need in planning the school improvement programmes should be organically linked with the reorganisation of the classroom behaviour of teachers. A clear understanding of these linkages is at the root of success of policy direction and plans for educational reorganisation in a rapidly changing national scene.

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## Assessment of Performance in Education

CHITRA NAIK

THE PROBLEMS of reconciling quality, quantity and equality in education have always been elusive everywhere, but particularly so in developing countries where education and modernisation have stabilised in the urban sector, remaining underdeveloped in the rural population. The economic imbalance gets reflected in all aspects of educational provision. The question of the performance of education, therefore, gets fundamentally interlinked with the performance of the economy and its impact on the participation of the generality of the people in political and cultural change. This wider background has to be kept in mind while discussing most of the problems of education. It is not simply an education policy that changes education. Its politico-economic correlates matter considerably. Nevertheless, education policies are worthwhile exercises in self-analysis and prognosticating possible trends of change and improvement.

SOME ISSUES

The National Policy on Education (1986) like all earlier pronouncements on educational reform and change, has had to pay attention to the problem of quality in education. The question of assessment of performance in education comes up in paras 8.23, 8.24 and 8.25 of the policy document which looks upon examinations as a strategy for qualitative improvement, if recast in a new mould which would eliminate existing defects, like chance, subjectivity, memorisation, coverage of only scholastic aspects of learning, inefficient conduct of examinations, flaws in the materials and techniques of teaching-learning, and numerical measurement of performance. The NPE also favours the use of the semester system right from the secondary stage, in order to reduce the dominance of external examinations. Much of this policy declaration is desirable and some of it may even be implementable, given infinite patience and capacity on the part of policy-makers and implementers to successfully handle the machina-

tions of the vested interests in the existing system. Those who drafted the policy are surely not unaware of what lies in the path of examination reform. The secondary education system, where the semester system is sought to be introduced in a phased manner, has grown haphazardly and outpaced resources. Secondary schools are a good instrument of local politics. And, therefore, under the pressure of growing numbers and local interference, the infrastructure and instructional quality of secondary schools are crumbling as fast as those of primary schools. Yet, only 22 per cent of the concerned age group are found in classes IX and X. At present, about 40 per cent candidates get through the SSC examination annually. When the primary education system improves as it ought to, these numbers will swell. The credibility of examinations in secondary education has sunk as low as that of higher education examinations, whether traditional or a mix of traditional and semester. Malpractices are evident in all the organisational aspects of secondary school certificate examinations. The Challenge of Education document says (3.21) : "The major challenge before educational planners is to devise an educational system that would, on the one hand, meet the growing demand for secondary and higher education and, on the other, ensure that the objective of qualitative viability does not get diluted". How this is to be achieved is the prime riddle to be solved by the planners. Perhaps, performance assessment is being seen by them as part of the solution.

As to higher education, the challenge is still greater as the document itself points out: "Efforts made in the past for examination reforms have not made much progress chiefly because the system of internal evaluation is resisted by the teachers as well as students. Teachers oppose it because the periodical evaluation envisaged would force them to work much harder, the students oppose it, not merely because they do not trust the objectivity of all teachers but also because this would mean working the year round to maintain a reasonable level of performance." Peculiarly enough, while stating in this paragraph the reasons for the failure of the semester system in higher education, the NPE hails it as a solution to the problem of quality in secondary education. Briefly, the problem of examination reform and a satisfactory assessment of performance seems to be the most confusing and intractable issue in Indian education.

It is amazing how often we have noticed this issue and yet failed to come to grips with it. We have known most of the reasons for our failures but have fought shy of acknowledging their non-educational causes. There is an interesting view that the examination-problem is basically an enrolment problem which we have been tackling most unimaginatively through a rigid, sequential, formal and totally

linear school system. Perhaps, channelising secondary and tertiary level enrolments into diverse and convenient learning programmes could provide a solution to the 'examination' and 'standards' conundrums. But we have hardly any studies on the purpose and types of enrolments and examinations as perceived by students and parents belonging to different strata, by national economic plans, by political interests, by teachers and managers. What is the relation between scholastic performance and the social view of schooling? Is scholastic endeavour in the 'tunnel' system of education the only measure of an individual's capacity to contribute to life? Such questions require investigation and unorthodox answers. But nothing more than a national assessment system has been visualised in the NEP (7.3 (d)). It seeks "creation of a system of performance appraisals of institutions according to standards and norms set at the National or state levels". It is plain that 'institutional performance' refers only to the formal, one-track schooling system we have been running so unsatisfactorily. Since institutional performance has inevitably to include the academic performance of its alumni as the largest determining factor of quality, how would different types of alumni belonging to different strata, affect assessment? Therefore, a national system of monitoring student performance, as visualised by NPE would require much thought. Perhaps something like the Comprehensive Achievement Monitoring strategy of classroom evaluation being tried out in USA may help classify schools. Similar other devices of 'quality-control' in education have been tried out experimentally in USA, UK and Australia.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that we would wish to emulate them. Therefore, scrutiny of such measures would no doubt be instructive for us. At the same time, it would be essential for us to bear in mind the realities of our own situation. Examinations, assessment of performance, monitoring scholastic progress, are variations on the same theme. Their basic questions are : "Are our children learning as we wish them to learn? Are teachers teaching? Are the materials good enough? How can we satisfy ourselves that the system is managing to do what individual learners and society expect?". As the Norwegian mathematician-sociologist-educator Johan Galtung<sup>2</sup> once said, the school-system as viewed by the industrialised countries whom we are trying to imitate, is an exercise in penetration of the child's consciousness from above, and for the marginalisation of some children as second-class citizens. Evaluation is a help in this 'processing' of children. We must carefully consider this kind of analysis before we formulate our own assessment system. Says Galtung:

Essentially, it is a system for the processing of raw children into processed children, at three different levels: primary school

graduates that must be regarded as some type of semi-manufactured goods, secondary school graduates that to a large extent serve as inputs for the tertiary level, out of which come the finished products, the tertiary graduates. Thus, society starts with unprocessed children, and ends up with more or less finished products at three levels, the total processing requiring as much as 20 years...A school, hence becomes a meeting point for raw materials, labour and capital just like any other factory.

In this factory-like process of education, it is not surprising that human nature gets polluted and, Galtung points out, 'as we pollute, we also deplete'. Pollution and depletion of students who are precious natural resources, take many forms, drugs, suicides, dropouts, failures, truancy, lack of creativity, lack of social commitment, political unrest, fundamentalist politics, and so on. Many countries are greatly perplexed and perturbed by these phenomena. In Galtung's view, it would be salubrious to help students break up their studies for a while, work for some time, and then return to the class-room so that the examinations can be organised in a totally different way and used by students in a different context and perspective. For developing countries also, the sequential system, if replaced by a flexible system, would probably serve the interests of both quality and quantity. It may also ensure equality of opportunity if given proper support by the political structure and economic system. To quote Galtung again, "There is much reason to believe, that training is best when work and education are permitted to go hand in hand, in a dialectic relationship. In other words, the counter idea would be not to place 'education' after work but to intersperse them after a short exposure to 'education only'". Pursuing such a strain of thought, one could arrive at an agreed national view point on the style of learning arrangements and their integration with working life. The true purpose of examinations or assessment of performance or whatever we choose to call it, would then reliably emerge. For us, the purpose of examinations has never been quite clear. Whether these mechanisms are meant for pedagogical effectiveness, as important aids to learning, or for serving as a kind of socio-economic sorting machine would have to be determined once for all. Whether an examination certificate or degree simply means a transit-card from a particular type of learning for those who wish to discontinue it for at least some time and who may again board the flight later with this transit-card, and whether such transit-permits are unnecessary for those who would continue further learning without a break, is another relevant issue. The questions of classroom grading, exit or transit certificates, coupons for further

learning, measuring of pupil-performance along with or separately from school-performance, require specific answers. Such answers would no doubt involve ideology of some kind, implied in the planners' view of the inter-relationship between the individual and society. Neither the NPE nor the Programme of Action have covered this basic ideological ingredient of a performance-assessment system. The examination reforms proposals of NPE, therefore, more or less contain many a past promise not yet fulfilled. This is understandable. But these would have to be placed by educational planners side by side with perceptions of the kind mentioned above and also the various proposals for decentralisation and deconcentration contained in the NPE elsewhere. It is obvious that a national system of education and assessment of performance cannot mean a mechanistic and uniform system. It would have to be an alliance of all educationally desirable actions generated throughout the nation, for developing the material and human resources of the country in all their variety and to the highest level of their inherent and acquirable quality. The Education Commission of 1964-66 had made some thoughtful suggestions on examination reform. Some of these are still pertinent and unused. The substitution of evaluation for formal examinations, establishment of a State Evaluation Organisation, flexibility in conducting the secondary certificate examination, constitution of District Boards of Education for planning, overseeing and carrying out reforms of national as well as local import, are some of the suggestions of the Commission and these hold considerable meaning for guarding and promoting the quality of education. In this context, a glance at the efforts made elsewhere to organise examinations and assessment may also prove instructive, though not fully applicable to our situation.

#### A MIXED PERSPECTIVE

The business of setting up national standards of education was actually started by China as far back as 7th Century AD when Europe was not even educationally awakened. But the nature of the Chinese national testing examinations was that of a 'sorting-machine' for selecting candidates to fill top administrative posts. It required the candidates to show an extensive acquaintance with the wisdom of Confucius and write formal, well-argued, 'eight-legged' essays which no opposing argument could topple. Such performance called for much training and practice. Private coaching establishments came forward, charging heavy fees for their service, and only the sons of the well-to-do merchants and officials could afford to attend them. Apart from money, these students also had much leisure. Preparation for examination means memorisation of facts and philosophy, and reciting

all that back to the teacher. The second task was to write, rewrite and polish up essays. The third was to prepare for an oral disquisition to satisfy those who had themselves undergone such a process earlier in life. After the invention of printing, however, the proportion of oral examinations was reduced and written examinations increased. When printed books became available the number of candidates increased. Still, competition was high and money and leisure remained essential prerequisites for taking these examinations. In the pre-cultural revolution days, the Maoist government minimised the importance of formal examinations and many a work study programme were encouraged. Probably this policy gave a great boost to universalisation of primary education and adult literacy in China. However, the counter-revolution has not only brought back compulsory testing at every stage of education but intensified institutional hierarchy. These educational upheavals in China amply illustrate the reality that fundamentally education is politics. This holds a valuable lesson for us to mull over.

Surveys of achievement, both national and international, have currently been receiving attention from educational researchers for investigating the question of standards. The efforts of three advanced countries, namely, USA, UK and Australia, to define, assess and monitor student achievement at the national level have brought out several facets of the problem.<sup>3</sup> In USA, a consensus was attempted on the standards of achievement and the national testing programme was reduced to the lowest common denominator. But it lived side by side with state and district assessment programmes which had greater specificity. In the UK, despite initial opposition, nearly 70 per cent heads of schools reported in favour of national monitoring. The Australian programme, however, ran into administrative difficulties. Most of these surveys of assessment have originated in concern for the 'cost-effectiveness' of education. The idea of management by objectives and development of 'national indicators' of educational efficiency have had a pervasive influence on them. The researches carried out extensively by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) are an effort to compare standards internationally and have yielded much useful information on the quality of education in the countries surveyed.

Our own concern with assessment of performance is three-fold: ensuring cost-effectiveness of education, involvement of the Central government in maintenance of academic standards, and gradual evolution of a system of internal as well as external testing and evaluation for counteracting the existing deficiencies of the examination system. Considering the fast pace of the expansion of education in India over the last 20 years and the faster expansion expected up to



1995 in case the targets for universalisation of primary education are successfully reached, the problem of costs and maintenance of standards does take on a rather mind-boggling proportion. The tough job of monitoring the performance of students and institutions ten years hence can be easily imagined. If this threefold concern is equally shared by the teaching community, parents, and legislators, there would be some chance of looking after the deteriorating health of the education system, and perhaps, with much effort, improving it to some extent.

#### KOTHARI COMMISSION'S VIEWS ON EXAMINATIONS

The Education Commission headed by D.S. Kothari (1964-66)<sup>4</sup> considered the question of examination-reform at all stages of education and stressed the then new concept of evaluation as a means of collecting reliable evidence about the learner's development in accordance with educational objectives. It was hoped that, gradually, the tools of evaluation, designed to ensure validity, reliability and objectivity, would help mitigate the evil of the examinations which the Commission criticised for their 'baneful effects' "on the system of education in general, and secondary education, in particular". It also pointed out that facility of use would have to be an essential quality of the evaluation techniques so as to enable all types of teachers, pupils, and educational managers to accept them as an aid to the learning process and maintenance of good standards of attainment.

At the lower primary stage, the Commission emphasised development of desirable habits, attitudes, and basic skills of literacy and numeracy, as the main objectives and advocated observation, close personal contact, and stimulation of performance as aids to education and evaluation. The same was indicated for the higher primary stage, where the children would still be engrossed in play, action and discovery, more than concentration on formal knowledge-gathering.

At these levels, said the Commission, teachers can be trained to give simple diagnostic tests prepared by themselves. These can be scored with much less strain than long examination answers written in ill-formed handwriting attempting to communicate undigested matter. Diagnostic tests would help pupils, parents and teachers in their cooperative task of managing learning problems. A State Evaluation Organisation was recommended by the Commission for evolving standardised tests under the guidance of specialists and making these available to Education Officers to classify schools (not pupils) according to their performance and assist the weaker institutions towards improvement. The Commission did not favour public examinations at



the end of class VII/VIII. The tests could suffice for conducting an overall survey of the academic work of all the schools in a district, on a certain date during the school-year, and would help teachers and pupils to attend to their work systematically. Such surveys would also reveal shortcomings of curricula and text-books, leading to their revision from time to time. Among other suggestions made for improving the existing external examinations especially at the end of the secondary stages, the Commission recommended that it would be worthwhile to permit students to appear for and pass in discrete subjects and issue certificates mentioning their performance in each subject separately, instead of declaring them as 'pass' or 'fail' on the basis of cumulative performance in all the subjects taken together. Some Boards of Secondary Education in the country favoured the recommendation, but have still been unable to carry it out, for various reasons.

A peculiar factor which needs investigation is the reason why everyone has always conveniently overlooked an operationally important recommendation of the Kothari Commission, viz., "early measures should be taken to abolish payment of remuneration to examiners. As a first step, the total number of scripts to be examined by each teacher should not exceed 500 (11.42-57)". This brief recommendation tried to deal simultaneously with three main causes of the examination debacle, viz., the malpractices rampant in universities as a result of patronage-appointments of 'accommodating' examiners, excessive load of answer-scripts to be assessed resulting in careless assessment, and looking upon examinerships as a source of additional income instead of an important part of teaching-duties.

The Commission's recommendation on grading was taken up by the UGC which appointed a committee of experts to see if the semester system could be adopted by all universities on the model of the system already followed by the agricultural universities in India. The report *Principles and Mechanics of the Semester System* (1971) produced by the Committee was influenced by the semester system, of the Institutes of Technology also. It needs to be noted that the introduction of the semester system is an instance of our predilection for the 'haste and waste' style of reform and obsession with uniformity. In pursuance of this habit, the semester system was sought to be applied to all types of universities whether non-residential teaching, residential, or affiliating. It was enthusiastically hailed as a great innovation, in spite of the fact that American colleges had been following it since the 17th Century. It had evolved in the USA gradually, through trial and readjustments, from a four-term pattern to a two-term pattern. In India, we have been traditionally following the British system of higher education with its two terms per

year, each term generally ending with terminal and annual examinations, whether internal or external. They govern our style of curriculum making and assessment and this is what the Boards of Studies in our universities have been used to over a hundred years. The totally different approach dictated by the semester system with its 'courses' and 'credits' could not be easily transplanted in this inhospitable soil. The credit-points and grades are tough masters for both teachers and students. Changeover to such a system entails not simply overhauling the mechanics of organising higher education but a total churning of the system and replacement of the academic inertia and non-academic dynamism of the Executive Councils of many universities which have become politicised as well as commercialised. (As an academic wag once said, some of our universities can best be described as "seats of learning minus the alphabet 'l'"). Large classes, indiscriminate admissions, discouragement of self-study habits among students, formalism of lecturing methods, testing by written examinations based on memorisation of class-room 'notes' or commercial 'guidebooks', the survival struggles of affiliated colleges and their anxiety to push as many students as possible to the top of the merit list, the election-politics which determine selection of examiners, and many such factors make a formidable combination of constraints in the path of even a modest change in the learning and assessment procedures in our universities. The semester system was hesitantly adopted in a few new universities and rejected by many others. Those who gave it a trial were mainly the teaching universities with students in residence. The semester system functions well only if there is continuous interaction between teachers and students, and among students themselves, leading to self-study and openly assessable scholastic performance. This would have to alter the teacher-student ratio substantially. Seminars, quizz-sessions, remedial work, and ceaseless improvement of performance are essential for a real recourse to the semester system. These processes require an active acquaintance with dynamic teaching-learning techniques which make a large demand on time and effort. Constant alertness on the part of the faculty and students to refurbish their stock of knowledge, is a prerequisite for face to face discussions. Workshops and brain-storming sessions need to be held in small classes and are always more trying than delivering or listening to lectures. Giving notes to crowded classes where the question-answer possibilities get minimised, is the most favourite technique of higher education. Dynamic teaching increases the teacher's load of preparation and class-work. This is not acceptable to most teachers. The semester system expects independent study by students at different levels of attainment and having different interests.

Obviously, the prevalent teaching-learning system in which the teacher is not held responsible for the performance of the students and where the students have no responsibility to acquire knowledge by self-effort, is far more preferable to many of us steeped in the system. 'Final' examinations with their mystique of secrecy and confidentiality have reasserted themselves. Open assessment in higher education, if seriously contemplated, would be a great blessing for the new generation. But it calls for much strategy and political strength, in order to defeat the entrenched manipulators of higher education.

#### TESTING ACHIEVEMENT : NORMS AND CRITERIA

Diagnosing and predicting performance are legitimate elements of the teaching-learning processes. It should, therefore, be reasonable to expect that educational assessment should be diagnostic as well as predictive of student-achievement. Public examinations, which set questions at random and prescribe a two-hour or three-hour time-limit within which whole chunks of the curriculum are sought to be tested, neither permit the student to communicate systematically what he has actually acquired from his studies, nor do they help him to judge what his future performance would be like. Many of the standardised tests, however, make a more rational assessment of performance on the basis of certain 'assumed norms' of performance. But these mainly indicate where a student stands in relation to other students in his achievement level. They do not tell him enough about where he stands in relation to the systematic mastery of his studies. In norm-referenced tests, all students are measured according to a performance-norm which arranges them into upper and lower deciles and percentiles according to performance. This gives the teacher an idea of the achievement of a whole class and helps him reorganise his teaching style and time vis-a-vis the whole group. But this does not help any individual student to know how much he has truly mastered. For a student to adjust his own pace and quantum of work to the call for mastery of his subject, a clear diagnosis of his achievement is extremely valuable. Therefore, in recent years, alternatives have been proposed to norm-referenced tests. The principle of mastery-learning is integrated with criterion-referenced tests which can be used in the classroom in order to enable a student to know how much headway he still has to make. Alongwith criterion-referenced tests for individual assessment, it is possible and useful to make comprehensive surveys of achievement throughout the school system to assess the system's progress in implementing the core-elements of a given curriculum. This dual strategy of monitoring student-achievement and

school-achievement is becoming an accepted mode of assessing the performance of the educational enterprise. Besides, such tests and surveys, taken together indicate the suitability or otherwise of the curriculum. The teaching-learning materials also can be reviewed for their effectiveness in relation to a given category of pupils, thus subscribing to the principle of socially just evaluation in situation marked with disparities.

In order to enable pupils to use criterion-referenced learning and self-evaluation techniques, the curriculum has to be spelt out in modules. This facilitates graded learning and enables the teacher to monitor it for ensuring the progress of each student and meeting the needs of their socio-economic heterogeneity and talent-differentials. Again, a social benefit accrues from the criterion-referenced tests because they reject the divisive principle of competition between individual students and help promote the binding principle of co-operation in the learning activities. Who gets what rank in the class is not important; what matters is self-effort of each student to master the studies. By assessing one's own performance in relation to an accepted task, a feeling of self-reliance is generated and the student can then stretch his mental muscles, as it were, for grappling with his studies. This system, therefore, holds a promise of overcoming the deficiencies of archaic external examinations as well as competition-oriented norm-referenced testing. Therefore, while assessment of performance or comprehensive achievement monitoring through nationwide tests might help planners and administrators to attend to weaker schools and districts in a better way, criterion-referenced testing could be a complementary measure for maintenance of individualised standards.

#### APPROACH AND STRATEGIES

The approach to examinations and testing, throughout their history, has obviously been more machanistic than humanistic. It dissects the curriculum into component units, often examines the student in relation to units which may have no interlinkages, and ignores the value-aspect of self-learning and self-assessment. Since it is difficult to assess the purposive and emotional impact of education, examining the student for cognitive achievement has remained an approved practice. This partial assessment of education has been accepted as inevitable; but the pity of the matter is that this system has been defining the 'excellence' of education in cognitive terms only. Even though measuring cognitive attainment is essential, it is relatively simple. A strong feeling has, therefore, been current among educators that, sooner or later, ways would have

to be found to broadly ascertain such intangible gains of the educational system as the spirit of enquiry, creativity, tolerance and compassion. That is why arguments are coming forth to disaggregate, deconcentrate, and decentralise the organisation of education and its assessment. Teachers could be trained, in the same manner as social-work personnel, to work with student-groups and help them grow up learning happily and purposefully.

Examinations and assessment procedures that have a long authoritarian tradition can never judge the human excellence of students. These traditions would probably continue for quite a while, till some practical alternative strongly emerges to replace them. A national assessment of performance may prove to be a partial solution for defining and maintaining certain expected standards of absorbing theoretical concepts and information. But the teachers and students themselves would have to engage in a mutually profitable and participative process of total educational evaluation of themselves and the system. Ways would have to be found to restructure the educational system from within in order to make its various constituents responsive to such a change in approach to standards. In the meanwhile, an atmosphere of self-regulation and self-assessment could be created in the entire educational enterprise by giving freedom to small groups of institutions to plan and evaluate their work in an innovative manner. Such trends towards deconcentration of 'standard-making' by taking the teaching-community into confidence, would gain support for a national assessment of performance in a better way than a scheme imposed on the country from the national capital. It may sound trite, but one has to emphasise that it is people that make standards and not standards that make people. Good performance in any task whatsoever is an individual's self-generated commitment to a goal that is fully understood and personally valued. No impersonal system can prod anyone into doing one's best. The human mind is intrinsically hostile to authoritarian dictation. The counter-productivity of centrally-generated, steamroller-type, 'national' activities is too well known to be elaborated here. Assessment of performance in education has to be protected from the authoritarian tendency by thoroughly going into the values that should govern this effort and the operational directions which may be derived from a clearly accepted value-system. We certainly need to guard and enhance educational standards. But the human complexity of the matter must be borne in mind while working out its operational strategies. Secondly, the requirements of a diversified, branching and open education system would make so many varied calls on the resources of an assessment organisation that centralisation of operation would be the most anomalous way to follow. Therefore, the limits to the authority and

to the field of control to be covered by a national testing organisation, would have to be defined realistically.

The strength of educational programmes lies in their symbiotic relationship with their cultural and natural environment. If the impact of education is to be reliably measured, this symbiotic aspect must receive due recognition.

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# Private Enterprise in Education : A Study of the Social Background of Students in Private Vis-a-Vis Government Colleges

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'PRIVATE COLLEGES', meaning colleges conducted by private bodies of citizens or voluntary agencies have been playing an important role in the rapid expansion of education in India. They cater to the needs of an overwhelming majority, nearly 80-90 per cent of university (undergraduate) students<sup>1</sup>

## A BRITISH LEGACY

The policy of promoting private enterprise in education in modern India is a legacy of the British system of education. The British were the first to introduce a formal system of education based on values of democracy, liberalism and secularism. However, their aim in introducing such a system of education was rooted in their vested interest: to prepare a small group of English educated elites to help in manning their (British) colonial administration. Thus, the British were not interested in educating the Indian masses and creating a democratic, literate and modern society. Obviously, the British Government did not consider the promotion and provision of education entirely the state's responsibility. Nor did it consider education as an absolute necessity for every Indian, to be provided free of cost, and compulsorily. Education was considered a commodity which could be made available to those who could purchase it at prices fixed by various suppliers of the commodity. Notwithstanding the lukewarm attitude of the British towards mass education, private

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<sup>1</sup>The present article is based on data collected for my Ph.D. Thesis: "A Study of Occupational Aspirations, as related to Social Background of Students in Higher Education in a Middle-sized City in Karnataka" under the supervision of Prof. M.S. Gore, former Director, TISS, Bombay. However, the data used in this article did not form the basis of the thesis.



agencies organised by Indians rose to the occasion and played a dynamic (in the context of colonial rule) role in spreading education to the people.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the efforts of private agencies in spreading education were mainly aimed at liberating the country from the colonial rule of the British rather than building a socialist, democratic, secular and welfare society.<sup>3</sup>

## GOALS OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN MODERN INDIA

### Innovation in Education

In the post-Independence India, the policy of encouraging private enterprise in the sphere of education has received a great fillip; it has so far been the main bulwark of the education system in India. The major consideration that influenced the Government of India in continuing the policy of private enterprise was voluntary involvement of the people--groups, organisations and individuals--in the task of nation-building through the process of educational expansion. "Use of voluntary agency which is the nursery of democracy is a sign of social advance in a free society born out of social conscience and philanthropy".<sup>4</sup> As against a Government run institution, which people in general would consider an extension of the bureaucracy, private agencies were supposed to put their heart and soul in running the institution more efficiently and devotedly by individual care and personal supervision of the institution, teachers and students. The management's identification with the college and involvement in the educational process was supposed to motivate them for maintaining high standards and excellence in education. The managements were also supposed to introduce suitable courses depending upon the needs of the local community. Thus, private enterprise, in theory, was supposed to bring about innovation and change in the educational system and thereby modernise the Indian society.

### Paucity of Funds

Besides voluntary involvement of the people in the educational process, paucity of funds with the government on the one hand, and large (private) resources, both material and human, of religious establishments, trusts and individual philanthropists not being fruitfully and profitably used, on the other, prompted the Government to encourage private enterprise in education. Thus, private bodies were encouraged to take the initiative in the educational process by contributing a part of their resources, raising funds through donations and thus perform a task for which government would have had to spend a much larger amount. Indeed private managements (at least in the beginning) did make a sizable contribution through the setting up



of institutions of higher learning by soliciting donations and mobilisation of funds.<sup>5</sup>

In short, the strategy of encouraging private enterprise to play its due role was recognised as a part of national educational planning, and was firmly entrenched in the five year plans.

### **Communal Basis of Private Enterprise In Education**

Soon after Independence, there was a rapid growth of private colleges all over India. There was, however, a significant change in their goals. The nationalist zeal and the patriotic spirit with which they worked before was being replaced by caste and community interests. The starting of private educational institutions by the non-Brahmin castes, especially in South India, was a counterpoise to the Brahmanical monopoly of learning and their exclusivism exploitativeness of an earlier era. The non-Brahmin high castes such as Lingayats and Vokkaligas in Karnataka, the Reddys and Kammas in Andhra Pradesh and the Naidus and Nadars in Tamil Nadu, who had been denied access to formal education and white-collar jobs at the hands of Brahmins, viewed formal education as a means of social mobility. (For Brahmin exploitation, see Irschick<sup>6</sup>, 1969; Manor<sup>7</sup>, 1977; Ramaswamy<sup>8</sup>, 1978; and for Maharashtra, see Omvedt<sup>9</sup>, 1973). In Karnataka, for example, after Independence, many affluent individuals from non-Brahmin high castes, such as the Lingayats and Vokkaligas contributed to educational advancement by building caste hostels, by starting new schools and by endowing scholarships. Among the Lingayats especially, the wealthy mutts (monasteries) played a big role in developing educational facilities. "The cause of education received substantial monetary support from philanthropists like Lingaraj of Sirsangi, and a large number of schools and colleges were set up in many parts of north Karnataka. The Lingayat Mutts contributed in no small measure to the spread of learning among all classes."<sup>10</sup>

In dealing with the Indian situation, Srinivas says "education becomes a status symbol for the community and a source of economic and social influence for the entrepreneur".<sup>11</sup> Thus, there was a keen competition among different castes and communities to open as many colleges of different types (arts, commerce, science, medical, engineering and B.Ed.) as possible to provide better avenues of social mobility to members of their community. Thus, the private sector became very active on the educational scene and there was a flood of new private institutions at all levels and became closely associated with caste and religious considerations.

Until recently<sup>12</sup>, private managements enjoyed a lot of freedom in the appointment, confirmation, promotion, including sanctioning of increments, and termination of teachers. The fee charged in private

colleges was, and is even now, much higher than in the government colleges. Portraits of saints of respective castes/communities are hung in the colleges. Statues and busts of founder members are erected on the college campuses, so much so, even student's Union activities reflected a communal bias. Thus, private colleges have been functioning as different forms of castes and communities. They seem to have become centres of particularistic, sectarian, ascriptive rather than universalistic, secular and achieved values.

A monumental study of private enterprise in education in Karnataka by Madan and Halbar<sup>13</sup> revealed that the social composition of management, staff and students in private colleges reflected the community of the controlling group or the dominant caste that managed the colleges. On the basis of their data, the authors concluded that public education (probably they meant government colleges), due to its greater demographic representativeness, was conducive to the promotion of universalistic values and equality, while the particularistic 'favouritism' of private institutions detracts from both. In a recent study, Nirmal Singh says "the private managements are a redundant role and in practice they disoriented the teachers role, students role and put them against each other as well as against their better self, in fact, against education itself".<sup>14</sup> It is necessary to examine the extent to which private colleges vis-a-vis government colleges are adapting themselves to the demands of modernisation, viz., democracy, socialism and secularism. To be specific, to what extent the private colleges are becoming open to different castes, communities, social classes, sexes and rural-urban background? Are they undergoing the process of 'decompression', as put forth by the Rudolphs<sup>15</sup>, so as to meet the demands of modernisation? Do government colleges represent a relatively secular and egalitarian character in terms of students' social background, as Madan and Halbar have pointed out?

The study is crucial inasmuch as higher education wields a strong influence on the tender age and formative period of student youth and thereby socialises them in a set of values, attitudes and outlooks which either integrate them with or alienate them for the larger culture of modern India.

### Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study was to examine whether or not there was any association between caste/community of the privately managed colleges vis-a-vis government colleges and their respective students' social background in terms of religion, caste, class, sex

and rural-urban background. The specific objectives were as follows:

1. To know the degree to which private colleges represented a sectarian character of students' social composition; and
2. To find out whether or not government colleges represented a secular and egalitarian character of students' social background.

### Methodology

The universe of the present study consisted of all the pre-university second year students (1300) studying in all the colleges of Gulbarga city (Karnataka) during the year 1979-80. The data for the present study were collected by administering a printed semi-structured questionnaire in English and also in Kannada, the regional language of Karnataka state, on PUC II year students. The association between caste/community of the management and students' social background was tested for its significance by using the  $\chi^2$  test.

### Social Composition

A majority of the respondents in the population were Hindus while 52 per cent of the Hindu students were from such castes as Lingayats, Marathas, Reddys, Kurubas, etc., 26 per cent were from lower castes and 22 per cent were upper caste (Brahmin). Males constituted a majority (75 per cent). Forty-one, 32 and 27 per cent of students belonged to low, middle and high family status, respectively. Twenty one, 17 and 62 per cent of students were drawn from the villages, towns and cities, respectively.

### Students' Enrolment in Colleges

An analysis of students' enrolment in various colleges revealed that 33 per cent of students enrolled in the colleges run by Sri Sharanabasaveshwar Vidya Vardhak Sangh (SVVS, a Lingayat Society) and 15 per cent in the colleges run by Hyderabad Karnatak Education Society (HKES, another Lingayat dominated society). In other words, 48 per cent of students were enrolled in the colleges managed by Lingayats. A further break-up of the data showed that 11, 9 and 6 per cents of students were drawn from the colleges managed by Nutan Vidyalaya Society (NVS, a Brahmin Society), the Khaja Educational Society (KES, a Muslim Society) and the Methodist Church (MC, a Christian Society) respectively. Although 26 per cent (the next majority) of students were drawn from the two (junior and composite) government colleges, compared to students in all the private colleges, this percentage formed only a minority.

To sum up, a majority of students were from private colleges.

While the Lingayat managed colleges enrolled the largest students, other colleges managed by Brahmins, Muslims and Christians had small proportion of students. Government colleges had a small proportion of students, compared to private colleges.

### Caste/Community of the Management and Social Background of the Respondents

#### Religion

An analysis of the data presented in Table 1 clearly revealed that of the total students, 94 per cent were Hindus. It is significant to record that while the Christian college had cent percent Hindus, government colleges had a majority (83 per cent) of Hindus. For the high proportion of Hindu students in Christian college may be due to two reasons: (1) Christians formed a small proportion of the total population in Gulbarga City. (2) The students in Christian college were scheduled castes, but claimed themselves as Hindus. The data with regard to government colleges showed that though these colleges accounted for 26 per cent of the total enrolment in colleges, yet 83 per cent of them belonged to the Hindu fold. This clearly showed that Government management did not necessarily attract students from heterogeneous religious background. In other words, Government management, as our data showed, did not necessarily reflect a secular character in the social background of college students.

Table 1 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS' RELIGION BY MANAGEMENT

Students' Religion	Management				Total
	H	C	M	G	
H	94	100	12	83	85
M	6	-	88	17	15
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100
Total No.	769	76	110	346	1300
Percentage to Total	59	9	9	26	100

$$\chi^2_2 = 500.9 < .001$$

$$df = 6$$

NOTE: H = Hindus; C = Christian, M = Muslim; G = Government

Data with regard to muslim colleges showed that while they represented only 9 per cent of the total number of students, an overwhelming majority of them (88 per cent) were muslims.

The above data revealed the following findings:

1. There was a high degree of association between community background of management and that of the respondents. To be specific, while Hindu students tended to cluster in Hindu managed colleges, Muslim students were predominantly found in Muslim managed colleges.
2. The Christian college had cent per cent Hindu students.
3. Government management did not mean secular character of students' religious background. On the contrary, government colleges, under inquiry, were being mostly represented by Hindu students.

### Caste

It will be seen from the data in Table 2 that of the 52 per cent of total strength of students from Lingayat colleges, 65 per cent were from Lingayat and other backward castes, while scheduled and upper caste (Brahmin) students constituted only 19 and 16 per cents, respectively. On the other hand, in Brahmin college, an overwhelming majority (62 per cent) of students were Brahmins. Lingayat and other castes and scheduled caste students constituted only 28 and 10 per cent, respectively. In the Christian college, an overwhelming majority (89 per cent) were scheduled castes.

Caste composition of government colleges revealed that Lingayats and other castes and scheduled castes constituted the majority, while Brahmins represented only 20 per cent. It is important to observe here that even though scheduled castes students were eligible for fee exemption in any private college, nevertheless, they tended to concentrate in government colleges. One important reason was that the social and cultural complex of the private colleges in terms of their teachers and students' caste background, caste peers, social and cultural activities of the students' union probably kept them aloof from participation and involvement. This tends to create a sense of being alien in their minds in case they join a college where they do not find their caste peers in sizable numbers.

It could also be seen from the data that though there were Lingayat Colleges catering to the needs of Lingayats, 48 per cent of Lingayat and other caste students were found in government colleges. This may be due to more class than caste factor as the fee charged in the former was higher than in the latter.

To sum up, there was an association between caste of the respon

Table 2 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS' CASTE BY MANAGEMENT

Students' Caste	Management					Total
	L	B	C	M	G	
Low	19	10	89	15	32	26
Middle	65	28	11	46	48	52
High	16	62	-	39	20	22
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total No.	585	141	76	13	287	1102
Percentage to Total	52	12	9	2	25	100

$$x^2 = 319.3 < .001$$

$$df = 8$$

NOTE: L = Lingayat; B = Brahmin; C = Christian; M = Muslim;  
G = Government

dents and college managements. Lingayats and other allied castes and Brahmin students enrolled themselves in colleges run by their respective caste managements. Scheduled castes students preferred to get admissions in government and Christian colleges. It is clear that higher educational institutions, both private and government, reflected caste characteristics.

### Social Class

Class status constitutes an important interacting factor in status hierarchy in any society. Ideally, class status and caste/community background represent secular and ritual dimensions of social status and are different from each other. However, in practice, both secular and ritual dimensions interact with each other and thus secular or class status is not entirely independent of ritual background. Therefore, it is important to find out whether there was any association between class status of the respondents and caste/community of the management. For example, it was attempted to find out whether or not Lingayat and Muslim colleges had students from low and middle classes compared to Bahmins.

An examination of the data in Table 3 revealed that a majority of students from Lingayat colleges belonged to low and middle class

Table 3 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS' SOCIAL CLASS  
BY MANAGEMENT

Students' Social Class	Management					Total
	L	B	C	M	G	
Low	40	20	74	39	46	41
Middle	32	29	22	42	34	33
High	28	51	4	18	20	26
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total No.	625	144	76	110	346	
Percentage to Total	48	11	6	9	26	

$$\chi^2 = 99.1 < .002$$

$$df = 8$$

NOTE: L = Lingayat; B = Brahmin; C = Christian; M = Muslim;  
G = Government

status (40 and 32 per cent, respectively). This showed that Lingayat colleges catered to the needs of low and middle class students. Similar was the case with students from Christian, Government and Muslim colleges. However, in the Brahmin college, a majority of students were drawn from the upper (51 per cent) and middle (29 per cent) classes. This was obviously because Brahmins enjoyed a higher class status. It is clear that class status of the respondents varied according to caste/community background of management.

### Sex Composition

Sex constitutes yet another important dimension of social status. Caste and community values exercise a significant influence on the status of men and women. Literacy and educational levels of a caste/community are intimately related to female education. A higher degree of literacy and education of the males in a community is a pre-condition for female education. For example, scheduled castes are predominantly engaged in agriculture and mostly live in the villages. Male literacy and education, compared to non-scheduled castes, is very low among them. Lingayat and other castes are also engaged in agriculture and business, though they are not poor, and

live in villages and towns. Male literacy and education among them is pretty low compared to that of Brahmins. Similar is the case with Muslims. In other words, low and middle castes and Muslims, compared to that of Brahmins, are less likely to encourage their women to join for higher education.<sup>16</sup>

Table 4 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS' SEX BY MANAGEMENT

Students' Sex	Management					Total
	L	B	C	M	G	
Male	74	64	95	50	86	75
Female	26	36	5	50	14	25
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100

$$\chi^2 = 74.81 < .001$$

$$df = 4$$

NOTE: L = Lingayat; B = Brahmin; C = Christian; M = Muslim; G = Government.

From Table 4, it will be seen that males constituted the majority in all colleges. However, the proportion of male students was relatively high in Lingayat, Christian and government colleges. The higher proportion of males in Lingayat colleges indicates that Lingayats fostered a positive attitude towards male rather than female education. The Christian college had almost cent per cent male students. One reason might be that since a majority of the Christians were converts from the lower castes, it was quite possible that more males than females might have shown a sense of readiness for education. In government colleges, only 14 per cent of students were females. This might be due to the fact that since a majority of the female students were likely to have come from the middle and higher classes, they might have chosen private colleges as it is often believed that standards of teaching and discipline are higher in the former than in the latter.

Data further showed that the proportion of women students was relatively high in Brahmin and Muslim colleges. Traditionally, Brahmins have enjoyed a higher educational status. It should not be surprising if they had a more favourable attitude towards female education. However, a very interesting but important finding of our



data was that in Muslim colleges there was an equal representation of either sexes (50 per cent each).

Apparently, the high proportion of female students contradicted our assumption that Muslims were less likely to encourage their women for formal education. It was also assumed that Muslim colleges attracted a majority of Muslim students. However, a further probe into data revealed that of the total of 198 Muslim students in the universe, the Muslim college had 110 or about 55 per cent. This meant that 45 per cent of Muslim students were distributed in Hindu colleges. A still further probe into the data revealed that of the 55 female students in Muslim colleges, there were only 30 Muslim women, i.e., 54 per cent. On the other hand, of the 55 male students in Muslim colleges 50 or 90 per cent were Muslim students. It is evident that in Muslim colleges the proportion of female Muslim students was far lower, compared to male Muslim students. The high proportion of female students in Muslim colleges showed that there was a considerable proportion of Hindu female students. Thus our assumption still held true and conformed to the conventional notion that Muslim women tended to stay away from education.

To sum up, males constituted the majority in all colleges. However, the proportion of males was, relatively, more in Lingayat, Christian and government colleges. Although female students were in a minority, relatively a higher proportion of them were found in Brahmin and Muslim colleges. The proportion of women students in Muslim colleges was far higher than it was in other colleges. The proportion of Muslim women students in Muslim colleges was lower than that of Muslim men. In short, there was a significant relationship between sex composition of students and caste/community of management.

#### **Rural-Urban Background**

Rural-urban background forms an important part of one's social background. Castes, such as Lingayats, Reddys, Kammas, Vokkaligas, Kurubas and Scheduled Castes, who are predominantly engaged in agriculture, are from rural background. On the other hand, castes such as Brahmins, Weavers, Goldsmiths, Komtis, Baniyas, and communities such as Christians and Muslims, who are mainly engaged in business and white-collar jobs, are mostly from the urban background. With industrialisation and urbanisation, although a portion of the rural castes have moved over the urban areas, their social and cultural moorings are in the villages. Thus, caste/community character of the management is related to students' rural-urban background.

It will be seen from Table 5 that in all the colleges belonging to different managements, a majority of the students were drawn from the

Table 5 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS' RURAL-URBAN  
BACKGROUND BY MANAGEMENT

Students' R-U Background	Management					Total
	L	B	C	M	G	
Village	26	17	17	5	23	22
Town	17	11	26	5	21	17
City	57	73	57	90	57	61
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100

$$\chi^2 = 55.1 < .001$$

$$df = 8$$

Note: L = Lingayat; B = Brahmin; C = Christian; M = Muslim;  
G = Government

urban background (city). However, an overwhelming majority of the students from Brahmin and Muslim colleges (73 and 90 per cent, respectively) were from urban background. It may be said that while a majority of the college students tended to be drawn from urban background, Brahmin and Muslim colleges and more urban students than other colleges. The reason is that both Brahmins and Muslims are predominantly from urban areas. A further analysis of the data showed that the proportion of rural students in Lingayat and government colleges was relatively higher than in other colleges. A greater proportion of the rural students from Lingayat colleges supported our assumption that Lingayat colleges attracted more rural students. In the government colleges too, the proportion of rural students was relatively high. This finding indicated that government colleges, compared to Brahmin, Christian and Muslim, reflected a greater degree of rural bias.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The aim of this article was to find out whether or not there was any association between the caste/community character of the managements of private colleges vis-a-vis government colleges and their respective students' social background in terms of religion, caste, social class, sex and rural-urban background. To be specific, the article has tried to answer two questions:

1. Whether or not private colleges continued to represent a

- sectarian and non-egalitarian character or becoming relatively open, and
2. Whether or not Government colleges represented relatively a secular and egalitarian character in terms of their students' social background.

The findings of the study are given in following paras.

### **Private Colleges**

Data with regard to the private colleges revealed that there was a significant association between caste/community of management and social background of the students. For example, a greater proportion of the Hindu students found clustered in Hindu colleges, while a majority of the Muslim students were found in Muslim colleges. Similarly, a larger proportion of the students belonging to various castes such as Brahmin and Lingayats (and allied castes) registered themselves in their respective caste colleges. Class composition of the colleges revealed that Lingayat, Christian and Muslim colleges had a greater proportion of students from lower and middle classes, whereas Brahmin college had a majority of the students from upper class. Data with regard to the rural-urban background revealed that in general all colleges had a majority of students from urban background. However, Brahmin and Muslim colleges had a greater proportion of students from urban background.

Sex composition of the colleges revealed that while all colleges had a majority of male students, Lingayat and Christian colleges had a greater proportion of males, on the one hand, Brahmin and Muslim colleges had a greater proportion of female students, on the other. By and large, caste/community of management and students' social background were associated with each other.

### **Government Colleges**

Social composition of the students in government colleges revealed that a majority of them were Hindus they belonged to low and middle castes; drawn from the low class and were predominantly males. This meant that the social background of Government colleges' students skewed towards certain sections. Another important finding was that the proportion of scheduled castes students was more in Government than in private colleges. It appears that the sectarian ethos of the colleges managed by caste-Hindus and Muslims might have had an inwardly insulating and outwardly alienating effect on the scheduled castes students and thereby preventing them from seeking admission in private colleges.

In conclusion, it may be said that private colleges over the years

(in Gulbarga city) have not transformed themselves from, relatively, sectarian into more secular and egalitarian institutions. This should not mean, however, that Government colleges were secular and egalitarian. They were equally, as the data showed, sectarian and nonegalitarian, though not to the same extent as the private colleges were.

It follows that the private colleges in terms of their students' social background were not undergoing a process of 'decompression' and becoming more open, democratic and egalitarian. Nor did the Government colleges represent a secular and democratic character. Both private and Government colleges seemed to be fostering narrow and sectarian values. The policy of education in general, and private enterprise in education in particular, does not seem to have succeeded in modernising Indian society. This shows that mere borrowing of colonial and Western institutions, as agents of modernisation, does not accelerate the process of social transformation. Such a strategy might spell more harm than good. What is necessary is not only modernising the Indian tradition but also modernising (adapting) the very modernity (modern education based on science and technology) to suit the needs of the Indian society. Hence, all educational planning in traditional society should take into account its needs and determine its modes of adaptation.

#### SUGGESTIONS

In order to evolve a new and dynamic concept of private enterprise in education, the following suggestions may be offered.

##### **Dual System of Education**

The policy of dual partnership in the educational enterprise, viz., Government and private bodies to be re-examined in the context of changing needs. After 1977 the Government of Karnataka has enforced uniform rules and regulations on both Government and private colleges. With the increased interference of the Government in the affairs of private colleges in matters of appointment of teachers; opening courses, etc., there is little difference in the rules and regulations governing the Government and private colleges. The managements have no longer their freedom, independence and autonomy. Thus the difference between Government and private colleges is more nominal than real in the sense, the latter is called so because they are managed by private bodies, and not because the system has its own distinctive advantages in terms of a philosophy, organisation, autonomy, content of courses, etc., over Government management. A time has come to think seriously whether the present dual system of educa-

tion should be retained and continued at all. If the policy-makers believe in private enterprise in education, then the whole system of current education needs to be re-organised.

#### Grant-in-Aid

A study of the Grant-in-aid system (in Karnataka) shows that the procedure was borrowed from the British and continued with little modification. However, it is rigid and conservative in its aims and approaches. For example, the procedure is used as an instrument to control the managements and teachers. On the other hand, the procedure does not provide for liberal allocation of funds to equip the libraries with the latest books, journals and furniture. Paucity of funds is still the besetting curse. In most of the colleges in mofussil areas there are no libraries in the real sense of the term. Similarly, the procedure does not ensure much scope for teachers to improve their qualifications by providing adequate incentives in terms of increments, promotions, etc. Thus the mechanism does not act as an agent of modernisation.

#### Bye-Laws

At present, it appears that there is no clear policy with regard to bye-laws of the managements. For example, in some societies, membership is restricted to some individuals and groups--members of caste and business, while in others membership is open to any one who is ready to pay the fee. However, it should not mean that these managements are really open and democratic. Rich and politically powerful members manipulate and mobilise other members in their favour and get hold of the management. There is a clause in the bye-laws which says that the application of a person for membership should be approved by the Governing body or the General body. They (the vested interests) use this clause to manoeuvre things to their own advantage. In principle, however, the clause is meant to debar those who are insane and such other elements who have with a destructive intention. Therefore, it is necessary for the planners to decide who should plan and determine the priorities in education. It is felt here that greater representation be given to teachers, their associations, educationists, social workers, parents, etc., instead of throwing open the system to any one who has the capacity to pay a certain amount.

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10. In Gulbarga city, before Independence Nutan Vidyalyaya High School was said to be the only high school run by Brahmins. It is alleged that non-Brahmin upper castes such as Lingayats were seldom given admission to the school. As a result, Poojya Doddappa Appa, Head of Sri Sharanabasaveshwar Samasthan, a Lingayat Institution, founded and established the Sharanabasaveshwar Vidya Vardhak Sangh with a view to opening schools and colleges for the benefit of non-Brahmins in general and Lingayats in particular. Following in the footsteps of the Appa, late Sri Mahadevappa Rampure (a Lingayat), the then Congress M.P. from Gulbarga district, founded the present Hyderabad Karnatak Education Society with the aim of providing education, especially professional to the people of Hyderabad-Karnatak comprising Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar districts which were very backward before their merger or integration with the then Mysore (the present Karnataka) State.  
See G.S. Hallappa, **History of Freedom Movement in Karnataka**, Vol. II, Government of Mysore, 1964; and see also G.S. Paramasivayya, "A Hundred Years of Education in Karnataka" in G.S. Hallappa (ed.), **Studies in Education and Culture**, Dharwad, Karnataka University, 1959.
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## Financial Management Issues in Education in Seventh Plan

C.B. PADMANABHAN

THERE ARE several evidences of resource constraints for Indian education at all levels of education ranging from literacy up to highest levels of education. Various task forces appointed in connection with National Policy on Education (NPE) have estimated Rs. 21067 crore for Seventh Plan<sup>1</sup>. There is need for larger allocation to education as a whole, as well as to individual sectors, like elementary education, secondary and vocational education, higher education and technical education. In fact, Indian educational efforts in terms of per cent of GNP happen to be only a little above 3 per cent while many other countries are spending 5 to 8 per cent of GNP. Even in the region of Asia, many countries spend more than India. At the same time, there is urgent need for making more effective use of available resources. There is need for 'Hard Financial Decisions' under these circumstances. Such decisions relate not only to the size of resources but also the processes and procedures of their release.

Indeed, there is need for allocating far larger resources for education both for quantitative and qualitative changes and for achieving the different objectives of education.<sup>2</sup> While the need of resources for quantitative expansion is evident not so is the case for quality. To estimate the resource needed and likely to be available, and the gaps between the two, it is necessary to know: how the GNP is likely to grow in the Seventh Plan? What will be the changes in composition for GNP? How the occupational structure will change? What contribution education can make to economic growth? On all the above, firm data are not readily available. In the Seventh Plan, GDP is expected to grow at 5 per cent p.a. Agriculture is expected to grow annually at 2.4 per cent, p.a. mining and manufacturing at 6.9 per cent, electricity gas and water supply at 7.7 per cent construction 4.9 per cent, transport 5.3 per cent, and service 5.8 per cent.

As a result of the above mentioned growth rates, the share of

agriculture to gross value added is expected to go down from 36.9 per cent to 32.7 per cent in 1989-90 to 25.5 per cent by 1999-2000, mining and manufacturing to increase from 18.1 to 19.8 and 23.6 per cent. Electricity, gas and water supply from 2 to 2.3 per cent to 2.9 per cent, construction from 6.2 per cent, to 6.2 per cent to 6.1 per cent, transport from 5.6 per cent to 6.2 per cent to 6.4 per cent and services from 31.2 per cent to 32.9 per cent, to 35.5 per cent. The above mentioned kind of annual rate of growth and sectoral composition of gross value added will call for a certain kind of educated labour force and enable the economy to have a certain amount of education.<sup>3</sup> Supply and demand for resources will have to be forecast on the basis of the above mentioned consideration, both at macro and micro levels. How much resources are likely to be available? How much resources are needed. i.e., the fiscal dimension and educational dimension? How to forecast resource gaps? What is the broad order of resource requirements for elementary education? The size of primary education will be 1.5 times and middle education 3.2 times of 1980-81 size. Further, with UEE in 1990, the cost will be double the cost in 1980-81, and with 1977-78 unit cost, i.e., 3200 crore and with 8 per cent inflation it will be four times the 1980-81 cost. What is important in the calculation is not so much the correctness as the crucial assumptions that have to be made about the extent of inflation and unit cost. One can regard unit cost as a policy variable to be manipulated by appropriate policy, the other is inflation which is an exogenous variable which is outside the control of education policy makers.

In this context, the Seventh Plan strategy for setting up operational targets at the block and district and state levels may be noted. Even though Seventh Plan document contains targets of enrolments at the state level, they are said to be derived from macro All-India targets. The states are required to set up operational targets by taking into account the varying requirements of every region, like district and ascertaining the catchment area, etc. In fact, the plan at the state level will have to be disaggregated on the basis of the regions it is supposed to cover, on the basis of time-frame for achievement of objectives and on the basis of special problems of different areas within a state. The objective of this article is to examine in detail the management and planning dimension in financing of education in the Seventh Plan.<sup>4</sup> It is argued that the present policy: of drift in the place of comprehensive planning of education has resulted in declining allocation to education. There is now need for larger resource allocation to education and acceptance of education as an input in development process at all levels. The implications of this view will have to be followed and reflected in all



sectors. The planning function in education has yet to be given its due place by suitable agreements among the states, with local bodies which function at the grassroot level and Central Government which has to assume the overall responsibility for superstructure and arrive at a consensus not only with regard to goals and processes of education but also with regard to the mechanism of decision making and enforcement. It has to be recognised that there is more to education than opening of new institutions, national and state institutions at all levels of planning-The country, The states, districts, talukas or block, habitations and institutions-the strengthening of planning machinery has to take place and in particular at block level in view of greater concern for area development, which is at present taken care of by integrated rural development.

Only when education is accepted as an input in production process, there could be a sound framework for rational planning.

#### WHY POOR ALLOCATION TO EDUCATION ?

There has been a decline in the allocation of resources to education sector in the Indian Five Year Plans from 7 per cent to 2.6 per cent between First and Sixth plan and in the Seventh Plan it has gone up slightly. There has been shrinking allocation to elementary education (55 per cent of total plan outlay to 36 per cent of plan outlay between First and Sixth plan) though the constitutional objective is to give free and universal elementary education to children up to 8 years in 10 years time after we became a republic and the target date is now proposed to be 1990 nor has there been adequate allocation of resources to higher education. vocational education or technical education. Table 1, 2, 3 and 4 show the position. Years ago, it has been said that our failure to mobilise the required resources is responsible for failure to universalise elementary education.<sup>5</sup> Besides inadequate allocation of resources to higher education, vocational education or technical education?

1. There has been fall in the allocation of resources to education among the states, and even
2. Within the states, there have been large variations in expenditure among districts.

Inter-district <sup>6</sup> variations are also there and Besides the bulk of the recurrent expenditure is on teacher salary leaving little for non-teacher items. A recent UNESCO study has shown that the per student expenditure on primary schools for India is among the lowest, being less than 20\$ (US).

Table 1 EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN THE FIVE-YEAR PLANS

	current price	at constant (1970-71) prices	percent- age of total plan outlay
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
First Five-Year Plan	153	304	7.86
Second Five-Year Plan	273	526	5.83
Third Five-Year Plan	589	966	6.87
Fourth Five-Year Plan	786	764	5.17
Fifth Five-Year Plan	912	585	3.27
Sixth Five-Year Plan	2835*	1047	2.59
Seventh Five-Year Plan	6383	1894	3.55

\*Includes 'actual' expenditure for the first 3 years, 'revised' expenditure for 1983-84, and outlay for 1984-85.

+Outlay (draft).

TABLE 1

Table 2 RISE IN AVERAGE ANNUAL COST PER STUDENT BETWEEN 1950-51  
AND 1977-78 FOR DIFFERENT TYPES OF SCHOOLS AT CURRENT PRICES

Types of Schools	1950-51 Rs.	1977-78 Rs.
1. Primary Schools	19.9	127.1
2. Middle Schools	27.9	164.8
3. High Schools	58.8	331.1
4. Colleges of Government Education	234.6	764.4

NOTE: Between 1950-51 and 1977-78, the All India Consumer Price index has risen from 100 in 1949 to 389.

Table 3 COST OF EDUCATION PER STUDENT IN COMPARISON  
TO COST OF LIVING INDEX

	1950-51	1977-78	1950-51	1977-78
Primary Schools	100	638	100	389
Middle Schools	100	590		
High Schools	100	562		
Colleges	100	325		

NOTE: It may be noticed that for all levels of education per student cost has increased more than the cost of living index while for colleges it was increased less.

Table 4 INTRA-SECTORAL RESOURCE ALLOCATION IN EDUCATION  
IN INDIA IN THE FIVE YEAR PLANS

(Rs. in millions)

Educational level	Expenditure Outlay							
	First plan	Second plan	Third plan	Plan holiday	Fourth plan	Fifth plan	Sixth plan	Seventh plan <sup>+</sup>
Elementary*	85 (56)	95 (35)	201 (34)	75 (24)	239 (30)	317 (35)	906 (36)	1830 (29)
Secondary	20 (13)	51 (19)	103 (18)	53 (16)	140 (18)	156 (17)	398 (16)	..
University	14 (9)	48 (18)	87 (15)	77 (24)	195 (25)	205 (22)	486 (19)	..
Other General**	14 (9)	30 (10)	73 (12)	37 (11)	106 (14)	127 (14)	457 (18)	..
Total general	133 (87)	224 (82)	464 (79)	241 (75)	680 (87)	805 (88)	2247 (89)	..
Technical	20 (13)	49 (18)	125 (21)	81 (25)	106 (13)	107 (12)	278 (11)	682 (11)
Grand Total	153 (100)	273 (100)	589 (100)	322 (100)	786 (100)	912 (100)	2524 (100)	6383 (100)
% to total plan outlay	7.86	5.83	6.87	4.86	5.04	3.27	2.59	3.55

NOTE: \* includes pre-school education;

\*\* includes teacher education, social education (youth services) cultural programmes, etc.

+Draft;

.. Break-up is not available;

SOURCE: A Handbook of Education and Allied Statistics and Draft Seventh Five Year Plan.

Table 5 TRENDS IN INTRA-SECTORAL RESOURCE (TOTAL) ALLOCATION  
IN EDUCATION IN INDIA

(Rs. in million)

Year	Direct Expenditure on						Total indi- rect Expen- diture	Grand Total
	Pri- mary	Middle	Secon- dary	School Profile	Higher	Total		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1950-51	366 (40)	77 (8)	231 (25)	60 (7)	184 (20)	921 (100)	232	1153
1955-56	540 (37)	154 (11)	376 (26)	81 (6)	293 (20)	1148 (100)	449	1897
1960-61	630 (25)	429 (17)	689 (27)	146 (6)	565 (22)	2573 (100)	870	3444
1965-66	1213 (26)	810 (13)	1504 (32)	105 (2)	1241 (27)	4673 (100)	1192	5853
1970-71	2365 (25)	1709 (18)	2700 (28)	128 (1)	2709 (28)	9611 (100)	1572	11183
1975-76	4463 (25)	3410 (19)	4636 (25)	206 (1)	5410 (30)	17925 (100)	3122	21047
1976-77 <sup>+</sup>	5467 (25)	4121 (19)	6051 (28)	210 (1)	6033 (28)	218883 (100)	1220	23103
Annual Compound Growth	11.0	16.5	13.4	4.9	14.3	13.0	6.6	12.2

\* includes professional, technical, vocational and special types.

<sup>+</sup> Cols. 2 to 7: recurring expenditures: Col.8: non-recurring expenditure.

SOURCE: Education in India (various years)

Many of the present problems of resources are due to the virtual absence of planning of education or the kind of planning that has been going on in the states in general, and meagre attention is being paid to the financial and cost aspects of educational planning. The purpose of financial and cost analysis is not only for projecting as accurately as possible the financial requirements for the plan but also to meet various other objectives. First of all, it should reveal where exists scope for economy and where need exists for more resources. Analysis of plan and non-plan expenditure by schemes can show where economy is possible.

Resource management will include financial and physical resource management. Activities under resource management are allocation and mobilisation, utilisation, monitoring and evaluation, and saving if possible. (Education, Finance Enquiry in Tamil Nadu by Dr. M.S. Adiseshiah found the possibility of economy) by analysing on-going schemes in the non-plan sector. Secondly, financial and cost data are needed for financial and budgetary control of educational programmes. Thirdly, the progress of expenditure and control of educational programmes. Fourthly, the progress of the expenditure has to be watched with reference to the achievement of objectives in education on the basis of unit cost, etc. Fifthly, while in splitting up a state plan of education into its components, one has to take note of the varying needs of different districts and the existence of unused or less than intensive utilisation. It must be noted that by this kind of planning one can bring to a much greater extent the new dimension of economic growth and human resource development, what can be called external economics of education, as to how education can generate human capital and utilisation and raise productivity as well as consciousness about the effective use of resource within education - internal economics of education.

It is only by better planning of education at all levels that the problems of inadequate resources for education can be tackled. Even though education is considered as an integral part of five-year plans in India, allocation to education sector is still largely based on what is left over after meeting the requirements of other sectors. This is partly because it is not yet possible to quantify education's contributions to economic growth<sup>8</sup> either in the aggregate or in individual sectors of the economy and also because the objective of education is not only to promote growth but it has also to contribute to other aspects of development. There is agreement about the urgent need for making available other inputs included in the Minimum Needs Programme (MNP) of development.<sup>9</sup> That is why the present state of plannings has been described as one of 'drift' and 'ad hocism'<sup>10</sup>

In order to get over this situation, the planning function has to

be given its due place at the states in particular and also by the central government. This can be done only if the financial allocation and utilisation procedures are made more rational from the angle of investment in education. Therefore, one of the pre-requisites for overcoming resource constraints and attaining different objectives of education is to create 'a mandate and framework of rational planning'. Among the pre-requisites for this purpose, are organisation of administrative machinery for planning in a comprehensive way and in a systematic fashion with strong data base, particularly regarding financial and cost data and greater focus of attention on the contribution of education to growth and productivity in different sectors of the economy. The investment view of education has yet to be followed up with more empirical work at micro level and translated into financial and other policies. But in any case the financial and cost aspects of educational planning will have to be given more attention so that when less money is allocated to education, one can appropriately cut the size of the plan or target of schemes in the plan or postpone the targets. The cost of the plan itself is worked out more accurately taking into account the past trends and future prospects. The 'new-dimensions in educational planning' that marks it off from the classical type of planning, viz., 'the intense interest in economic growth, in human resource development, and in what economists call macro planning, the simultaneous consideration of all a country's inter-locking development plan'<sup>11</sup> can with advantage be taken into account to a much greater extent than is being done at present. It is at the level of a block, that this can best be done with a major concern for area development. In this context, a suggestion has been put forward for educational planning by Philip H. Coombs the noted educationist.<sup>12</sup> The present practice is to project on the basis of available demographic data the increase number of students, second is to calculate the budget increment that would be needed to achieve them. There is far more resource needed than is normally available and hence budget is cut. Philip H. Coombs has suggested that planning can start from the other end by making some high, medium and low porjections of how much money is realistically likely to be available for education over the next 5 to 10 years. In this regard the following questions may be raised:

1. What trade offs are possible between quantity and quality and between different levels of the system?
2. How might internal efficiency of different institutions be improved so as to reduce the cost per student to make it consistent with preserving or enhancing learning results?
3. How might be the productivity of teachers improved?

4. How might facilities and equipment be more fully or productively used?
5. What basic changes would be required in the present structures, logistics, educational technologies and academic time scheduled to effect improvement in efficiency and learning effectiveness.<sup>12</sup>

In order to formulate educational plans as can afford to be meshed more closely with general economic planning and can be costed and phased before they are presented for adoption, it will be necessary for education ministry or department of education to be involved in the whole planning process from the start.

In particular, one can identify the following five stages of educational planning, whether at the centre or the states or districts, in which the financial and cost aspects can figure more prominently than at present:

1. The present state of education at the block district or state level based on enrolments by levels and type of education and cost data on unit cost if any, but also on the quality of education as a service - such as the existing standards of the size of classes and schools, teacher/pupil ratio, cost of maintenance and supplies per pupil. Thus, even though for the country as a whole, literacy rate is 36.23 per cent, there are glaring disparities of all kinds. Kerala has 70.4 per cent while Rajasthan has the lowest of 24.38 per cent, 76 per cent of children in 6-14 age group are in elementary schools and 93.4 per cent is the gross enrolment at primary level. But there are wide disparities. Teacher pupil ratios vary so also the facilities in the form of equipment, trained teachers, etc., per student expenditure also varies.
2. The second phase is to set targets on the basis of quantitative and qualitative trends like changes to be made in standards of construction and equipment or per cent of qualified teachers, etc., i.e., partly on the basis of exogenous data like population growth and partly on the basis of future needs of the economy, etc. In the present process of planning, attention is given to the growth of population and the needs of the economy for manpower. But the changes to be made in standards of construction and equipment do not receive much attention because of the absence of data and their disuse. It is, therefore, not surprising that there is such a backlog of buildings, facilities, etc., that the challenge document is now forced to plead for a minimum threshold in terms of faci-



lities in schools. The dimension of such backlog is so large that there may have to be a separate fund for this purpose. It is doubtful if it can be taken care of in the normal course of planning.

3. In the third phase, one has to construct a set of unit costs in order to assess the cost of the plan, trends in price levels, including teachers salaries, will have to be taken note of for this purpose. Average annual cost per student for primary school, middle schools, high schools, higher secondary schools, and colleges of arts and science are Rs. 127.1, Rs.164.8, Rs.331, and Rs. 764.4 at present in 1977-78 and they have risen from 19.9, Rs. 27.9, Rs. 58.8 + Rs. 234.6 in 1950-51.

Indeed, the increase in current price and at constant prices the position is different.

4. The fourth phase is to estimate the cost of the plan from the second and third phases. But it has to be seen whether the plan is realistic or not, for this purpose, the cost of the plan should be estimated on the basis of the source of finances or costs specific to the targets of the plan and other costs. The idea here will be to make clear what portion of expenditure is manipulable on the basis of policy. For this purpose, cost per student should be available for items like teachers cost, non-teacher cost, etc. Teacher salaries increase because of trade union of teachers but non-teacher costs do not and hence quality suffers. As a precautionary measure, it may be advisable to have a target of a given percentage of teacher cost as equipment or non-teacher cost. As part of plan implementation, this has to be the discomposition of the plan.

The last phase is to collate the financial requirements of old plan with the resources prepared under the economic plan.<sup>13</sup>

At the present moment, the estimation of costs and the planning of financial provisions for implementing plans is regarded as a separate issue which has not been sufficiently well integrated into the planning process even in its present form.

Usually, it is felt in educational planning circles, particularly at the state level, that having calculated the financial requirements and costed them to the best of his ability, the planners has to present the bill to finance and leave it. But this is not a correct view to take because of many reasons. Firstly, educational finance is not a single lumpsum provided by a monolithic government; there is a mechanism and a process and there is a flow from Central govern-

ment, state government, public and private enterprises, households, schools themselves and other sources. Looking at it in an alternative way, we note that finances flow from the centre to the states from states to district from districts to Taluk/block and from block to habitation and from habitation to institutes.

Thus the Central government finances education on its own schemes: central schemes or centrally sponsored schemes for centrally assisted schemes--through Finance Commission for non-plan expenditure, through Planning Commission for annual plans.

Effective education planning involves budgetary and financial control of educational programmes and for all these purposes, educational administrators must have a thorough understanding of financial flows in education by influencing which policy objectives can be achieved in education. There are a number of financial transactions between the point at which funds are earmarked for education in general and that at which they are actually spend, e.g., financing scholarship programmes or tribal education, etc. Apart from adequacy, is there financing for equality, for efficiency and for diversity?

These considerations will have to come at the national, state, district or block or even institutional level. The reasons why we have to consider them are because there are inadequacies at the end use level or inability to use.

#### PLANNING IMPLICATIONS FOR FINANCING EDUCATION

There is need for strengthening educational planning with emphasis on financial and cost aspects. Such emphasis on the financial aspects is overdue because the growth of educational expenditure from 114.3 crore to 2304.16 crore from 1950-51 to 1976-77 is being passively borne rather than actively checked or planned for. The statement made about OECD countries in 1978 that until now, financial data have been particularly neglected in framing educational policies, although modern management and planning techniques are inconceivable without a cost policy, which must itself be based on a thorough knowledge of the structure of educational expenditure, of its recent trends and of the factors influencing this trend. Like-wise ignorance about sources of finance other than public funds is an obstacle to the adoption of an overall financial policy<sup>14</sup> is very true for India and states today.

1. The estimation of cost and the planning of financial provision for implementation of the plan is usually regarded as a separate activity in educational planning due to various reasons like non-availability of economic growth data, etc. The chal-

lence document has to be content with indicating the order of magnitude of resources for elementary education under certain assumptions about inflation rate of 8 per cent per annum and unit-cost of 1977-78. Even when costing of the plan is done, it is felt that financing authorities will accept the bill or reject it in haste. This view is not correct and it is necessary for educational planners in India and states to take into account various other aspects of educational finance due to reasons given in the following para.

2. Money for education is not given as a lump sum to education from one department to the other as in other departments, but it is provided by the Centre to states through finance of planning commissions from states local bodies, from public and private enterprises, households, school and from other sources finances are obtained for education. Such plans or transfers of resources have important effects which have important influences through which educational planners have to mobilise additional resources through new ways, utilise effectively available resources and bring about equality of opportunity.

Effective educational planning implies budgetary and financial control of educational programmes and for this purpose it is necessary to take note where the impact of such a flow or transfer of resources is likely to be felt. Therefore, there is need for collecting and compiling financial and cost data and analysing the flow. In order to ensure that limited resources are effectively used, financial aspects should be taken into consideration in decision-making and techniques of cost analysis, cost efficiency analysis, or PPBS or find new sources of finance or fix an optimum limit to educational expenditure, have to be used. In the context of scarcity of resources, there is a wave of new interest in such techniques as PPBS for finding out new financial strategies for education even in developed countries which India readily needs.

In planning of educational programmes, recurring and capital expenditure must be considered separately because of their differing implications for the future. Due to the absence of such differences at present, there is inefficient or uneconomic use of available resources and very urgent demand for recurring capital expenditure for buildings and long-term equipment. (We do not use plan and non-plan expenditure for the reason that all plan expenditure is not capital and all non-plan is not recurrent). The above distinctions can be usefully employed only when there is programme or performance budgeting and functional classification of government budgets as in certain states like Tamil Nadu. Only when such budgeting-process,

format and analysis--is there, norms for unit cost can be laid down and observed and utilised in practice.

In the context of five-year period of development planning that has come to stay in India and states, and the need for strengthening it and also educational planning, it is necessary to bring about changes in:

1. organisation of planning and budgeting office in Directorate of Education;
2. classification of budget items;
3. control system for plan implementation;
4. monitoring and evaluation of budgetary outcomes;

New approach to resource mobilisation, which include process and procedures for effective utilisation of available resources, and steps to get more resources from household private enterprises like industries or making voluntary agencies enter in a much bigger way in sector like UEE, vocational education, higher education and in spheres like buildings for schools or equipment, scholarships, etc. There is urgent need to think of a package of alternative methods of financing education through free education (effectively free, taking into account foregone earnings) scholarships of different kinds--outright, partial loans, etc., and funds for different purposes. The financing of education has to be done taking into account the socio-economic consequences of financing measures.

Inequalities of a socio-economic nature--boys and girls, SC/ST, non SC/ST--have received relatively more attention than inequalities of a regional nature. But neither of them have received adequate attention. For this purpose, any survey--like IV All India Survey--must include information on both government and private expenditure on education. There should be periodical surveys of private expenditure of education as a pre-requisite for meaningful and effective student aid policies for scholarship programmes.

The new approach to resource mobilisation advocated by the challenge document is essential and it is possible to be adopted by Central and state governments only when there is also a financial plan for education. Other sectors of development in India have what is called additional resource mobilisation (ARM). There is no reason why such ARM should not be there for education sector also. In educational planning, there is generally a feeling that as the economy or GNP grows, there is likely to be larger allocation or resources forthcoming, but this need not be the case. Therefore, there should be a specific target of mobilisation from the community or industries for every state is not for every district or institutions.

The financial plan for education could consist of:

1. the main sources of finance for education;
2. ways and means of raising the required resources; and
3. feasibility of the educational plan from a financial point of view.

It will be worthwhile to consider what the government expenditure on government schools and institutions will be and what the government expenditure on non-government, institutions will be. If it is known what the policy in the target year will be and if it is assumed that private sector will make its contribution, this is a simple calculation. In its absence, estimation of private expenditure is difficult. In any case, in the financial plan, the feasibility of public expenditure on education with reference to total government expenditure and the growth of the economy should be considered. If government expenditure on education is found to be too high, among others, the following possibilities should be considered:

1. Tapping additional sources of funds (other private sources, educational revenue, foreign or UN aid);
2. Manipulation of non-autonomous cost determinants (e.g., salaries);
3. An economy and anti-wastage drive to deflate educational expenditures; and
4. A downward revision of the whole educational plan.

Other issues that should be considered are:

1. Centralisation versus decentralisation;
2. suitability of budgetary system at the grassroot level in with the objectives of education; and
3. fiscal measures for making enterprises using educated professional manpower contribute to education through tax incentives, etc., school construction through local level credit facilities, etc.

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## Notes

The primary and universal characteristics of the management process are:

**Planning**--foresee and provide--examining the future and drawing up the plan of action.

**Organising**--Building the dual--and human structure of the undertaking--establishment of the final structure of authority through which work sub-divisions are arranged, defined or correlated for defined objectives.

**Commanding**--maintaining activity among the personnel.

**Coordinating**--together implies all activities and efforts.

**Controlling**--seeing that everything occurs in conformity with established rules. Gullick defined control functions as:

- consisting of reporting,
- keeping these, where the executive is responsible informed as to what is going on, budgeting fiscal planning, accounting and control

While the above are the components of management, planning is the very first item. We concern ourselves in this article only with planning. It will be noticed that all the components of management in finance require attention and an approach based on them has to be adopted in the place of financial administration that is currently taking place in educational activities.

1. Reports of various Task Forces of NPE and POA.
2. The National Educational Policy has envisaged that resources devoted to education will exceed 6 per cent of National Income. "It will be ensured that from the Eighth Five-Year Plan onwards it will exceed 6 per cent of National Income", para 11.4.
3. Seventh Five Year Plan of India, Vol. I, Chapter 2, Planning Commission, Government of India, Interdependence between Education, Structure of Labour Force and Growth should be rated.
4. The Seventh Plan has allocated Rs. 6382.65 crores as outlay for education.
5. J.P. Naik, **Elementary Education - Promise to Keep**.
6. C. B. Padmanabhan, **Inter-district variations in Per Capita Expenditure on Education**, New Delhi, NIEPA 1986 unpublished monograph.
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8. B.H. Dholakia, **The Sources of Economic Growth in India**, Good Companion, Baroda-1974.
9. Even though M.N.P. has been in existence from Fifth Plan onwards in which has been included elementary and adult education, the inter-relationship between such education and other components like supply of good drinking water, rural roads or housing etc. is not adequately recognised at implementation level.
10. **Challenge of Education**, p. 10
11. C.E. Beeby, **Planning and Educational Administration**, Unesco-

IIEP, p. 14.

12. Philip Coombs, *The World Crisis in Education*, p. 166.
13. J. Hallack, *Financing and Costing of Educational Plan*, UNESCO IIEP.
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In India, ten states -- including UP, Bihar, Maharashtra, West Bengal, A.P., M.P. and Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Rajasthan, Gujarat, have 71.47% of India's total population. Orissa, Kerala, and Assam and Punjab each have 3.84%, 3.71% and 2.91% and 2.44% of total population. Thus 14 states have 84.37% of total population. In view of this, there is likelihood of resources remaining unused in the country as a whole. Hence planning of location of schools becomes important.

# Application of Social Psychology to Classroom Life

VIMALA VEERARAGHAVAN

CLASSROOM HAS always been treated as a highly formal structure with teacher and student interacting at the most formal level. Teacher, the authority figure has complete control over the student, the obedient one, who is expected to accept the teacher's authority unquestioningly.

Educational researchers have worked and studied the school climate, the student's performance and multifarious aspects related to the field of education with the intention of making the classroom teaching as beneficial as possible to the students. As a result of such efforts, curricula have been changed time and again, the contents of teachers' training have been modified and more congenial atmosphere has been introduced to make the classroom as pleasant and as beneficial to instruction as possible. However, very few researchers have focused attention on the psycho-social aspects of the classroom. Within a classroom neither the group dynamics nor the peer group's informal interaction, nor the teachers' personality which interacts with that of the pupil's have been given due attention. Invariably, a simple dyadic view on teaching and learning has been used which is most inadequate to understand the classroom life, as there are many more powerful influences of the social dynamics on teaching-learning, that occur regularly in it. In fact, an interactionism perspective is required which could examine the school learning environments as defined by pupils but analysed within a framework that recognises the social constraints surrounding the classroom.

Most quantitative research on interaction, focus almost exclusively on the teacher and minimise the contributions of students to the organisation of classroom events. They do not appear to recognise that the classroom is socially organised and the organisation is created by teachers and students working in concert. The traditional conception of the classroom which places the teacher at the front of the room and students in the rows of desks facing the teachers seem



to be the most popular concept. Even as late as 1970, this view has been reinforced in the schemes as is seen in the study of Flanders<sup>1</sup> who provided seven categories for teacher talk. Such researches are inadequate as they concentrate on student's action in a classroom of merely responding to teacher when called upon.

Furthermore, even in the quantitative analysis in educational research, focus has been on the verbal behaviour in the classroom, in which those that are talked (verbal) alone are coded, and the non-verbal contributions to the organisation of classroom events are not included. As stated by Erickson and Shultz<sup>2</sup>, both verbal and non-verbal behaviour are interactionally connected in the classrooms, and as such the classroom competence is not limited to academic matters but to the whole gamut of interaction that takes place in a given classroom situation.<sup>3</sup>

It has been demonstrated by Getzels<sup>4</sup>, Schmuck and Schmuck<sup>5</sup> that the social context of the classroom consists of both formal and informal processes. While the formal aspects could be considered as carrying out the official goals of the school by both teachers and students, the informal aspects would include the unique ways in which each pupil and teacher relate to others as persons and to each other, and each pupil relates to his peer group mate and to the group as a whole. All these informal processes have a bearing on the formal process which focuses on teaching and learning.

### **Effect of Informal Processes in Learning**

Research on informal processes had its origin in the well known study called, "The Hawthorne Effect", which unambiguously showed the effect of informal person-to-person relationship on the job to higher productivity. Studies of similar nature (e.g., Roethlisberger and Dickson<sup>6</sup>; Shills and Janowitz<sup>7</sup>; Goodacre<sup>8</sup>) had all revealed, though in different contexts, the importance of group behaviour. They also demonstrated how the failure to recognise these processes may lead to conflicts, strifes and discord which would all affect the achievement of the organisational goal adversely.

The above mentioned argument is perhaps all the more applicable to the school context, particularly the classroom life where multifarious group dynamics operate in the form of peer relationship. The pressure exerted by the peer group on all its individual members in terms of values, attitude towards work, towards school and teachers and towards school behaviour, all affect adversely the learning. Mehan<sup>9</sup> pointed out that the greatest social need of an individual is to win the approval of his peer group and to be accepted by it as an in-member. The code of conduct laid down by the peers and the standards of behaviour set by them influence both the under-achievers

and over-achievers, as no one likes to annoy the peer group excelling them and acting as a non-conformist. These informal influences in a classroom which affect learning have to be recognised by the teacher so as to render his or her own teaching effective. As stated by Qeser, interest in studies and class is generated and sustained by social interaction more than by intelligence or insight. The peer group rejection has been shown to also adversely affect the learning in a classroom (Schmuck<sup>10</sup>; Ansari and Rehman<sup>11</sup>. In a study of black students in a desegregated school, Lewis and St. John<sup>12</sup> found that the achievement of the black students was especially influenced by the extent to which they were accepted into the classroom peer group.

Further, in the school classroom life, not only the peer group has such significant influence on achievement of learning tasks, but also the interaction between teacher students and other groups such as the extra and co-curricular groups, career guidance group, etc., affect them. As stated by Schmuck and Schmuck<sup>13</sup>, there is perhaps no classroom life which is not influenced by some aspects of interpersonal life even if it is a highly individualised setting, such as language laboratory.

### Learning Groups

Interaction takes place both inside and outside to the classroom life and also away from the school setting due to common interests, hobbies, etc. However, to render a learning group effective within a classroom, certain aspects within the interactional context have to be recognised: (i) the interaction and interdependence amongst pupils; (ii) movement towards shared goals; and (iii) interaction through a social structure.

As for interaction and interdependence amongst students, this refers to making the learning group in the classroom effective by the teacher encouraging amongst them certain degree of expression of favourable and unfavourable feelings, with emphasis on the former than on the latter. The teacher should give such tasks to the students which they can do, some individually and some with others in the group. This would contribute to the development of confidence in oneself and of cooperative attitude amongst pupils. Thus, the task becomes meaningful and the group goals become merged with that of the individual goals, which in turn renders the learning groups effective. In a research by Singh<sup>14</sup> it was found that satisfaction with the classroom activities enhanced pupils learning.

Another aspect of classroom life is the teachers' treatment of students; while it is a just dictum to treat all students alike, this will not always serve the purpose. In the learning group situation, it is important to individualise each member and reward him for

productive learning behaviour and reinforce the same, thereby stimulating the other members to manifest the most suitable behaviour. The learning group may suffer in effectiveness if all members are treated alike, as recognising of favourable individual characteristics is essential for learning.

The third aspect of the classroom life is recognition of achievements of individual students. In every group, an individual attains his status by his own achievements, though he brings with him a status which to quite an extent influences his final status in the group. It should be remembered that the interaction of his status with those of the other members, finally influences the emergence of the group status. Hence, in an effective learning group, both the individual's and the group's achievements have to be rewarded.

To render a classroom group as an effective learning group, it is essential to focus on topics other than the ones prescribed in the curricula. This would lead to better intellectual interaction, interesting and meaningful discussion, stimulation to think and contribute. These aspects need continuous research to ascertain which of the topics and methods of instructions lead to better grasp and learning with maximum participation.

Thus, interaction and interdependence amongst members play a very significant role in making a classroom an effective learning group.

#### **Classroom Climate, Feedback and Teacher Inputs**

Rosenthal<sup>15</sup> discussing the 'Pygmalion effect', attributed the same to climate, feedback input and encouragement. While climate refers to the climate of warmth, attention and emotional support which arises out of the expectations of the teacher to the pupils' behaviour, feedback refers to the encouragement and praise that the teachers give to the students from their performance. On the other hand, input refers to the type of help (tips, hints, clues) the teachers give to students from whom they have higher expectations, and encouragement refers to the output of students' responses. In the latter cases, the teachers even wait longer to get the answers from high ability students than from low ability ones. Good et al<sup>16</sup>, showed that teachers were found to interact differently with students whom they perceived as high or low achievers; high achievers were interacted with more favourably by teachers than with the low achievers.

Though competent teaching helps students to progress considerably in learning, it has been demonstrated<sup>17</sup> (Brophy and Good, 1972) that many teachers provide this to only those students from whom they have high expectations. For most teachers, their bias towards high ability students is unconscious. Teachers need to be aware of this

tendency in themselves and pursue a consistent course of appropriate support and encouragement to all students.

### **Social Power and Teaching-learning Process**

The concept of social power is important in a classroom situation so as to make a classroom effective for learning. There are children who by nature feel powerful, who are happy and feel effective and thus have a positive image of themselves as compared to students who feel powerless, unhappy and ineffective. The latter are generally threatened by a classroom life.

The social power is of varied types, viz., expert power, referent power, legitimate power, reward power and coercive power. Hornstein, et al and Schmuck had opined that teachers who employ expert or referent power are always more effective than those who employ legitimate or coercive power. It must be remembered that students too, though do not claim legitimate power, have however a significantly high influence and power on their classmates. The teachers who can influence such students with high power will have an easy time influencing the entire group than teachers who do not involve the influential students in the classroom. This has been categorically demonstrated in researches done on 'Ripple effects', by Kounin et al<sup>18</sup>, who found that classrooms were most disturbed where the teachers had taken severe action against the influential/powerful students. They showed that the basis of teacher power is undermined when overt conflict occurs with high power students. Therefore, according to them, only that teacher will be effective who could achieve shared decision-making and thereby attain the referent power.<sup>19</sup>

### **Affiliation and Teaching-Learning Process**

It is well known that classroom learning groups have a good deal of attraction for its members while at the same time considerable hostility is also created amongst peers which may affect the academic performance of students. Studies by many social psychologists such as Schmuck<sup>20</sup>, Retish<sup>21</sup>, Lippitt, et al<sup>22</sup>, Gold<sup>23</sup> etc., have all shown that interpersonal attraction in learning groups involves proximity, physical attraction, social class status similarities, consensus on values and interests, enhancement of self-esteem by getting and giving favourable reactions to others, etc. Any miss in any of these at any point of time may dissolve the friendship which in turn will influence learning in one way or the other. This leads to the topic of sociometric structure and learning process.

### Sociometric Structure and Learning Process

In social psychology, sociometric technique helps to understand the liking patterns in a peer group, which has significant influence in the learning process of pupils in a classroom<sup>24</sup>. In this context, academic achievement of students in a diffused sociometric groups has been found to be higher than in centrally structured sociometric groups. To understand the different sociometric structures, one could use the validation theory of Pepitone<sup>25</sup> or cognitive balance theory of Newcomb<sup>26</sup> or the theory of self-esteem of Jones<sup>27</sup>. However, it has been also categorically demonstrated by researchers (e.g., Flanders and Havumaki<sup>28</sup>, Retish<sup>29</sup>) that the attraction of the individual to his peer group is affected by the reactions of teachers towards the particular student and vice versa.

Satisfaction with one's teacher is an important condition for a student's academic performance. Students are attracted to teachers who boost up their ego, their self-esteem and status in the peer group and thus grant them security. The continual rejection by teacher and the peer group leads to a downward trend in performance of the concerned student in the class.

Thus, the socio-psychological factors, such as social power, co-operation, competence and affiliation have to be studied, learnt, clearly understood and appropriately handled by the teachers so as to render the classroom as effective a learning group, as possible.

This article has attempted to touch upon some of the major socio-psychological techniques, principles and theories which could be very effectively used in a school context to render a classroom as effective a learning group as possible so that the students could benefit the maximum from the entire teaching-learning process that takes place everyday in an educational setting.

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# Implementation of Education Policy : A Critique on Sex-Based Disparity

R.N. THAKUR

IT IS admitted on all hands that women's education needs due care and emphasis from two angles: (i) imparting social justice; and (ii) accelerating social change and transformation.

The process of change started after Independence in India and the society took a new turn towards modernising itself. In this task of modernisation, education became more crucial, and the importance of education as a strong lever to change and transformation began to be realised by policy-makers, educationists and administrators, all alike.

## BRITISH POLICY OF EDUCATION

The patterns and policies of education, which we inherited in the present age, were mainly the handiwork of the British colonial administration which allowed a system of education to develop that suited most their own needs and purposes. They developed a policy of education to prepare an English-educated elite in India, who could play a role in spreading Colonial English education while preparing a band of middle and lower rank administrators to man colonial administration to perpetuate the British rule in India by creating a class of the ruling elite completely segregated and differentiated from the large populace. Their intention would be all the more clear from Wood's despatches on education and Macaulay's policy of education in India:

...it is more important to impart a high degree of education to the upper classes than to diffuse a much lower sort of it among the common people.

That also gradually affected the psychology of the English educated natives in India. Elphinstone pointed out, "not one orientalist denied that a single shelf of good European library was



worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia....English was the language of the ruling class<sup>1</sup>...."

Macaulay's minutes laid the foundation of British education in India.

On March 7, 1835, the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck and his Council passed the following resolution:

....the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India and that all funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.<sup>2</sup>

On protest from the Indian natives that the British Government discouraged Mohammedan and Hindu studies and encouraged English exclusively in order to convert natives into Christianity, Lord William Bentinck enunciated a policy of religious neutrality to allay their suspicions. Dr. Alexander Duff mentioned, "our great object was to convey...a knowledge of...literature and science to the young persons; but another and a more vital object was ... to convey a thorough knowledge of Christianity with its evidence and doctrines. Our purpose was to combine in closeinseparable and harmonious union, what has been called a useful secular with a decidedly religious education".<sup>3</sup>

Secularism was truly a myth, Christianisation was the sole motive. The British had a clear-cut purpose and for that they had a clear-cut policy and they implemented it to achieve their ends in India.

In 1844, a Government resolution enjoined that, for public employment in every case, preference would be given to those who had been educated in Western science and were familiar with English language.

Wood's Despatch of 1854, which is regarded as the "Magna Carta of English education in India", enunciated the aim of education as diffusion of Arts, Science, Philosophy and literature of Europe. The Despatch also decided to establish universities on the model of London University.

Then, in 1882, the Government of India appointed the Education Commission on the basis of whose recommendations higher education was expanded during 1882-1902.

The British had their own limited view and vision of education in India.

#### EDUCATION IN NEW INDIA

With the attainment of independence and adoption of Constitution, a new vision began to dawn. The shape of things began to change.

The academic problem took on new shape. Education began to be viewed as something which could provide leadership in administration, politics, profession, commerce and industry. Needs and demands began to be felt for humanistic literary, scientific, technical and professional education. Education, which helped to create awareness during nationalist movement, could also help to achieve freedom from want, disease, ignorance, squalor and poverty by the application and development of scientific knowledge. 'If our living standards are to be raised, a radical change of spirit is essential'. There is a growing realisation of education being an agent of social change and transformation.

#### EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SYSTEM

In the field of relationship between society and education, the 'Gaia hypothesis' can be used. (The Gaia hypothesis holds that life has transformed the Earth to suit its needs rather than adapting to the earth). Similarly, social system transforms education to suit its needs rather than adapting to education. Educational system and social system are directly related. We must have a conception of the social system for which we are educating our youth. The Russians are so clear in their minds about the kind of society for which they are educating their youth. They know what qualities are required in their citizens. Our educational system must find its guiding principles in the aims of the social order for which it prepares, in the nature of the social system it hopes to build, in the nature of the civilisation it hopes to create. Societies like men must have a clear purpose to keep them stable in a world of quick change. The social philosophy which governs our social order and social institutions is outlined in the preamble of our Constitution.<sup>4</sup> We are trying to build a democracy through the realisation of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. We are trying to achieve equality of opportunity and of status.

The contentions in this article are: (i) social justice, and (ii) equality of opportunity in terms of policy and implementation approach to the education of men and women in India.

An analysis of the reports of various Commissions on Education and Committees on Women's education would show clearly that the approach of policy-implementation is rather discriminatory as far as the women's education at the following two levels:

- (i) First, at the level of education among men and education among women, and
- (ii) Secondly, at the level of education among women themselves in

urban and rural social contexts.

To substantiate this view-point, a close scrutiny of the education policy, as it emanates from the reports of commissions, and committees; and investment in the shape of expenditure on education in various plans will be an essential requisite. Of last, the realisation has grown among our policy-makers that education as a social investment is worthwhile and its linkage to productivity and process of modernisation and development is direct.

#### REPORTS OF THE COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES

Let us first examine the reports one by one of the various commissions and committees pertaining to the aspects on women's education and their recommendations and suggestions because they helped to provide the background material to policy-making on women's education.

##### **The Sargent Report**

As far as the women's education is concerned, it would be appropriate to trace back to a situation two or three years ahead of the Independence when the Central Advisory Board of Education submitted a Comprehensive Report, known as the Sargent Report (1944) on post-war Educational Development. Among other things, it visualised a system of universal, compulsory and free education for all girls and boys between the ages of 6 and 14.<sup>5</sup>

##### **The University Education Commission of 1948**

After Independence, a new era of social and economic reconstruction started and it was followed by educational reconstruction since it was deeply and urgently felt by the national government that education is the main instrument for reconstruction and transformation of society.

To initiate the process of educational reconstruction, the government appointed a series of commissions to survey, study, review and recommend improvements in different sectors of education.

The Government of India appointed the University Education Commission "to report on Indian University education and suggest improvements and extensions to suit present and future requirements of the country"<sup>6</sup> under the chairmanship of great the Philosopher Statesman, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. On the commission, there were altogether seven eminent Indian and three equally eminent foreign members who were experts on education. The commission held several sittings and received 600<sup>8</sup> responses on 32 items of questionnaire mailed to mem

members of Constituent Assembly, Premiers, Ministers, Vice-Chancellors, Directors of Public Instruction, Heads of university departments and colleges, educationists, publicists and other prominent persons throughout the country.

The commission made a number of recommendations suggesting changes and improvements in university education. It observed that universities should provide best teaching to the widest range of students irrespective of class, sex, caste or religion. The Commission underscored the necessity of developing a comprehensive positive policy within the limits of which there should be ample scope for 'pioneering and experimentation'. Regarding women's education it emphasises:

1. importance of women's education for National life;
2. special courses, such as, Home Economics, Nursing, fine Arts, and Teaching, for women; and
3. the future of women's education.

On the aspect of importance of women's education, the Report of the Commission began by quoting Arthur Mayhew - (The Education of India, 1926):

if the Government by the initial exclusion of the masses accentuated the segregation of the masses from the privileged few, by their initial restriction of their educational efforts to the male population they brought a line of division where it had never existed before, within the household.

While the movement for equal education for men and women began in Great Britain over a century ago with Fredrick Maurice and John Stuart Mill (Subjection of Women, 1869), it reached India only in recent decades. Even today the inequality is evident.

According to the statistics (issued by the Indian Ministry of Education for 1945-46), there were six and a half times as many boys and men in secondary schools and colleges as there were girls.

"The educated, conscientious mother who lives and works with her children in the home is the best teacher in the world of both character and intelligence. There cannot be an educated people without educated women. If general education had not to be limited to men then opportunity should be given to women, for then it would most surely be passed on to the next generation."

#### **Emphasis on Education of Women as Women**

The commission stressed differentiation between women's and men's

programmes of education to certain extent. Although men and women are equally competent in academic field, yet it does not follow that in all things men's and women's education should be identical. There are ways in which many women's interests or appropriate fields of work diverge from those of men, and educational programme should take that fact into account. Home itself is required to be maintained very simply and economically.

The commission observed that Indian universities are for the most part places of preparation for a man's world. Little though has been given to the education of women as women.

### **Home Management: Preparation for Home and Family Life**

A women need to learn something of problems that are certain to come up in all marriages, and in the relations of parents and children, wife and husband and how they may be met, i.e., home management.

The theory of equality of opportunity must find increasing expression in practice.

The greatest profession of women is that of home-maker. Sometimes, there is a period before marriage during which a woman can do useful work, such as nursing or teaching. When children are grown, there often remain ten to twenty-five years of vigorous life in which a woman may like to have a useful career. Sometimes, husband and wife wish to share a common occupation through the years. Sometimes, the needs of home and family leave time for interesting and useful occupations. So, the commission observed that for all such circumstances educational opportunities should be available. A wholesome and interesting society will have varied occupations and professions. The educational system at all levels should prepare men and women for such varied callings.

### **Special Courses**

The commission felt the need of some special courses for women, such as: (1) home economics, (2) nursing, (3) teaching, and (4) fine arts.

Courses in Home Economics are held in low esteem by women, and they insist on the same course as men. It should be remembered that "a well-ordered home helps to make well-ordered men." In America and Europe, nursing is an honoured profession for women. Teaching is equally very appropriate to women. They are natural teachers. Some measure of appreciation of the fine arts is also required.

The commission, while taking into consideration the future of women's education, suggested the following steps to make the conditions of women's education more tolerable: (1) adequate number of neatly maintained women's hostel, (2) sanitary facilities for women

in co-educational institutions, and (3) recreation space and facilities.

The commission also recorded some of the comments received from the people to the effect that the attitude of men students left much to be desired; and that while a considerable number of women take medical courses, relatively few actually practise medicine. The commission favoured encouragement to co-educational institutions at the degree level as far as possible.

### **Appraisal of Women's Education**

While making appraisal of women's education, the commission expressed dissatisfaction with the results of women's education under existing conditions.

Some comments as recorded by the Commission are: 'the modern educated Indian woman is neither happy nor contented nor socially useful'; 'woman's education is ahead of her times'; 'an educated woman is lonely and out of place'; 'there has been no planning of women's education. These comments tend to make us think of the inadequacy and in appropriateness of women's education in societal terms.

The commission finally made the following recommendations with regard to women's education:

1. no curtailment of educational opportunities for women;
2. educational guidance for women;
3. ordinary amenities and decencies of life to be provided for women in colleges originally planned for men;
4. women students to be helped to see their normal places in normal society both as citizen and as women;
5. prevailing prejudice against the study of home economics and home management be overcome;
6. truly co-educational institutions be encouraged;
7. standard of courtesy and social responsibility be emphasised on the part of men; and
8. women teachers should be paid the same salary as men teachers for equal work.

### **Three Committees on Women's Education**

After the University Education Commission of 1948 which took account of the women's education, there were three separate committees on women's education. The problem of education of girls and women in the country acquired a new significance since the attainment of Independence. On the recommendation of the Educational Panel of the Planning Commission (1957), and concurrence of the State Educa

tion Ministers' Conference (1957) as to the appointment of a suitable committee "to go into the various aspects of the question relating to the nature of education for girls at the elementary, secondary and adult stages and to examine whether the present system was helping them to lead a happier and more useful life", the National Committee on Women's Education was set up by the Government in May 1958, with Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh as its chairman.<sup>9</sup>

There was another committee on the differentiation of curricula between boys and girls under the chairmanship of Shrimati Hansa Mehta.

The third committee was set up under the chairmanship of Shri M. Bhaktavatsalam which studied the problem in the six states where the education of girls is less developed.

The National Committee on Women's Education under the chairmanship of Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh recommended that the highest priority should be given to establishing a parity between the education of boys and girls and a bold and determined effort should be made by the Centre and the states to face the difficulties and magnitude of the problem. It recommended co-education up to the middle school stage but separate institutions for girls at the high school stage where more diversified curriculum suited to girls should be introduced. The committee desired ample provision for school mothers, training of women teachers and employment facilities for adult women. It also desired that suitable atmosphere should be created for greater enrolment of girls, greater efforts by voluntary organisations, more provision for scholarships for girls at all stages, particularly at the university stage.<sup>10</sup>

Main recommendations of the committee are detailed below:

1. The education of women should be regarded as a major and special problem in education for a good many years to come, and that a bold and determined effort should be made to face difficulties;
2. Steps should be taken to constitute a National Council for the Education of Girls and Women;
3. A separate unit for Woman's Education under an Educational Advisor, should be set up at the centre;
4. In each state, a woman should be appointed as joint Director and placed in charge of education of girls;
5. Lady teachers should be appointed in all schools where there are no women;
6. There should be identical curricula for boys and girls at the primary stage. At the secondary stage, there is need for differentiation of the courses;
7. Vocational training courses with 'primary' as basic qualifica-



tion may be conducted in school during the day, alongside general education. Courses with 'Middle' and 'Secondary' as basic qualifications may be organised in vocational sections of middle and secondary schools....in separate vocational schools, in training centres, in workshops or in continuation schools.

8. Educational facilities for adult women in the form of condensed courses: (i) that prepare women for the middle school examination, and (ii) those that prepare them for the high school...examination should be provided more extensively in all state; and
9. Part-time employment of women teachers should be encouraged as largely as possible in order to enable women to manage their responsibilities at home as well as to do some teaching work.

On the recommendation of the committee, the Government of India set up a National Council for Women's Education at the Centre.<sup>11</sup>

#### Report of the Education Commission (1964-66)

In view of the important role of education in national development and in building up a truly democratic society, the Government considered it necessary to survey and examine the entire field of education in order to realise a well balanced, integrated and adequate system of national education capable of making a powerful contribution to all aspects of national life. To achieve these objectives, the Government of India under Resolution of July 14 1964, set up an Education Commission<sup>12</sup> in October 1964 under the chairmanship of Dr. D.S. Kothari, with sixteen members: eleven Indian and five foreign experts.<sup>13</sup>

The commission observed that "education, science-based and in coherence with Indian culture and values, can alone provide the foundation - as also the instrument - for the nation's progress, security and welfare". According to the Report of the Commission, Indian education needs a drastic reconstruction, almost a revolution.

The commission emphasised the need for an educational policy. It set up twelve task forces and seven Working Groups. There was a separate Working Group on women's education.<sup>14</sup> The commission fully endorsed the recommendations of the three committees which examined the problems of women's education in recent years.<sup>15</sup> The commission drew special attention to some recommendations of the National Committee on Women's education as follows:

1. The education of women should be regarded as a major programme in education for some years to come and a determined effort



should be made to face the difficulties involved and to close the existing gap between the education of men and women in as short a time as possible;

2. Special schemes should be prepared for this purpose and the funds required for them should be provided on a priority basis; and
3. Both at the Centre and in the states there should be a special machinery to look after the education of girls and women. It should bring together officials and non-officials in the planning and implementation of programmes for women's education.

In addition, the Commission observed that adequate attention will have to be given to the education of girls at all stages and in all sectors.

### **Similarity of Approach**

The Education Commission of 1948 (also known as Radhakrishnan Commission), and the Education Commission of 1964-66 (popularly known as the Kothari Commission) have much similarity of views about certain aspects of women's education. The former may be described as Philosopher-idealist view and the latter may be termed as the Scientist-realist view. But, in both, the element of ideal is well mingled with the element of down-to-the-earth real.

Almost 'true to the kindred points of heaven and home' approach towards women's education is there in both. The ideal, spiritual, value aspect of education, which is generally discarded by today's English educated elite, has been brought into necessary association with the more material, technological, professional, need-based education. In fact, education, particularly women's education must achieve a balance and harmony between the two levels of existence.

Both the commissions held similar view that as the age of marriage continues to rise, full-time employment will have to be provided for almost all young and unmarried women. As the programmes of family planning develop, older women whose children have grown up, will also need employment opportunities, may be part-time employment. Teaching, nursing, social service are well-recognised areas where women can have a useful role to play. In addition, several new avenues will have to be opened for them. Thus both the commissions view women's education from much similar angles.

### **National Policy on Education**

One of the major recommendations of the Education Commission(1964-66) was that the government should issue a statement on the national policy on education which should provide guidance to State Govern-

ments and local authorities in preparing and implementing educational plans in their areas.

#### **Committee of Members of Parliament: National Policy on Education**

Following the report and recommendations of the Education Commission (1964-66), the Government of India constituted a committee of Members of Parliament on Education on April 5, 1967 with the following terms of reference:<sup>16</sup>

1. to consider the report of the Education Commission;
2. to prepare the draft of a statement on the National Policy on Education for the consideration of the Government of India; and
3. to identify the programme for immediate action.

#### **Resolution on National Policy on Education**

As a result of discussions on the recommendations of the Education Commission (1964-66) and the Report of the Committee of Members of Parliament, a Resolution on National Policy on Education was formally issued by the Government of India on July 24, 1968.<sup>17</sup> The Resolution enumerated 17 principles to guide the development of education in the years ahead.

One of the underlying principles of National Education Policy is the equalisation of education opportunities. The Resolution on National Policy on Education emphasised that the education of girls should receive emphasis, not only on the grounds of social justice, but also because it accelerates social transformation.<sup>18</sup> Emphasis was equally put on correction of regional imbalance, and providing educational facilities for rural and other backward areas and among the backward classes.

#### **Constitutional Amendment Rendering Education**

##### **A Concurrent Subject**

Any comprehensive policy and enactment was considered to be difficult for the Centre because under the Constitution, as originally enacted, education was primarily a state subject. The relevant entry (Entry 11) in the State list read "Education including universities subject to the provisions of entries 63, 64, 65 and 66 of List I and entry 25 of List III". Thus education was exclusively a responsibility of the state.

The Constitutional Amendment of 1976 (Forty-second Amendment) changed the position of education. Education became the Joint responsibility of the Central and State Governments. By Forty-second amendment in the Constitution Entry 11 from the State List was omit

ted and amplified Entry 25 in the Concurrent List.<sup>19</sup>

By implication of this amendment, Education became Concurrent Subject which now enables the Central Government to legislate on education. The inclusion of Education in the Concurrent list was a far-reaching step whose implications (financial and administrative) require a new sharing of responsibilities between the Union Government and the States in respect of this vital area of national life.

#### **New National Policy of Education, 1986**

The 1968 National Education Policy clearly marked a significant change in the country's system of education inasmuch as the growing need was felt for a policy of education outlining the objectives, the strategy and scheme of implementation.

The National Policy on Education of 1968, also laid down that the investment on education be gradually increased to reach a level of expenditure of 6 per cent of the national income.

The present government reviewed the national educational policy. Immediately after assuming office as the Prime Minister of India, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, in his address to the nation on January 5, 1985, observed: "...I have asked that a new national education policy be drafted...I would strongly emphasise education's organic link with the productive forces of society..."<sup>20</sup> The Prime Minister also set up a three-member informal group to advise him on educational plans and policies.<sup>21</sup>

#### **New Education Policy and Women's Education**

After the publication of a blue-print on the National Policy on Education and about a year-long national discussions and debates, the new National Policy on Education - 1986 seemed to emerge. It outlined that the growth of our population needs to be brought down significantly over the decades. Simultaneously, it has been realised that the largest single factor that could help achieve this is the spread of literacy and education among women.<sup>22</sup>

Education can ever be used as an agent of basic change in the status of women. In order to neutralise the accumulated distortions of the past, there seems to be a well-conceived edge in favour of women. The National Education system is supposed to play a positive, interventionist role in the empowerment of women. It is required to foster the development of new values through redesigned curricula, textbooks, training and orientation of teachers, and active involvement of educational institutions. Women's studies are to be promoted as a part of various courses and educational institutions to be encouraged to take up active programmes to further women's development. The removal of women's illiteracy and obstacles inhibiting

their access to elementary education will receive overriding priority, through provision of special support services, setting of time targets, effective monitoring. Major emphasis is to be laid on women's participation in vocational, technical and professional education at different levels.

The policy of non-discrimination is promised to be pursued vigorously to eliminate sex stereo-typing in vocational and professional courses and to promote women's participation in non-traditional occupations, as well as in existing and emergent technologies. Adequate hostel accommodation is to be provided, specially for girls.<sup>23</sup> At the same time, puts emphasis on inducting more women in the planning and management of education.<sup>24</sup>

The implementation of a policy is the most crucial and meaningful aspect of policy-making. It is a pity in our case that the radical policy-making function is performed but implementation always lags behind.

#### **Resources for Implementation and Disparity**

The Education Commission of 1964-66, the National Education Policy of 1968 and practically all others concerned with education have stressed that the egalitarian goals and the practical development-oriented objectives of Indian society can be realised by making investment in education of an order commensurate with the nature and dimensions of the task. It is a fact that the overall expenditure on education has increased from Rs. 144 crore in 1951 to about Rs.3000 crore in 1979; its percentage to national income (GNP) has increased from 1.2 per cent to 3.3 per cent during the same period, while in advanced countries like USSR, USA, UK, France, Japan this percentage ranges from 6 to 8. Our per capita expenditure on education has, no doubt, increased from Rs. 12.4 in 1951 to about Rs. 40 in 1979 which is yet very much lower than advanced countries like USSR, USA, UK, France, Japan where the per capita expenditure was Rs. 1740, Rs.5764, Rs. 2834, Rs. 4238 and Rs. 2948 respectively in 1975 (Trends of Expenditure on Education 1968-69 - 1978-79, pp. 40). The National Policy on Education, 1968, had laid down that the investment on education be gradually increased to reach a level of expenditure of 6 per cent of the national income.

The actual level of investment has remained far short of that target. Whatever be the level of investment, it has not comparably been in favour of women's education. To understand this, let us analyse the situation of disparity between the male and female literacy levels in rural and urban areas on the basis of the Census of 1981. The fact remains that there exist wide disparities. Nearly three-fourths of women in the country are illiterate. Out of 110

million illiterates in the age group 15-35, approximately 68 million are women. Removing illiteracy among women has, therefore, been accorded high priority by the Government. Adult education is envisaged as a tool through which socio-economic status of women and their quality of life can be improved so that they will be involved in the overall developmental process.

If we look at the following table on additional enrolment, targets and achievements of the sixth plan, the disparity between men-women education will be apparent. The table relates to education at two levels, such as Classes I-V level and classes VI-VIII level.

Table 1 ADDITIONAL ENROLMENT--TARGET AND ACHIEVEMENT  
IN SIXTH PLAN

(in 000's)

Sixth Plan Targets 1980-85	Achieve- ment 1980-81	Achieve- ment 1981-82	Likely Achievement 1982-83	1980-83 (2+3+4)	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
For Classes I-V Level					
Boys	4694	784	1304	1263	3551
Girls	6990	750	1192	1039	2981
Total	11684	1534	2496	2302	6332
For Classes VI-VIII Level					
Boys	3669	628	907	1031	2566
Girls	2683	401	479	737	1617
Total	6352	1029	1386	1768	4183

SOURCE: Sixth Five Year Plan 1980-86, Mid-term Appraisal, Government of India, Planning Commission, August 1983, pp. 93-98.

It can be seen that out of the total sixth plan target of additional enrolment about 33,51,000 boys were enrolled in three years (1980-81 to 1983) against the total target of 46,94,000 boys; whereas only 29,81,000 girls were enrolled during the same period (three years) against the total target of 69,90,000 girls at the class level of I to V. But at the class level of VI-VIII, 25,66,000 boys were enrolled in three years (1980-81-83) against the target of 36,69,000 boys; whereas 16,17,000 girls were enrolled in three years against the total target of 26,83,000 girls. Thus, the disparity in enrolment between boys and girls at the class level of I-V and VI-VIII during the first three years (1980-81 to 1983) of the Sixth plan is markedly clear.

### Disparity at the Level of Higher Education

Let us now examine the disparity that exists between men and women in terms of education and educational opportunities at various other levels.

Table 2 show the disparity between the number of institutions for men and women existing during 1978-79 and 1979-80 at the level of higher education.

Table 2 NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS BY TYPE (FOR HIGHER EDUCATION)  
YEAR 1978-79 AND 1979-80

Sl. No.	Type of Institution	Year 1978-79		Year 1979-80	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1.	Institution imparting education upto degree standard and above	5193	635	5300	653
2.	Institution imparting education below degree level	1864	491	1913	501
3.	Intermediate/pre degree/junior college	428	42	463	54
Total		7428	1168	7676	1208

SOURCE: Education in India, Vol. I, Ministry of Education, 1978-79 and 1979-80.

As we see from Table 2, against 5193 institutions up to degree level and above for boys, the number of such institution for women was only 635 during 1978-79. Similarly, the number of such institution increased to 5300 for boys in 1979-80 and for girls to 653 in that year. The overall ratio is about 8 to 1 for boys and girls. So also, the number of institutions imparting education below degree level. This number was 1864 for boys as against 491 for girls during 1978-79; and 1913 for boys against 501 for girls during 1979-80. At this level the ratio is about 4 to 1 for boys and girls. Similar is the case with the number of Intermediate, pre-degree and junior colleges. As against 428 such institutions for boys, the number of these institutions for girls was only 42 during 1978-79; and against 463 such institutions for boys, the number of institutions for girls was 54 during 1979-80. Here, the ratio is as high as 9 to 1 between boys and girls.

From Table 3 it is clear that the ratio of enrolment of boys and girls in institutions of higher education during years 1978-79 and 1979-80 is approximately 3 to 1.

Year	Total Enrolment		Ratio
	Boys	Girls	
1978-79	35,02,604	12,41,401	3:1
1979-80	36,37,774	12,87,020	3:1

#### Total Number of Teachers

Year	Men	Women	
1978-79	2,04,418	44,981	4.5:1
1979-80	2,12,005	47,740	4.5:1

From the above data, it is computed that men and women ratio in enrolment in higher education is better and higher than that of entry in teaching occupation. As far as enrolment in institutions of higher education is concerned; three men as compared to one woman get the opportunity of enrolment; whereas in teaching occupation (that is, appointment as teacher in institutions of higher education) 4.5 men as compared to one woman get the opportunity of entry as teachers.

It can be inferred that as far as the equality of opportunity to women either as student or teacher in institution of higher education

Table 3 RELATING TO NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS, ENROLMENT, NUMBER OF TEACHERS,  
SEX-BASED BY THE TYPE OF INSTITUTION (HIGHER EDUCATION)  
DURING 1978-79 AND 1979-80

Type of Institution	Number of Institutions		Year of Enrolment 1978-79		Year of Enrolment 1979-80		Number of Teachers	
	1978-79	1979-80	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	1978-79	
							Men	Women
1. Institution of Degree level and above	5828	5953	2680772	993575	2750175	1010146	140807	35093
2. Institution below degree level	2355	2414	375521	107199	384128	115435	32720	4982
3. Intermediate/Junior College	470	517	228039	81656	283976	98704	9703	2531
4. University	105	108	194537	55862	194950	59169	16777	2009
5. Deemed to be University	10	10	7790	1564	8427	2118	1299	115
6. Institution of National Importance	10	10	13183	1109	13211	973	2188	160
7. Research Institute	45	44	2762	436	2907	475	924	91
Total	8823	9056	3502604	1241401	3637774	1287020	204418	44981
							212005	47740

SOURCE: Same as in Table 2.



is concerned, women do not hold a favourable position, not to speak of the equality. It is likely that the position may have slightly improved, but substantial improvement in the position as far as equality of opportunity to women in higher education, either as student or teacher is concerned, will have to be achieved. For that, the implementation of policy with regard to women will have to be geared in right direction.

#### Disparity at the Level of General, Professional/Technical Education

The disparity exists at the level of general education and also professional/technical education between men and women in higher education. The following tables present a view of the wide disparity existing in higher education:

Table 4 NO. OF PUPILS BY STAGES OF INSTRUCTIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Stages of Instruction	Number of Pupils			
	Year 1978-79		Year 1979-80	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
<b>General Education Doctorate Level</b>				
Arts	9844	4743	8060	4267
Science	8121	2272	8039	2562
Commerce	617	40	671	110
Total	18582	7055	16770	6939
<b>Post-Graduate Level</b>				
M.A.	95235	50341	100088	54091
M.Sc.	35023	13516	35318	14542
M.Com	30262	1673	34957	2529
Total	160520	65530	170363	71162
<b>First Degree Level</b>				
B.A.	622740	408534	580413	364367
B.Sc.	347869	120052	327701	124228
B.Com.	437880	57718	428307	68058
Total	1408489	586304	1336421	556653
<b>Diploma/Certificate Level</b>				
Arts	7384	2883	8681	2196
Science	613	448	258	667
Commerce	8699	4030	7891	4046
Total	16696	7361	16830	6909

SOURCE: As in Table 2, p. 63.

Table 5 NUMBER OF PUPILS BY STAGES OF INSTRUCTION

Stages of Instruction	Number of Pupils			
	Year 1978-79		Year 1979-80	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Professional/Technical Education				
College Level				
Doctorate	5661	761	6619	1211
Post-Graduate	29674	5589	33018	5865
Graduate	391555	66279	409006	71636
Diploma/Certificate				
Post-Graduate	10040	3096	11902	4327
Graduate	12424	4280	13183	5229

SOURCE: Education in India, Vol. I, Ministry of Education, 1978-79 and 1979-80, p. 65.

The disparity between men and women in higher education at various stages of instruction is equally wide.

Table 6 RATIO BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN IN GENERAL EDUCATION

Sl. No.	Year	Men	Women	Approximate Ratio between Men and Women
1978-79				
1.	Doctorate	18,582	7,055	2.5:1
2.	Post-Graduate	1,60,520	65,530	2.5:1
3.	First Degree	14,08,489	5,86,304	2.7:1
4.	Diploma/Certificate	16,696	7,361	2.4:1
1979-80				
1.	Doctorate	16,770	6,939	2.5:1
2.	Post-Graduate	1,70,363	71,162	2.4:1
3.	First Degree	13,36,421	5,56,653	2.5:1
4.	Diploma/Certificate	16,830	6,909	2.5:1

The ratio between men and women in general education during the years 1978-79 and 1979-80 at various stages of higher education is approximately 2.5:1 (see Table 6). There is almost no improvement in this position from the year 1978-79 to the year 1979-80.

Table 7 RATIO BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN IN PROFESSIONAL/  
TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Sl. No.	Year	Men	Women	Approximate Ratio between Men and Women
1978-79				
1.	Doctorate	5,661	761	7.5:1
2.	Post-Graduate	26,674	5,589	4.8:1
3.	Graduate	3,91,555	66,279	5.9:1
Diploma/Certificate				
1.	Post-Graduate	10,040	3,096	3.3:1
2.	Graduate	12,424	4,280	3:1
1979-80				
1.	Doctorate	6,619	1,211	5.5:1
2.	Post-Graduate	33,018	5,865	5.9:1
3.	Graduate	4,09,006	71,636	5.7:1
Diploma/Certificate				
1.	Post-Graduate	11,902	4,327	2.7:1
2.	Graduate	13,183	5,229	2.7:1

The ratio between men and women in professional and technical education at the higher level is relatively almost double or even more as compared to the general education (see Table 7). It is particularly still wider between men and women at the doctorate level, post-graduate level, and graduate level, but at diploma and certificate level is comparatively less.

In the national policy on education the emphasis has been laid on women's general and professional education so as to link it with productivity. It is, therefore, needed that the programme of implementation should be so directed as to lay due emphasis on women's general education, and particularly professional, and technical education at the higher level.

**Disparity at the Rural Level**

The disparity between men and women in higher education is still more wide at the rural level. It will be clear from Table 8.

Table 8 NUMBER OF PUPILS IN THE INSTITUTIONS  
BY TYPE IN RURAL AREAS

Type of Institutions	Number of Pupils in Institution in Rural Areas		Ratio between boys and girls
	Boys	Girls	
Universities	8,262	2,487	3.4:1
Institution deemed to be university	397	46	9.5:1
Institution of national importance	2,455	118	20.8:1
Research Institutions	189	8	23.5:1
<b>Institutions for Higher Education</b>			
Institutions up to degree standard and above	4,83,887	1,19,962	4.2:1
Institution giving educa- tion below degree level	43,713	12,438	3.5:1
Intermediate/Junior college	1,09,800	21,756	5:1

SOURCE: Education in India, Vol.I, Ministry of Education, 1978-79, and 1979-80, p. 62.

The disparity between men and women in higher education in the Institutions in Rural areas is much wider as compared to the general overall situation of disparity. It is more serious in the case of research Institutions in rural areas. As against 23,5 men studying in research institutions in rural areas, the number of women is only one which needs urgent attention.

Table 9

Type of Institution	Number of Pupils in Institutions					
	1970-71			1975-76		
	Boys	Girls		Boys	Girls	
Universities and Teaching Departments	140580	40773		181935 (+41355)	59548 (+18775)	194950 (+14015)
Institutions Deemed as Universities	7124	1040		6288 (-836)	1195 (+155)	8427 (+2139)
Research Institution	2317	288		2388 (+71)	426 (+138)	2907 (+519)
Colleges for General Education (Postgraduate, degree and undergraduate levels)	1687954	546254		2255776 (+567822)	812241 (+265987)	3418279 (+1162503)
Colleges for Professional Education (Postgraduate, degree and undergraduate level)	641429	123424		823126 (+181697)	156399 (+32975)	
School for General Education (High School, Middle School, Primary School)	50483232	27110323		57543981 (+7060349)	32423231 (+5312908)	64294614 (+6751033)
Schools for Vocational/Professional Education	94076	71787		112068 (+17992)	78901 (+7114)	1805503 (+1693435)

SOURCE: Education in India 1970-71, Govt. of India, Ministry of Education, 1970-71; 1975-76; 1979-80.  
 (+ Shows increase) (- Shows decrease)

**Disparity: A Trend Analysis**

That a general trend of disparity persists between men's and women's education at various stages of education and in various sectors, is amply substantiated by an analysis of data pertaining to the number of pupils in institutions during a period of ten years, i.e., from 1970-71 to 1979-80.

Table 9 presents a comparative view of education of women and men during the period 1970-71, 1975-76, and 1979-80. The period of ten years shows a continued trend of disparity between men's and women's education at various stages and in various sectors. From university level down to the level of primary (basic) education, from general education to professional/technical/vocational education, the disparity between men's and women's education is crystal clear.

Tables 9-10 clearly explain trend and pattern of disparity.

Table 10 NUMBER OF PUPILS IN INSTITUTIONS

Table of Institution	Approximate ratio between men and women		
	year	year	year
	1970-71	1975-76	1979-80
<b>I. General Education</b>			
(i) Universities and teaching departments	3.4:1	3:1	3.3:1
(ii) Colleges (Post graduate, graduate & under-graduate)	3.1:1	2.7:1	2.7:1
(iii) School (primary to Secondary schools)	1.8:1	1.7:1	1.7:1
<b>II. Research Institution</b>	8:1	5.7:1	6.5:1
<b>III. Professional/ Technical/ Vocational Education</b>			
(i) Colleges for vocational/ professional education	5.5:1	5.5:1	-
(ii) Schools for vocational education	1.4:1	1.4:1	1.9:1

From the above tables showing the approximate ration between men and women during 1970 and 1980 computed at three points, i.e., 1970-71, 1975-76 and 1979-80-- it is evident that there exists a general trend of disparity between men's and women's education. In certain sectors of education, like general education, and professional/vocational education at various stages nearly the same amount of disparity continues to exist. Only in research institutions, the disparity position has tilted to some extent in favour of women. If proper attention is not paid to this aspect in the policy's programme of education, equalisation of opportunity to women cannot be achieved.

#### Disparity at the Level of Entry to Teaching Profession

The various Commission and Committees on education have emphasised teaching profession as one of the important avenues of meaningful employment of women. But the picture which has emerged thus far is very pessimistic. Table 11 gives us a picture of the percentage of women as teachers which is so low.

Table 11 NUMBER OF TEACHERS BY TYPE OF INSTITUTIONS

Type of Institution	Percentage of women teachers to total number of teachers	
	1978-79	1979-80
University-teaching department	10.7	11.2
Institution deemed to be university	8.1	9.5
Institution of National importance	6.8	6.4
Research Institution	9.0	9.8
<b>Institution of Higher Education</b>		
(i) Institution of degree standard and above	20.0	20.2
(ii) Institution below degree level	13.2	13.8
(iii) Intermediate/junior college	20.7	21.5
(Total of i+ii+iii)	18.9	19.2

In institutions above degree level and below degree level, the percentage of women teachers to total number of teachers was 18.9 in 1978-79 and 19.2 in 1979-80. In university teaching, the percentage was much lower 10.7 in 1978-79, and 11.2 in 1979-80. In research institutions, the percentage was still lower--9.0 in 1978-79 and 9.8 in 1979-80.

From the angle of providing meaningful employment to women in educational institutions and to make their education productivity-oriented, it is important to raise the percentage of women teachers to the total number of teachers in institutions of higher education.

Hence from the angle of quantity and quality the policy of recruitment in favour of women has to take care to removal or minimise disparity in women's employment position in teaching profession. A similar approach has to be adopted to education and employment of women in order professions. At the same time quality has also to be maintained.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

From an analysis of the facts and details as outlined in the preceding pages, the sex-based disparity in our present national system of education is a proven fact. It is rather a self-evident reality.

The socialist, democratic objectives of our nation, and the Constitutional points of: (i) social justice, and (ii) equality of opportunity (right to equality) cannot be met unless sex-based disparity in the Country's educational system is removed. The process of continuance of sex-based disparity will help structural and systemic inequality to persist and perpetuate.

Then perhaps the fulfilment of nation's ambition as contained in the National Policy on Education 1986, Programme of Action, that "involvement of the community with the educational process, and creating a new form of accountability of the educational system" (pp.iii, introduction), will be a far cry without immediately attending to the task of women's education and other aspects of their education on a war-footing.

Remedial measures have to be initiated by gearing efforts towards implementation of policy on women's equality. Education alone can better their status-position because education will help to improve their economic position and level of awareness. Education alone can provide them safeguard against perpetuating disabilities, like subjection to the evils of dowry (anti-dowry legislations alone cannot help), harassment and atrocity, and in-born inequality (as they do suffer in respect of position and differentiated treatment



to son and daughter in most Indian households). Education alone can help to remove or mitigate ignorance, illiteracy and poverty among women. Education's much greater and immediate use is in the acceptability of the family planning programme by women because we must realise that our increasing effort toward education will be to a great extent neutralised by the increase in population every year.

Therefore, National Policy on Education - 1986 - Programme of Action,<sup>26</sup> rightly betrays a sense of urgency and determination: "implementation of National Policy on Education has to begin now - wherever possible, in whichever way possible"; "... some housewives can impart literacy to their illiterate sisters"; and "what is needed is .... rededication of all - the political leadership, administrative personnel, the parents, teachers and student - in the great task of nation building"; ... "for our every survival".

What is really needed is "will to dare and will to do".

#### SOME SUGGESTIONS

Vast is the gap and challenging is the task. Illiteracy cannot go by slogan, by policy resolution but by determined action. There is need of a four-pronged attack on illiteracy among women.

- (i) Cooperation of the voluntary organisation, particularly the women's organisation, in the task of spreading education and awareness among women, need to be registered. Just as some women's organisations in Delhi have helped in the enactment of recent anti-dowry legislation, and are trying to help its implementation, so must also they help in the task of removal of illiteracy and ignorance among women.
- (ii) By active participation of the Panchyats at the village level in spreading literacy among women and by making colleges and universities come out to help the programme during long vacations.
- (iii) By still vigorous efforts by Central and State Governments through their existing machinery.
- (iv) By pressing media - radio and television - into this task.

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## National Policy on Education 1986

### PART I

#### INTRODUCTORY

EDUCATION HAS continued to evolve, diversify and extend its reach and coverage since the dawn of human history. Every country develops its system of education to express and promote its unique socio-cultural identity and also to meet the challenges of the times. There are moments in history when a new direction has to be given to an age-old process. That moment is today.

The country has reached a stage in its economic and technical development when a major effort must be made to derive the maximum benefit from the assets already created and to ensure that the fruits of change reach all sections. Education is the highway to that goal.

With this aim in view, the Government of India announced in January 1985 that a new Education Policy would be formulated for the country. A comprehensive appraisal of the existing educational scene was made, followed by a countrywide debate. The views and suggestions received from different quarters were carefully studied.

#### The 1986 Education Policy and After

The National Policy of 1968 marked a significant step in the history of education in post-Independence India. It aimed to promote national progress, a sense of common citizenship and culture, and to strengthen national integration. It laid stress on the need for a radical reconstruction of the education system, to improve its quality at all stages, and gave much greater attention to science and technology, the cultivation of moral values and a closer relation between education and the life of the people.

Since the adoption of the 1968 Policy, there has been considerable expansion in educational facilities all over the country at all levels. More than 90 per cent of the country's rural habitations now have schooling facilities within a radius of one kilometer. There has been sizable augmentation of facilities at other stages also.

Perhaps the most notable development has been the acceptance of a common structure of education throughout the country and the introduction of the 10+2+3 system by most States. In the school curricula, in addition to laying down a common scheme of studies for boys and girls, science and mathematics were incorporated as compulsory subjects and work experience assigned a place of importance.

A beginning was also made in restructuring of courses at the undergraduate level. Centres of Advanced Studies were set up for post-graduate education and research. And we have been able to meet our requirements of educated manpower.

While these achievements are impressive by themselves, the general formulations incorporated in the 1968 Policy did not, however, get translated into a detailed strategy of implementation, accompanied by the assignment of specific responsibilities and financial and organisational support. As a result, problems of access, quality, quantity, utility and financial outlay, accumulated over the years, have now assumed such massive proportions that they must be tackled with the utmost urgency.

Education in India stands at the cross roads today. Neither normal linear expansion nor the existing pace and nature of improvement can meet the needs of the situation.

In the Indian way of thinking, a human being is a positive asset and a precious national resource which needs to be cherished, nurtured and developed with tenderness and care, coupled with dynamism. Each individual's growth presents a different range of problems and requirements, at every stage - from the womb to the tomb. The catalytic action of Education in this complex and dynamic growth process needs to be planned meticulously and executed with great sensitivity.

India's political and social life is passing through a phase which poses the danger of erosion to long-accepted values. The goals of secularism, socialism, democracy and professional ethics are coming under increasing strain.

The rural areas, with poor infrastructure and social services, will not get the benefit of trained and educated youth, unless rural-urban disparities are reduced and determined measures are taken to promote diversification and dispersal of employment opportunities.

The growth of our population needs to be brought down significantly over the coming decades. The largest single factor that could help achieve this is the spread of literacy and education among women.

Life in the coming decades is likely to bring new tensions together with unprecedented opportunities. To enable the people to benefit in the new environment will require new designs of human resource development. The coming generations should have the ability to internalise new ideas constantly and creatively. They have to be imbued with a strong commitment to humane values and to social justice. All this implies better education.

Besides, a variety of new challenges and social needs make it imperative for the Government to formulate and implement a new Education Policy for the country. Nothing short of this will meet the situation.

## PART II

### THE ESSENCE AND ROLE OF EDUCATION

In our national perception education is essentially for all. This is fundamental to our allround development, material and spiritual.

Education has an acculturating role. It refines sensitivities and perceptions that contribute to national cohesion, a scientific temper and independence of mind and spirit-- thus furthering the goals of socialism, secularism and democracy enshrined in our Constitution.

Education develops manpower for different levels of the economy. It is also the substrate on which research and development flourish,

being the ultimate guarantee of national self-reliance.

In sum, Education is a unique investment in the present and the future. This cardinal principle is the key to the National Policy on Education.

### Part III

#### NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

The Constitution embodies the principles on which the National System of Education is conceived of.

The concept of a National System of Education implies that, up to a given level, all students, irrespective of caste, creed, location or sex, have access to education of a comparable quality. To achieve this, the Government will initiate appropriately funded programmes. Effective measures will be taken in the direction of the Common School System recommended in the 1968 Policy.

The National System of Education envisages a common education structure. The 10+2+3 structure has now been accepted in all parts of the country. Regarding the further break-up of the first 10 years efforts will be made to move towards an elementary system comprising 5 years of primary education and 3 years of upper primary, following by 2 years of High School.

The National System of Education will be based on a national curricular framework which contains a common core along with other components that are flexible. The common core will include the history of India's freedom movement, the constitutional obligations and other content essential to nurture national identity. These elements will cut across subject areas cultural heritage, egalitarianism, democracy and secularism, equality of the sexes, protection of the environment, removal of social barriers, observance of the small family norm and inculcation of the scientific temper. All educational programmes will be carried on in strict conformity with secular values.

India has always worked for peace and understanding between nations, treating the whole as one family. True to this hoary tradition, Education has to strengthen this world view and motivate the younger generations for international cooperation and peaceful co-existence. This aspect cannot be neglected.

To promote equality, it will be necessary to provide for equal opportunity to all not only in access, but also in the conditions for success. Besides, awareness of the inherent equality of all will be created through the core curriculum. The purpose is to remove prejudices and complexes transmitted through the social environment and the accident of birth.

Minimum level of learning will be laid down for each stage of education. Steps will also be taken to foster among students an understanding of the diverse cultural and social systems of the people living in different parts of the country. Besides the promotion of the link language, programmes will also be launched to increase substantially the translation of books from one language to another and to publish multi-lingual dictionaries and glossaries. The young will be encouraged to undertake the rediscovery of India, each in his own image and perception.

In higher education in general, and technical education in particular, steps will be taken to facilitate inter-regional mobility by providing equal access to every Indian of requisite merit, regardless of his origins. The universal character of universities and other institutions of higher education is to be underscored.

In the areas of research and development, and education in science and technology, special measures will be taken to establish network arrangements between different institutions in the country to pool their resources and participate in projects of national importance.

The Nation as a whole will assume the responsibility of providing resource support for implementing programmes of educational transformation, reducing disparities, universalisation of elementary education, adult literacy, scientific and technological research, etc.

Life-long education is a cherished goal of the educational process. This presupposes universal literacy. Opportunities will be provided to the youth, housewives, agricultural and industrial workers and professionals to continue the education of their choice, at the pace suited to them. The future thrust will be in the direction of open and distance learning. The institutions which will be strengthened to play an important role in giving shape to the National System of Education are the University Grants Commission, the All India Council of Technical Education, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and the Indian Medical Council. Integrated planning will be instituted among all these bodies so as to establish functional linkages and reinforce programmes of research and postgraduate education. These, together with the National Council of Educational Research and Training, the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration and the International Institute of Science and Technology Education will be involved in implementing the Education Policy.

### **A Meaningful Partnership**

The Constitutional Amendment of 1976, which includes Education in the Concurrent List, was a far-reaching step whose implications--substantive, financial and administrative--require a new sharing of responsibility between the Union Government and the states in respect of this vital area of national life. While the role and responsibility of the States in regard to education will remain essentially unchanged, the Union Government would accept a larger responsibility to reinforce the national and integrative character of education, to maintain quality and standards (including those of the teaching profession at all levels), to study and monitor the educational requirements of the country as a whole in regard to manpower for development, to cater to the needs of research and advanced study, to look after the international aspects of education, culture and Human Resource Development and, in general, to promote excellence at all levels of the educational pyramid throughout the country. Concurrence signifies a partnership which is at once meaningful and challenging; the National Policy will be oriented towards giving effect to it in letter and spirit.

## Part IV

## EDUCATION FOR EQUALITY

**Disparities**

The new Policy will lay special emphasis on the removal of disparities and to equalise educational opportunity by attending to the specific needs of those who have been denied equality so far.

**Education for Women's Equality**

Education will be used as an agent of basic change in the status of woman. In order to neutralise the accumulated distortions of the past, there will be a well-conceived edge in favour of women. The National Education System will play a positive, interventionist role in the empowerment of women. It will foster the development of new values through redesigned curricula, textbooks, the training and orientation of teachers, decision-makers and administrators, and the active involvement of educational institutions. This will be an act of faith and social engineering. Women's studies will be promoted as a part of various courses and educational institutions encouraged to take up active programmes to further women's development.

The removal of women's illiteracy and obstacles inhibiting their access to, and retention in, elementary education will receive overriding priority, through provision of special support service, setting of time targets, and effective monitoring. Major emphasis will be laid on women's participation in vocational, technical and professional education at different levels. The policy of non-discrimination will be pursued vigorously to eliminate sex stereotyping in vocational and professional courses and to promote women's participation in non-traditional occupations, as well as in existing and emergent technologies.

**The Education of Scheduled Castes**

The central focus in the SCs' educational development is their equalisation with the non-SC population at all stages and levels of education, in all areas and in all the four dimensions - rural male, rural female, urban male and urban female.

The measures contemplated for the purpose include:

- (i) Incentives to indigent families to send their children to school regularly till they reach the age of 14;
- (ii) Pre-matric Scholarship scheme for children of families engaged in occupations such as scavenging, flaying and tanning to be made applicable from Class I onwards. All children of such families, regardless of incomes, will be covered by this scheme and time-bound programmes targetted on them will be undertaken;
- (iii) Constant micro-planning and verification to ensure that the enrolment, retention and successful completion of courses by SC students do not fall at any stage, and provision of remedial courses to improve their prospects for further education and employment.
- (iv) Recruitment of teachers from Scheduled Castes;
- (v) Provision of facilities for SC students in students' hostels

- at district headquarters, according to a phased programme;
- (vi) Location of school buildings, Balwadis and Adult Education Centres in such a way as to facilitate full participation of the Scheduled Castes;
- (vii) The utilisation of NREP and RLEGP resources so as to make substantial educational facilities available to the Scheduled Castes; and
- (viii) Constant innovation in finding new methods to increase the participation of the Scheduled Castes in the educational process.

#### **The Education of Scheduled Tribes**

The following measures will be taken urgently to bring the Scheduled Tribes on par with others :

- (i) Priority will be accorded to opening primary schools in tribal areas. The construction of school buildings will be undertaken in these areas on a priority basis under the normal funds for education, as well as under the NREP RLEGP Tribal Welfare schemes, etc.;
- (ii) The socio-cultural milieu of the STs has its distinctive characteristics including, in many cases, their own spoken languages. This underlines the need to develop the curricula and devise instructional materials in tribal languages at the initial stages, with arrangements for switching over to the regional language;
- (iii) Educated and promising Scheduled Tribe youths will be encouraged and trained to take up teaching in tribal areas.
- (iv) Residential schools, including Ashram Schools, will be established on a large scale, and
- (v) Incentive schemes will be formulated for the Scheduled Tribes, keeping in view their special needs and life style. Scholarships for higher education will emphasise technical, professional and para-professional courses. Special remedial courses and other programmes to remove psycho-social impediments will be provided to improve their performance in various courses.
- (vi) Anganwadis, Non-formal and Adult Education Centres will be opened on a priority basis in areas predominantly inhabited by the Scheduled Tribes.
- (vii) The curriculum at all stages of education will be designed to create an awareness of the rich cultural identity of the tribal people as also of their enormous creative talent.

#### **Other Educationally Backward Sections and Areas**

Suitable incentives will be provided to all educationally backward sections of society, particularly in the rural areas. Hill and desert districts, remote and inaccessible areas and islands will be provided adequate institutional infra-structure.

#### **Minorities**

Some minority groups are educationally deprived or backward. Greater attention will be paid to the education of these groups in the interests of equality and social justice. This will naturally



include the Constitutional guarantees given to them to establish and administer their own educational institutions, and protection to their own educational institutions, and protection to their languages and culture. Simultaneously, objectivity will be reflected in the preparation of textbooks and in all school activities, and all possible measures will be taken to promote an integration based on appreciation of common national goals and ideals, in conformity with the core curriculum.

### **The Handicapped**

The objective should be to integrate the physically and mentally handicapped with the general community as equal partners, to prepare them for normal growth and to enable them to face life with courage and confidence. The following measures will be taken in this regard:

- (i) Wherever it is feasible, the education of children with motor handicaps will be common with that of others.
- (ii) Special schools with hostels will be provided, as far as possible at district headquarters, for the severely handicapped children.
- (iii) Adequate arrangements will be made to give vocational training to the disabled.
- (iv) Teachers' training programmes will be reoriented, in particular for teachers of primary classes, to deal with the special difficulties of the handicapped children; and
- (v) Voluntary effort for the education of the disabled, will be encouraged in every possible manner.

### **Adult Education**

Our ancient scriptures define education as that which liberates - i.e. provides the instruments for liberation from ignorance and oppression. In the modern world, it would naturally include the ability to read and write, since that is the main instrument of learning. Hence the crucial importance of adult education, including adult literacy.

The critical development issue today is the continuous upgradation of skills so as to produce manpower resources of the kind and the number required by the society. Since participation by beneficiaries in the development programmes is of crucial importance, systematic programmes of adult education linked with national goals such as alleviation of poverty, national integration, environmental conservation, energisation of the cultural creativity of the people, observance of small family norm, promotion of women's equality, etc. will be organised and the existing programmes reviewed and strengthened.

The whole Nation must pledge itself to the eradication of illiteracy, particularly in the 15-35 age group. The Central and State Governments, political parties and their mass organisations, the mass media and educational institutions must commit themselves to mass literacy programmes of diverse nature. It will also have to involve on a large scale teachers, students, youth, voluntary agencies, employers, etc. Concerted efforts will be made to harness various research agencies to improve the pedagogical aspects of adult literacy. The mass literacy programme would include, in addition to literacy, functional knowledge and skills, and also awareness among

learners about the socio-economic reality and the possibility to change it.

A vast programme of adult and continuing education will be implemented through various ways and channels, including:

- (a) establishment of centres in rural areas for continuing education;
- (b) workers' education through the employers, trade unions and concerned agencies of government;
- (c) post-secondary education institutions;
- (d) wider promotion of books, libraries and reading rooms;
- (e) use of radio, TV and films, as mass and group learning media;
- (f) creation of learners' groups and organisations;
- (g) programmes of distance learning;
- (h) organising assistance in self-learning; and
- (i) organising need and interest based vocational training programmes.

## PART V

### REORGANISATION OF EDUCATION AT DIFFERENT STAGES

#### EARLY CHILDHOOD CARE & EDUCATION

The National Policy on Children specially emphasises investment in the development of the young child, particularly children from sections of the population in which first generation learners predominate.

Recognising the holistic nature of child development, viz., nutrition, health and social, mental, physical, moral and emotional development, Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) will receive high priority and be suitably integrated with the Integrated Child Development Services programme, wherever possible. Day-care centres will be provided as a support service for universalisation of primary education, to enable girls engaged in taking care of siblings to attend school and as a support service for working women belonging to poorer sections.

Programmes of ECCE will be child-oriented, focussed around play and the individuality of the child. Formal methods and introduction of the 3 R's will be discouraged at this stage. The local community will be fully involved in these programmes.

A full integration of child care and pre-primary education will be brought about, both as a feeder and a strengthening factor for primary education and for human resource development in general. In continuation of the stage, the School Health Programme will be strengthened..

#### Elementary Education

The new thrust in elementary education will emphasise two aspects: (i) universal enrolment and universal retention of children up to 14 years of age, and (ii) a substantial improvement in the quality of education.

### **Child-Centred Approach**

A warm, welcoming and encouraging approach, in which all concerned share a solicitude for the needs of the child, is the best motivation for the child to attend school and learn. A child-centred and activity-based process of learning should be adopted at the primary stage. First generation learners should be allowed to set their own pace and be given supplementary remedial instruction. As the child grows, the component of cognitive learning will be increased and skills organised through practice. The policy of non-detention at the primary stage will be retained, making evaluation as disaggregated as feasible. Corporal punishment will be firmly excluded from the educational system and school timings as well as vacations adjusted to the convenience of children.

### **School Facilities**

Provision will be made of essential facilities in primary schools, including at least two reasonably large rooms that the usable in all weather, and the necessary toys, blackboards, maps, charts, and other learning material. At least two teachers, one of whom a woman, should work in every school, the number increasing as early as possible to one teacher per class. A phased drive, symbolically called OPERATION BLACKBOARD will be undertaken with immediate effect to improve Primary Schools all over the country. Government, local bodies, voluntary agencies and individuals will be fully involved. Construction of school buildings will be the first charge on NREP and RLEGP funds.

### **Non-formal Education**

A large and systematic programme of non-formal education will be launched for school drop-outs, for children from habitations without schools, working children and girls who cannot attend whole-day schools.

Modern technological aids will be used to improve the learning environment of NFE centres. Talented and dedicated young men and women from the local community will be chosen to serve as instructors, and particular attention paid to their training. Steps will be taken to facilitate their entry into the formal system in deserving cases. All necessary measures will be taken to ensure that the quality of non-formal education is comparable with formal education.

Effective steps will be taken to provide a framework for the curriculum on the lines of the national core curriculum, but based on the needs of the learners and related to the local environment. Learning material of high quality will be developed and provided free of charge to all pupils. NFE programmes will provide participatory learning environment, and activities such as games and sports, cultural programmes, excursions, etc.

Much of the work of running NFE centres will be done through voluntary agencies and panchayati raj institutions. The provision of funds to these agencies will be adequate and timely. The Government will take overall responsibility for this vital sector.

### **A Resolve**

The New Education Policy will give the highest priority to solving the problem of children dropping out of school and will adopt an

array of meticulously formulated strategies based on micro-planning, and applied at the grassroots level all over the country, to ensure children's retention at school. This effort will be fully coordinated with the network of non-formal education. It shall be ensured that all children who attain the age of about 11 years by 1990 will have had five years of schooling, or its equivalent through the non-formal stream. Likewise, by 1995 all children will be provided free and compulsory education up to 14 years of age.

### Secondary Education

Secondary education begins to expose students to the differentiated roles of science, the humanities and social sciences. This is also an appropriate stage to provide children with a sense of history and national perspective and give them opportunities to understand their constitutional duties and rights as citizens. Conscious internalisation of a healthy work ethos and of the values of a humane and composite culture will be brought about through appropriately formulated curricula. Vocationalisation through specialised institutions or through the refashioning of secondary education can, at this stage, provide valuable manpower for economic growth. Access to secondary education will be widened to cover areas unserved by it at present. In other areas, the main emphasis will be on consolidation.

It is universally accepted that children with special talent or aptitude should be provided opportunities to proceed at a faster pace, by making good quality education available to them, irrespective of their capacity to pay for it.

Pace-setting schools intended to serve this purpose will be established in various parts of the country on a given pattern, but with full scope for innovation and experimentation. Their broad aims will be to serve the objective of excellence, coupled with equity and social justice (with reservation for SCs and STs), to promote national integration by providing opportunities to talented children largely rural, from different parts of the country to live and learn together, to develop their full potential, and, most importantly, to become catalysts of a nation-wide programme of school improvement. The schools will be residential and free of charge.

### Vocationalisation

The introduction of systematic, well-planned and rigorously implemented programmes of vocational education is crucial in the proposed educational reorganisation. These elements are meant to enhance individual employability to reduce the mis-match between the demand and supply of skilled manpower, and to provide an alternative for those pursuing higher education without particular interest or purpose.

Vocational education will be a distinct stream, intended to prepare students for identified occupations spanning several areas of activity. These courses will ordinarily be provided after the secondary stage, but keeping the scheme flexible, they may also be made available after Class VIII. In the interests of integrating vocational education better with their facilities the Industrial Training Institutes will also conform to the larger vocational pattern.

Health planning and health service management should optimally

interlock with the education and training of appropriate categories of health manpower through health-related vocational courses. Health education at the primary and middle levels will ensure the commitment of the individual to family and community health, and lead to health-related vocational courses at the +2 stage of higher secondary education. Efforts will be made to devise similar vocational courses based on Agriculture, Marketing, Social Services, etc. An emphasis in vocational education will also be on development of attitudes, knowledge, and skills for entrepreneurship and self-employment.

The establishment of vocational courses or institutions will be the responsibility of the Government as well as employers in the public and private sectors; the Government will, however, take special steps to cater to the needs of women, rural and tribal students and the deprived sections of society. Appropriate programmes will also be started for the handicapped.

Graduates of vocational courses will be given opportunities, under predetermined conditions, for professional growth, career improvement and lateral entry into courses of general, technical and professional education through appropriate bridge courses.

Non-formal, flexible and need-based vocational programmes will also be made available to neoliterates, youth who have completed primary education, school drop-outs, persons engaged in work and unemployed or partially employed persons. Special attention in this regard will be given to women.

Tertiary level courses will be organised for the young who graduate from the higher secondary courses of the academic stream and may also require vocational courses.

It is proposed that vocational courses cover 10 per cent of higher secondary students by 1990 and 25 per cent by 1995. Steps will be taken to see that a substantial majority of the products of vocational courses are employed or become self-employed. Review of the courses offered would be regularly undertaken. Government will also review its recruitment policy to encourage diversification at the secondary level.

### Higher Education

Higher education provides people with an opportunity to reflect on the critical social, economic, cultural, moral and spiritual issues facing humanity. It contributes to national development through dissemination of specialised knowledge and skills. It is, therefore, a crucial factor for survival. Being at the apex of the educational pyramid, it has also a key role in producing teachers for the education system.

In the context of the unprecedented explosion of knowledge, higher education has to become dynamic as never before, constantly entering uncharted areas.

There are around 150 universities and about 5,000 colleges in India today. In view of the need to effect an all-round improvement in these institutions, it is proposed that, in the near future, the main emphasis will be on the consolidation of, and expansion of facilities in, the existing institutions.

Urgent steps will be taken to protect the system from degradation.

In view of mixed experiences with the system of affiliation, autonomous colleges will be helped to develop in large numbers until

the affiliating system is replaced by a freer and more creative association of universities with colleges. Similarly, the creation of autonomous departments within universities on a selective basis will be encouraged. Autonomy and freedom will be accompanied by accountability.

Courses and programmes will be redesigned to meet the demands of specialisation better. Special emphasis will be laid on linguistic competence. There will be increasing flexibility in the combination of courses.

State level planning and coordination of higher education will be done through Councils of Higher Education. The UGC and these Councils will develop coordinative methods to keep a watch on standards.

Provision will be made for minimum facilities and admission will be regulated according to capacity. A major effort will be directed towards the transformation of teaching methods. Audio-visual aids and electronic equipment will be introduced; development of science and technology curricula and material, research, and teacher orientation will receive attention. This will require preparation of teachers at the beginning of the service as well as continuing education thereafter. Teachers' performance will be systematically assessed. All posts will be filled on the basis of merit.

Research in the universities will be provided enhanced support and steps will be taken to ensure its high quality. Suitable mechanisms will be set up by the UGC for coordinating research in the universities, particularly in thrust areas of science and technology, with research undertaken by other agencies. An effort will be made to encourage the setting up of national research facilities within the university system, with proper forms of autonomous management.

Research in Indology, the humanities and social sciences will receive adequate support. To fulfil the need for the synthesis of knowledge, inter-disciplinary research will be encouraged. Efforts will be made to delve into India's ancient fund of knowledge and to relate it to contemporary reality. This effort will imply the development of facilities for the intensive study of Sanskrit and other Classical languages.

In the interest of greater coordination and consistency in policy, sharing of facilities and developing inter-disciplinary research, a national body covering higher education in general, agricultural, medical, technical, legal and other professional fields will be set up.

#### **Open University and Distance Learning**

The Open University system has been initiated in order to augment opportunities for higher education and as an instrument of democratising education.

The Indira Gandhi National Open University, established in 1985 in fulfilment of these objectives, will be strengthened.

This powerful instrument will have to be developed with care and extended with caution.

#### **Delinking Degrees From Jobs**

A beginning will be made in de-linking degrees from jobs in selected areas.

The proposal cannot be applied to occupation-specific courses like

Engineering, Medicine, Law, Teaching, etc. Similarly, the services of specialists with academic qualifications in the humanities, social sciences, sciences, etc. will continue to be required in various job positions.

De-linking will be applied in services for which a university degree need not be a necessary qualification. Its implementation will lead to a re-fashioning of job-specific courses and afford greater justice to those candidates who, despite being equipped for a given job, are unable to get it because of an unnecessary preference for graduate candidates.

Concomitant with de-linking, an appropriate machinery, such as a National Testing Service, will be established, in appropriate phases, to conduct tests on a voluntary basis to determine the suitability of candidates for specified jobs and to pave the way for the emergence of norms of comparable competence across the nation.

### Rural University

The new pattern of the Rural University will be consolidated and developed on the lines of Mahatma Gandhi's revolutionary ideas on education so as to take up the challenges of micro-planning at grass-root levels for the transformation of rural areas. Institutions and programmes of Gandhian basic education will be supported.

## PART VI

### TECHNICAL AND MANAGEMENT EDUCATION

Although the two streams of technical and management education are functioning separately, it is essential to look at them together, in view of their close relationship and complementary concerns. The reorganisation of Technical and Management Education should take into account the anticipated scenario by the turn of the century, with specific reference to the likely changes in the economy, social environment, production and management processes, the rapid expansion of knowledge and the great advances in science and technology.

The infrastructure and services sectors as well as the unorganised rural sector also need a greater induction of improved technologies and a supply of technical and managerial manpower. This will be attended to by the Government.

In order to improve the situation regarding manpower information, the recently set up Technical Manpower Information System will be further developed and strengthened.

Continuing education, covering established as well as emerging technologies, will be promoted.

As computers have become important and ubiquitous tools, a minimal exposure to computers and a training in their use will form part of professional education. Programmes of computer literacy will be organised on wide scale from the school stage.

In view of the present rigid entry requirements to formal courses restricting the access of a large segment of people to technical and managerial education, programmes through a distance-learning process, including use of the mass media, will be offered. Technical and management education programmes, including education in poly

technics, will also be on a flexible modular pattern based on credits, with provision for multi-point entry. A strong guidance and counselling service will be provided.

In order to increase the relevance of management education, particularly in the non-corporate and under-managed sectors, the management education system will study and document the Indian experience and create a body of knowledge and specific educational programmes suited to these sectors.

Appropriate formal and non-formal programmes of technical education will be devised for the benefit of women, the economically and socially weaker sections, and the physically handicapped.

The emphasis on vocational education and its expansion will need a large number of teachers and professionals in vocational education, educational technology, curriculum development, etc. Programmes will be started to meet this demand.

To encourage students to consider "self-employment" as a career option, training in entrepreneurship will be provided through modular or optional courses, in degree or diploma programmes.

In order to meet the continuing needs of updating curriculum, renewal should systematically phase out obsolescence and introduce new technologies or disciplines.

#### **Institutional Thrusts**

Some polytechnic in the rural areas have started training weaker groups in those areas for productive occupations through a system of community polytechnics. The community polytechnic system will be appraised and appropriately strengthened to increase its quality and coverage.

#### **Innovation, Research and Development**

Research as a means of renovation and renewal of educational processes will be undertaken by all higher technical institutions. It will primarily aim at producing quality manpower capable of taking up R&D functions. Research for development will focus on improving present technologies, developing new indigenous one and enhancing production and productivity. A suitable system for watching and forecasting technology will be set up.

The scope for cooperation, collaboration and networking relationships between institutions at various levels and with the user systems will be utilised. Proper maintenance, and an attitude of innovation and improvement will be promoted systematically.

#### **Promoting Efficiency and Effectiveness at All Levels**

As technical and management education is expensive, the following major steps will be taken for cost-effectiveness and to promote excellence:

- (i) High priority will be given to modernisation and removal of obsolescence. However, modernisation will be undertaken to enhance functional efficiency and not for its own sake or as a status symbol;
- (ii) Institutions will be encouraged to generate resources using their capacities to provide services to the community and industry. They will be equipped with up-to-date learning



- resources, library and computer facilities;
- (iii) Adequate hostel accommodation will be provided, specially for girls. Facilities for sports, creative work and cultural activities will be expanded;
- (iv) More effective procedures will be adopted in the recruitment of staff. Career opportunities, service conditions, consultancy norms and other perquisites will be improved;
- (v) Teachers will have multiple roles to perform: teaching, research, development of learning resource material, extension, and managing the institution. Initial and in-service training will be made mandatory for faculty members and adequate training reserves will be provided. Staff Development Programmes will be integrated at the State, and coordinated at Regional and National levels;
- (vi) The curriculum of technical and management programmes will be targetted on current as well as the projected needs of industry or user systems. Active interaction between technical or management institutions and industry will be promoted in programme planning and implementation, exchange of personnel, training facilities and resources, research and consultancy and other areas of mutual interest;
- (vii) Excellence in performance of institutions and individuals will be recognised and rewarded. The emergence of substandard and institutions will be checked. A climate conducive to excellence and innovation will be promoted with full involvement of the faculty;
- (viii) Select institutions will be awarded academic, administrative and financial autonomy of varying degrees, building in safeguards with respect to accountability; and
- (ix) Networking systems will have to be established between technical education and industry, R&D organisations, programmes of rural and community development, and with other sectors of education with complementary characteristics.

#### **Management Functions and Change**

In view of the likely emergence of changes in management systems and the need to equip students with the ability to cope with them, effective mechanisms will be devised to understand the nature and direction of change per se and to develop the important skill of managing change.

In view of the integrated nature of the task, the Ministry of Human Resource Development will coordinate the balanced development of engineering, vocational and management education as well as the education of technicians and craftsmen.

Professional societies will be encouraged and enabled to perform their due role in the advancement of technical and management education.

The All India Council for Technical Education will be vested with statutory authority for planning, formulation and the maintenance of norms and standards, accreditation, funding of priority areas, monitoring and evaluation, maintaining parity of certification and awards and ensuring the coordinated and integrated development of technical and management education. Mandatory periodic evaluation will be carried out by a duly constituted Accreditation Board.

In the interests of maintaining standards and for several other valid reasons, the commercialisation of technical and professional education will be curbed. An alternative system will be devised to involve private and voluntary effort in this sector of education, in conformity with accepted norms and goals.

## PART VII

### MAKING THE SYSTEM WORK

It is obvious that these and many other new tasks of education cannot be performed in a state of disorder. Education needs to be managed in an atmosphere of utmost intellectual rigour, seriousness of purpose and, at the same time, of freedom essential for innovation and creativity. While far-reaching changes will have to be incorporated in the quality and range of education, the process of introducing discipline into the system will have to be started, here and now, in what exists.

The country has placed boundless trust in the educational system. The people have a right to expect concrete results. The first task is to make it work. All teachers should teach and all students study.

The strategy in this behalf will consist of -

- (a) a better deal to teachers with greater accountability;
- (b) provision of improved students' services and insistence on observance of acceptable norms of behaviour;
- (c) provision of better facilities to institutions; and
- (d) creation of a system of performance appraisals of institutions according to standards and norms set at the National or State levels.

## PART VIII

### REORIENTING THE CONTENT AND PROCESS OF EDUCATION

#### The Cultural Perspective

The existing schism between the formal system of education and the country's rich and varied cultural traditions needs to be bridged. The preoccupation with modern technologies cannot be allowed to sever our new generations from the roots in India's history and culture. De-culturation, de-humanisation and alienation must be avoided at all costs. Education can and must bring about the fine synthesis between change-oriented technologies and the country's continuity of cultural tradition.

The curricula and processes of education will be enriched by cultural content in as many manifestations as possible. Children will be enabled to develop sensitivity to beauty, harmony and refinement. Resource persons in the community, irrespective of their formal educational qualifications, will be invited to contribute to the cultural enrichment of education, employing both the literate and oral traditions of communication. To sustain and carry forward

the cultural tradition, the role of old masters, who train pupils through traditional modes will be supported and recognised.

Linkages will be established between the university system and institutions of higher learning in art, archaeology, oriental studies etc. Due attention will also be paid to the specialised disciplines of Fine Arts, Museology, Folklore etc. Teaching, training and research in these disciplines will be strengthened so as to replenish specialised manpower in them.

### **Value Education**

The growing concern over the erosion of essential values and an increasing cynicism in society has brought to focus the need for readjustments in the curriculum in order to make education a forceful tool for the cultivation of social and moral values.

In our culturally plural society, education should foster universal and eternal values, oriented towards the unity and intergration of our people. Such value education should help eliminate obscurantism, religious fanaticism, violence, superstition and fatalism.

Apart from this combative role, value education has a profound positive content, based on our heritage, national goals universal perceptions. It should lay primary emphasis on this aspect.

### **Languages**

The Education Policy of 1968 had examined the question of the development of languages in great detail; its essential provisions can hardly be improved upon and are as relevant today as before. The implementation of this part of the 1968 Policy has, however, been uneven. The Policy will be implemented more energetically and purposefully.

### **Books and Libraries**

The availability of books at low prices is indispensable for people's education. Effort will be made to secure easy accessibility to books for all segments of the population. Measures will be taken to improve the quality of books, promote the reading habit and encourage creative writing. Authors' interests will be protected. Good translations of foreign books into Indian languages will be supported. Special attention will be paid to the production of quality books for children, including text books and work books.

Together with the development of books, a nation-wide movement for the improvement of existing libraries and the establishment of new ones will be taken up. Provision will be made in all educational institutions for library facilities and the status of librarians improved.

### **Media and Educational Technology**

Modern communication technologies have the potential to bypass several stages and sequences in the process of development encountered in earlier decades. Both the constraints of time and distance at once become manageable. In order to avoid structural dualism, modern educational technology must reach out to the most distant areas and the most deprived sections of beneficiaries simultaneously with the areas of comparative affluence and ready availa-

bility.

Educational technology will be employed in the spread of useful information, the training and re-training of teachers, to improve quality, sharpen awareness of art and culture, inculcate abiding values, etc., both in the formal and non-formal sectors. Maximum use will be made of the available infrastructure. In villages without electricity, batteries or solar packs will be used to run the programme.

The generation of relevant and culturally compatible educational programmes will form an important component of educational technology, and all available resources in the country will be utilised for this purpose.

The media have a profound influence on the minds of children as well as adults; some of them tend to encourage consumerism, violence, etc., and have a deleterious effect. Radio and TV programmes which clearly militate against proper educational objectives will be prevented. Steps will be taken to discourage such trends in films and other media also. An active movement will be started to promote the production of children's films of high quality and usefulness.

### **Work Experience**

Work experience, viewed as purposive and meaningful manual work, organised as an integral part of the learning process and resulting in either goods or services useful to the community, is considered as an essential component at all stages of education, to be provided through well-structured and graded programmes. It would comprise activities in accord with the interests, abilities and needs of students, the level of skills and knowledge to be upgraded with the stages of education. This experience would be helpful on his entry into the workforce. Prevocational programmes provided at the lower secondary stage will also facilitate the choice of the vocational courses at the higher secondary stage.

### **Education and Environment**

There is a paramount need to create a consciousness of the environment. It must permeate all ages and all sections of society, beginning with the child. Environmental consciousness should inform teaching in schools and colleges. This aspect will be integrated in the entire educational process.

### **Mathematics Teaching**

Mathematics should be visualised as the vehicle to train a child to think, reason, analyse and to articulate logically. Apart from being a specific subject, it should be treated as a concomitant to any subject involving analysis and reasoning.

With the recent introduction of computers in schools, educational computing and the emergence of learning through the understanding of cause-effect relationships and the interplay of variables, the teaching of mathematics will be suitably redesigned to bring it in line with modern technological devices.

### **Science Education**

Science education will be strengthened so as to develop in the child well defined abilities and values such as the spirit of in-

quity, creativity, objectivity, the courage to question, and an aesthetic sensibility.

Science education programmes will be designed to enable the learner to acquire problem solving and decision making skills and to discover the relationship of science with health, agriculture, industry and other aspects of daily life. Every effort will be made to extend science education to the vast numbers who have remained outside the pale of formal education.

### **Sports And Physical Education**

Sports and physical education are an integral part of the learning process, and will be included in the evaluation of performance. A nation-wide infrastructure for physical education, sports and games will be built into the educational edifice.

The infrastructure will consist of playfields, equipment, coaches and teachers of physical education as part of the School Improvement Programme. Available open spaces in urban areas will be reserved for playgrounds, if necessary by legislation. Efforts will be made to establish sports institutions and hostels where specialised attention will be given to sports activities and sports-related studies, along with normal education. Appropriate encouragement will be given to those talented in sports and games. Due stress will be laid on indigenous traditional games. As a system which promotes an integrated development of body and mind, Yoga will receive special attention. Efforts will be made to introduce yoga in all schools; to this end, it will be introduced in teacher training courses.

### **The Role Of Youth**

Opportunities will be provided for the youth to involve themselves in national and social development through educational institutions and outside them. Students will be required to participate in one or the other of existing schemes, namely, the National Service Scheme, National Cadet Corps, etc. Outside the institutions, the youth will be encouraged to take up programmes of development, reform and extension. The National Service Volunteer Scheme will be strengthened.

### **The Evaluation Process And Examination Reform**

Assessment of performance is an integral part of any process of learning and teaching. As part of sound educational strategy, examinations should be employed to bring about qualitative improvements in education.

The objective will be to re-cast the examination system so as to ensure a method of assessment that is a valid and reliable measure of student development and a powerful instrument for improving teaching and learning. In functional terms, this would mean:

- (i) The elimination of excessive element of chance and subjectivity;
- (ii) The de-emphasis of memorisation;
- (iii) Continuous and comprehensive evaluation that incorporates both scholastic and non-scholastic aspects of education, spread over the total span of instructional time;
- (iv) Effective use of the evaluation process by teachers, students and parents;

- (v) Improvement in the conduct of examinations;
- (vi) The introduction of concomitant changes in instructional materials and methodology;
- (vii) Introduction of the semester system from the secondary stage in a phased manner; and
- (viii) The use of grades in place of marks.

The above goals are relevant both for external examinations and evaluation within educational institutions. Evaluation at the institutional level will be streamlined and the predominance of external examinations reduced.

## PART IX

### THE TEACHER

The status of the teacher reflects the socio-cultural ethos of a society; it is said that no people can rise above the level of its teachers. The Government and the community should endeavour to create conditions which will help motivate and inspire teachers on constructive and creative lines. Teachers should have the freedom to innovate, to devise appropriate methods of communication and activities relevant to the needs and capabilities of and the concerns of the community.

The methods of recruiting teachers will be reorganised to ensure merit, objectivity and conformity with spatial and functional requirements. The pay and service conditions of teachers have to be commensurate with their social and professional responsibilities and with the need to attract talent to the profession. Efforts will be made to reach the desirable objective of uniform emoluments, service conditions and grievance-removal mechanisms for teachers throughout the country. Guidelines will be formulated to ensure objectivity in the postings and transfers of teachers. A system of teacher evaluation--open, participative and data-based--will be created and reasonable opportunities of promotion to higher grades provided. Norms of accountability will be laid down with incentives for good performance and disincentives for non-performance. Teachers will continue to play a crucial role in the formulation and implementation of educational programmes.

Teachers' associations must play a significant role in upholding professional integrity, enhancing the dignity of the teacher and in curbing professional misconduct. National level associations of teachers, could prepare a Code of professional Ethics for Teachers and see to its observance.

#### Teacher Education

Teacher education is a continuous process, and its pre-service and in-service components are inseparable. As the first step, the system of teacher education will be overhauled.

The new programmes of teacher-education will emphasise continuing education and the need for teachers to meet the thrusts envisaged in this policy.

District Institute of Education and Training (DIET) will be established with the capability to organise pre-service and in-service

courses for elementary school teachers and for the personnel working in non-formal and adult education. As DIETs get established, sub-standard institutions will be phased out. Selected Secondary Teacher Training Colleges will be upgraded to complement the work of State Councils of Educational Research and Training the National Council of Teacher Education will be provided the necessary resources and capability to accredit institutions of teacher-education and provide guidance regarding curricula and methods. Networking arrangements will be created between institutions of teacher education and university departments of education.

## PART X

### THE MANAGEMENT OF EDUCATION

An overhaul of the system of planning and the management of education will receive high priority. The guiding considerations will be:

- (a) Evolving a long-term planning and management perspective of education and its integration with the country's developmental and manpower needs;
- (b) Decentralisation and the creation of a spirit of autonomy for educational institutions;
- (c) Giving pre-eminence to people's involvement, including association of non-governmental agencies and voluntary effort;
- (d) Inducting more women in the planning and management of education; and
- (e) Establishing the principle of accountability in relation to given objectives and norms.

#### National Level

The Central Advisory Board of Education will play a pivotal role in reviewing educational development, determining the changes required to improve the system and monitoring implementation. It will function through appropriate Committees and other mechanisms created to ensure contact with, and coordination among, the various areas of Human Resource Development. The Departments of Education at the Centre and in the states will be strengthened through the involvement of professionals.

#### Indian Education Service

A proper management structure in education will entail the establishment of the Indian education Service as an All-India Service. It will bring a national perspective to this vital sector. The basic principles, functions and procedures of recruitment to this service will be decided in consultation with the state Governments.

#### State Level

State Governments may establish State Advisory Boards of Education on the lines of CABE. Effective measures should be taken to integrate mechanisms in the various State departments concerned with Human Resource Development.

Special attention will be paid to the training of educational



planners, administrators and heads of institutions. Institutional arrangements for this purpose should be set up in stages.

#### **District and local level**

District Boards of Education will be created to manage education up to the higher secondary level. State Governments will attend to this aspect with all possible expenditure. Within a multi-level framework of educational development, Central, State, District and Local level agencies will participate in planning, coordination, monitoring and evaluation.

A very important role must be assigned to the head of an educational institution. Heads will be specially selected and trained. School complexes will be promoted on a flexible pattern so as to serve as networks of institutions and synergic alliances to encourage professionalism among teachers, to ensure observance of norms of conduct and to enable the sharing of experiences and facilities. It is expected that a developed system of school complexes will take over much of the inspection functions in due course.

Local communities, through appropriate bodies, will be assigned a major role in programmes of school improvement.

#### **Voluntary Agencies and Aided Institutions**

Non-government and voluntary effort including social activist groups will be encouraged, subject to proper management, and financial assistance provided. At the same time, steps will be taken to prevent the establishment of institutions set up to commercialise education.

### **PART XI**

#### **RESOURCES AND REVIEW**

The Education Commission of 1964-66, the National Education Policy of 1968 and practically all others concerned with education have stressed that the egalitarian goals and the practical, development-oriented objectives of Indian society can be realised only by making investments in education of an order commensurate with the nature and dimensions of the task.

Resources, to the extent possible, will be raised by mobilising donations, asking the beneficiary communities to maintain school buildings and supplies of some consumables, raising fees at the higher levels of education and effecting some savings by the efficient use of facilities. Institutions involved with research and the development of technical and scientific manpower should also mobilise some funds by levying a cess or charge on the user agencies, including Government departments, and entrepreneurs. All these measures will be taken not only to reduce the burden on state resources but also for creating a greater sense of responsibility within the educational system. However, such measures will contribute only marginally to the total funding. The Government and the community in general will find funds for such programmes as: the universalisation of elementary education; liquidating illiteracy; equality of access to educational opportunities to all sections throughout the country; enhancing the social relevance, quality and functional effectiveness



of educational programmes; generating knowledge and developing technologies in scientific fields crucial to self-sustaining economic development; and creating a critical consciousness of the values and imperatives of national survival.

The deleterious consequences of non-investment or inadequate investment in education are indeed very serious. Similarly, the cost of neglecting vocational and technical education and of research is also unacceptable. Sub-optimal performance in these fields could cause irreparable damage to the Indian economy. The network of institutions set up from time to time since Independence to facilitate the application of science and technology would need to be substantially and expeditiously updated, since they are fast becoming obsolete.

In view of these imperatives, education will be treated as a crucial area of investment for national development and survival. The National Policy on Education, 1968, had laid down that the investment on education be gradually increased to reach a level of expenditure of 6 per cent of the national income as early as possible. Since the actual level of investment has remained far short of that target, it is important that greater determination be shown now to find the funds for the programmes laid down in this policy. While the actual requirements will be computed from time to time on the basis of monitoring and review, the outlay on education will be shopped up to the extent essential for policy implementation in the Seventh Plan. It will be ensured that from the Eighth Five Year Plan onwards it will uniformly exceed to 6 Percent of the National income.

### Review

The implementation of the various parameters of the New Policy must be reviewed every five years. Appraisal at short intervals will also be made to ascertain the progress of implementation and the trends emerging from time to time.

## Part XII

### THE FUTURE

The future shape of education in India is too complex to envision with precision. Yet, given our tradition which has almost always put a high premium on intellectual and spiritual attainment, we are bound to succeed in achieving our objectives.

The main task is to strengthen the base of the pyramid, which might come close to a billion people at the turn of the century. Equally, it is important to ensure that those at the top of the pyramid area among the best in the world. Our cultural well-springs had taken good care of both ends in the past; the skew set in with foreign domination and influence. It should now be possible to further intensify the nation-wide effort in Human Resource Development, with Education playing its multifaceted role.

## Programme of Action : NPE (1986)

[Extracts from PROGRAMME OF ACTION: National Policy on Education--1986, New Delhi, Government of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education, 1986]

### MAKING THE SYSTEM WORK

#### THE PRESENT SITUATION

OUR SYSTEM of education and learning has nurtured roots of our culture and is the foundation of our innately tolerant and civilised society. With all its imbalances and shortcomings the educational system is a living entity which has vast achievements to its credit. It has sustained the democratic institutions and the administrative apparatus, and has provided the manpower not only for spectacular advances in agriculture and industry, but also in new and emerging areas of science and technology.

The educational system, however, presents an uneven, often conflicting picture: of great institutions, with a large number of universities and colleges where all norms of academic conduct are undermined; several thousands of schools in which teachers and students are engaged not only in observance of their expected roles but which radiate excellence, and also those which do not open on time, are unkempt and where the teaching and learning processes have little chance to germinate; large numbers of teachers who inspire their pupils and are known for their learning, but also teachers who thoughtlessly ignore their obligations, sometimes altogether absenting themselves from the institutions; most sophisticated systems of pupil evaluation, with an examination system which is fast losing its credibility; and innumerable instances of outstanding work done by people engaged in the onerous task of organising adult and non-formal education programmes, as well as large numbers of projects which just do not function.

It is obvious that in this dichotomous situation, it is women, the urban poor, and the rural population who suffer. The lack of order and discipline in the educational system prevents achievement of optimal results from the vast investment made in it, which in turn is the cause of widespread despair and cynicism about the country's future.

Unless the system of education works properly - at all stages of education, in all parts of the country - the ambitious programme of educational reform envisaged in National Policy on Education (NPE) will come to a naught. As pointed out in the document 'Challenge of Education - a policy perspective', brought out by the Central Government in August 1985, the system of education is an integral part of the total socio-economic system and that transformation of the system of education will have to go side by side with critical changes in

the rest of the system. NPE acknowledges this, but it goes on to affirm that, given the will, and a collective endeavour of teachers and students it is possible to infuse a new life, a new creativity into the system.

#### THE IMPLICATIONS OF POLICY, STRATEGIES AND OPERATIONAL PRE-REQUISITES

The three short paragraphs on Making the System Work (para 7.1 to 7.3) have been spelt out as the pre-requisite for reform of the educational system. It implies that just as functioning of the democratic institutions and enjoyment of fundamental rights are dependent on observance of civic responsibility and inner discipline by the citizen of a country, likewise an atmosphere of freedom, innovation and creativity in educational system is dependent upon observance of norms of intellectual rigour, mutual consideration among all concerned, and creation of a new work ethic.

In view of this, NPE refers to the necessity of introducing discipline into the system "here and now, in what exists". Secondly, it refers to a better deal to teachers to go side by side with a sense of greater accountability among them; provision of improved students' services alongside an insistence that their behaviour is in accordance with acceptable norms; and better facilities for educational institutions with a system ensuring that the performance of the institutions comes up to the norms set at the national and state levels. While any insistence on imposition of rigid uniformity or lifeless discipline would not be in consonance with the general tenor of NPE, and the process to be followed in creating the new educational order has to be participatory, cooperative and based on a renewed faith in the country's future, it is incumbent upon us to develop a clear approach to this crucial task. The essential aspects of this task are the following:

- (a) Certain norms of performance must be laid down for observance by the administration (government as well as managements of educational institutions), teachers, students and educational institutions. It should be made clear that these norms are non-negotiable, and not conditional on fulfilment by any other category of organisation or individual of their obligations.
- (b) Non-observance of these norms should inevitably lead to certain consequences, and neither fear nor favour should affect it.
- (c) Some immediate measures have to be taken to improve the working conditions of teachers and the conditions in which students study and live. Similarly, the essential conditions which enable educational institutions to effectively play their role have to be fulfilled. The faith manifested by the nation in the teachers and students, as reflected in NPE, implies that they will be systematically consulted at various stages of planning and implementation of Making the System Work. Indeed, much of the responsibility for this will rest on teachers and students.
- (d) One of the malaise which has eaten into the educational

system is unwarranted interference by political and administrative centres of power. While it is not possible to insulate the educational system from the socio-economic and socio-political forces, it will have to be ensured that the working of the system is not undermined by the political bureaucratic and anti-social elements within or outside the educational system.

#### TEACHERS

Measures proposed to be taken for improving the working and living conditions of teachers have been spelt out elsewhere. The immediate steps to be taken in the context of this Programme of Action are as follows:

- (i) Grievances redressal machinery will be established on the lines indicated in the section on Teachers, to ensure that all their legitimate grievances are promptly attended to and they receive what is due to them;
- (ii) Teachers in aided and private institutions are often subjected to indignities, extortions and under-payments. This will not be tolerated and legal action taken as may be due.
- (iii) All state governments will formulate guidelines/rules for posting and transfers of teachers. The Central Government will send general advice in the matter. Representatives of teachers will be consulted before finalisation of these guidelines/rules.
- (iv) The expectation that the teachers work in the institutions where they are posted/appointed, attend institutions regularly, and take classes in accordance with the predetermined schedule will be enforced. Meetings and conferences, within the country or overseas, must not interfere with the instructional programme. Appropriate mechanism will be created to verify that these norms are being observed. This would include regular taking of students' attendance and maintenance of consolidated record of the same by the head of the institution/department. Teachers who are elected/nominated to Parliament or State Legislature will be required to take leave of absence during their term as Member. However, in this process they will not be losing their seniority or increments.
- (v) A comprehensive, open, participatory and data-based system of teacher evaluation will be established. This system will take into account the work of teachers in the area of research and innovation, regularity and attention to teaching, and extension and social service activities. While each state government or university or management may create a system of teacher evaluation as may be appropriate, it would, generally speaking, include self-evaluation, evaluation by peers and, in appropriate cases evaluation by heads of institutions/departments and by students. It will not be open for teachers not to undertake self-evaluation where such evaluation is prescribed. Selection of teachers to higher positions and promotions will take these evaluation instru-

mentalities into consideration. The small number of nonperformers and negligent teachers will be isolated, and where necessary, subjected to appropriate penalty.

- (vi) There are instances of teachers conducting themselves in a manner not befitting the profession. In some extreme cases this includes coming to institutions in a state of intoxication, using foul language towards students, misbehaviour towards female students, requiring students to do unnecessary chores and inducing pupils to take private tuitions. Such aberrant behaviour can not be tolerated and the management system as well as organisations of teachers must do everything in their power to prevent it.

#### STUDENTS

There has been a marked deterioration in the amenities available to students - in universities, colleges as well as in schools. Instances are not wanting where students have had to agitate for securing facilities of drinking water, cycle-sheds, timely supply of textbooks, well-cooked meals in hostels, etc. Other legitimate facilities like inexpensive canteens, well-managed cooperative stores for supply of books, stationery and other necessities, recreation centres, sports facilities, etc., are wanting in practically all institutions. Comprehensive programmes for provision of students' amenities will be taken up in all categories of institutions. Meanwhile, action has to be taken immediately as follows:

- (i) The glaring deficiencies in regard to students' amenities will be made good without delay and an effective machinery created for removal of students' grievances.
- (ii) Students eligible for scholarships and other incentives will receive them in time. Those responsible for neglecting this aspect would be appropriately penalised.
- (iii) Students should be treated with consideration and necessary steps taken for securing their partnership in making the system work.
- (iv) Each state, university and college must take decision, keeping in view the guidelines provided by the Education Commission (1964-66) regarding students' unions. In cooperation with students it has to be ensured that union elections do not degenerate into a game of money power, unseemly behaviour and disfigurement of buildings. Students' unions will be advised to function in a democratic manner and their funds audited by the university auditors.
- (v) The vast majority of students intend pursuing their studies and other educational activities in a peaceful and dignified fashion. However, there are some elements which cause unnecessary disturbances in the academic atmosphere. There is no place for violence, coercion and intimidation in the educational set up. Universities and colleges will formulate codes of students' discipline through suitable statutes/ordinance or other appropriate ways. All persons who commit offence punishable under law should be treated like any other person and other acts of indiscipline should

not go unchecked and unpunished.

- (vi) Students' hostels have some time tended to become shelters for anti-social elements and frequently persons not eligible to stay there stay in an unauthorised manner. Discipline in hostels is as important as elsewhere and all instances of misconduct should be visited by appropriate action.

### INSTITUTIONS

References have been made at several places in the various Programmes of Action to institutional improvements. As the internal efficiency of each institution improves, the performance of teachers and students would improve also. Without waiting for implementation of all the measures proposed in the various Programmes of Action, some steps will be taken immediately for improving institutional performance. Detailed planning in this regard will be undertaken by state government, universities, colleges, schools, panchayati raj bodies, District Boards of Education (DBE), village education committees, etc. However, some of the steps which should be taken immediately are listed below:

- (i) A minimum threshold of facilities will be provided for all educational institutions, special priority being given to primary schools, which have suffered from a greater neglect in the past.
- (ii) The existing physical plant and facilities available in the institutions will be tied up, revamped as may be necessary, and refurbished. Optimum use will be made of these facilities.
- (iii) Without under-emphasising the importance of democratic and participatory functioning of educational institutions and university departments, persons having administrative responsibility will be given necessary authority for them to be able to discharge their responsibilities. Where appropriate and possible, administrative heads who have proved incapable of shouldering their responsibilities will be replaced by more competent persons.
- (iv) Central and state organisations -such as UGC, AICTE, NIEPA, NCERT, state UGCs, SCERTs, etc.--will set criteria for assessment of performance of educational institutions. These criteria will include:
  - Number of days of instruction in a year;
  - Number of days of forced closure;
  - Regularity in conduct of examinations;
  - Regularity regarding declaration of results;
  - Regularity of academic sessions;
  - Quantity and quality of research;
  - Number of teachers, with reference to number of days, who absented themselves.

These institutional evaluations will be brought out in the form of an appropriate annual report of the institution.



## PROCESS

It is of the utmost importance that the process of arriving at decisions and their observance should be genuinely participatory. This process will be set into motion with preparation of a detailed scheme and consultations with educationists, teachers and students. Machinery for redressal of teachers' and students' grievances will be set up immediately. Preliminary outline of a Code of Professional Ethics for Teachers will be prepared by a joint group of national level teachers' organisations. CABE and SABE will set up special committees to lay down criteria of evaluation in respect of making the system work and these committees will also regularly monitor, at the initial stages once every quarter, the extent to which the various parameters are getting operationalised.

## MANAGEMENT OF EDUCATION

### THE PRESENT SITUATION

Educational planning will need to be linked to manpower planning by setting up mechanisms for assessing the needs of the industry, commerce, professional services, agriculture in the context of the technological trends and growth strategies. Based on different assumption, nature of technologies likely to be used in different capital-labour co-efficients, structure of employment and job/skill profiles required, alternative scenarios of development for the next 15-20 years and the task for education derived from such scenarios will require to be formulated. At present no agency has either the capacity or the responsibility to undertake the kind of exercise required even in quantitative terms, to link long-term planning of education to match developmental and manpower needs in the country. This capacity of manpower demand forecasting will have to be provided for in the overall structure for the management of the educational system.

### POLICIES AND IMPLICATION FOR STRATEGY

The management design and process for education are derived in the context of objectives and the specific functions of the education process. In order to achieve the objectives of universalisation of elementary education and eradication of illiteracy the implementation process will require special measures to be taken to ensure that the groups who are left out of the ambit of education namely the weaker sections of the society including SC/ST and women and, adult illiterates in the age-group of 15-35 years, are enabled to participate effectively as beneficiaries of the relevant educational programmes so that achievement of national goals and objectives could be ensured. This would call for a planning model which would have the flexibility to cater to the immense diversities encountered in the context of universalisation of elementary education, equalisation of educational opportunities especially in respect of disadvantaged sections and reorienting the content and process of education. Decentralisation of the planning and management process within a multi-

level framework appears to be inescapable for the implementation of educational programmes.

Decentralisation, as far as education at higher levels, namely at under-graduate/post-graduate or at the level of polytechnics, technical colleges, etc., is concerned, would be required essentially to allow the exercise of initiatives and making of innovations by teachers, students and management with a view to enhancing the relevance and improving the quality of education. In order to make the system work effectively, it will be essential not only to distinguish carefully between roles and responsibilities, but also to define for each of the functions performed, the section or group towards which various authorities will be accountable. In addition, to perform the functions for which accountability has been defined, operational autonomy and the requisite authority and powers for the management of institutions will have to be matched with each other. In this context, some institutional arrangements will have to be established which would have the authority as well as the resources to encourage institutions with a good record in respect of innovations and adherence to academic schedules, processes and programmes and the attainment of students and, in an appropriate and effective manner, ensure that those not fulfilling their obligations come to adverse notice of all concerned. Rigorous systems of performance audit against practical and objective performance will have to be laid down and enforced through incentives and disincentives.

The NPE gives pre-eminence to people's involvement, including association of non-governmental agencies and voluntary effort. People's involvement should, even more than non-governmental agencies and voluntary associations, mean involvement of parents, developmental agencies, employers, professionally competent teachers and representatives of financing bodies with educational process at all levels. People's involvement should lead to establishment of closer linkages between educational institutions and the community, improvement in relevance and quality of education, reduction of absenteeism and irresponsibility, greater access to community resources and better discipline in the management of educational institutions. At the same time, it should eschew importation of local politics and power play into educational institutions.

#### PRIORITIES AND MACHINERY FOR IMPLEMENTATION

The following areas identified for implementation of the NPE will deserve priority attention:

- (a) Making the system work;
- (b) Decentralisation of management and establishment of district boards of education, district institutes of education and training (DIET), provision of autonomy and establishing accountability of institutions, systems and teachers;
- (c) Working out the details, mechanics, funding arrangements for the national system of education;
- (d) Manpower planning and demand forecasting;
- (e) Media and educational technology with special reference to adult education, non-formal education, open and continuing education;



- (f) Development and periodic review of curricula and teaching-learning processes;
- (g) Strengthening the data base; monitoring and evaluation system.

The CBE may consider looking into details of implementation of NPE in the above mentioned areas through appropriate committees.

It was recognised that the main areas of central responsibility in respect of the management functions include determination of national priorities, evolving strategies through the participation of concerned agencies, laying down guidelines for formulation of programmes and schemes, providing continuous technical back-up and resource support, undertaking monitoring and evaluation and creating conditions for the maintenance of quality and efficiency.

#### NATIONAL LEVEL MECHANISM

Considering the responsibility vested in the Government of India and the role it is expected to play especially in respect of universalisation of education and establishment of a national system of education, immediate steps will have to be taken to strengthen the departments under the Ministry of Human Resource Development dealing with the NPE. This strengthening will, inter alia, involve setting up of effective mechanisms for exploratory studies for collecting inputs for programme formulation; participative field studies to assess the effectiveness of on-going programmes and provide on the spot guidance; cellular structures for handling the tasks of project/programme formulation and appraisal and, administrative and financial management of programmes for which the Centre will hereafter be equally responsible alongwith the State; and performing the clearing house functions for exchange of relevant experiences between states.

While considering the restructuring of programmes at the Central level, the desirability of placing programme planning, implementation of policy, monitoring, guidance, interpretation of NPE under one authority may be considered.

Because of historical reasons, government has tended to assign an increasing measure of responsibility for the implementation of even state administered educational programmes to bodies which, because of their autonomous and central character, could not negotiate with the state agencies with the requisite blend of firmness and flexibility. It has also been observed that wherever these bodies have accepted to function as 'agencies' for the government, they have had to compromise with their creative research and technical responsibilities. In view of this, two essential decisions are called for: the first is with regard to the role of the government itself which now has to assume larger responsibility for motivating and, within a multi-level framework, ensuring proper management of the programmes for which Central Government will be making large provisions; and secondly, to establish the role and responsibilities and availability of autonomous bodies more sharply.

## STATE LEVEL MECHANISM

The state governments will consider creating a framework for integrating all the activities concerned with human resource development through the state advisory board of education which will perform as an umbrella organisation for this purpose.

In setting up the state advisory boards of education, the state government will, for getting a wider over-view, consider giving adequate representation to educationists of national standing, who are actually involved in innovative and experimental work in education, inducting some from other states; planners, scientists, industrialists and representatives of development departments. Representation from women and youth will be ensured in this body. Representation will be given not only to distinguished teachers functioning at different levels of the educational hierarchy, but, also to parents who, more than any other group, have a critical stake in the effective functioning of the educational system. Systematic nurturing of parents, participation and involvement is, even otherwise, advocated as an urgent need for strengthening the educational system. Besides, these, representatives of voluntary organisations and trade unions participating in educational programmes will also have to be associated with the SAGE.

The arrangements for planning and coordination of college and university education at the state level at present are inadequate. States with large number of universities will set up state councils for higher education to review performance, determine financial requirements and plan for innovations and inter se network. These councils will have, besides the vice-chancellors and officials, vice-chancellors of Central universities if any in the state, distinguished educationists as well as representatives of the Central scientific, education and resource institutions as and such other persons as may be considered necessary, as members.

At the state level also administrative arrangements will be strengthened and reorganised in view of the priority assigned in the NPE to the implementation of programmes of universalisation of elementary education, non-formal education, eradication of illiteracy, establishment of the national system of education as well as monitoring and evaluation of all priority programmes.

## INDIAN EDUCATION SERVICE

The establishment of an Indian education service will be an essential step towards promoting a national perspective on management of education. Basic principles, functions and procedures for recruitment to this service will call for detailed consultation with the states so that the states adequately appreciate the need and benefit of this structure, particularly in the context of attracting talented personnel and giving them a stature commensurate with their responsibilities. Detailed proposal inclusive of alternate career paths for the cadre, processes of selection and induction of existing manpower engaged in education, arrangements for mobility between the state and the Central governments and the scope for lateral movement as well as mobility and secondment vis-a-vis the academic system will require to be worked out in consultation with the state governments.

## TRAINING OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNERS, ADMINISTRATORS AND HEADS OF INSTITUTIONS

Educational planning and management requires separate identity and separate attention; special schemes for research and development in this area will be launched as soon as possible.

In addition to specialised institutions at the national and State levels, for the training of educational administrators and heads of institutions, institutes of management and other similar organisation will also be motivated and enabled to take up management development and training programmes, as well as policy-oriented research in these areas through documentation of case studies of real life situations and action research for institutional development.

Training of senior level personnel will be designed to provide some exposure to educational perspective and the role of education in social development and, in addition, include institutional planning and development, curriculum planning and, programme evaluation and review techniques.

For heads of institutions training in financial rules and procedures, legal provisions governing educational activities, personnel management, programme planning and data management and review techniques will be considered essential.

Before training is initiated, the objectives of the training programme for various categories of personnel like planners, administrators and heads of institutions will be defined in terms of job profiles of various levels of personnel and the required expertise skill and, institutional development.

Pre-induction training will be prescribed as an essential requirement for personnel selected as heads of institutions. Further, their confirmation in grades of heads of institutions will be subject to satisfactory completion of periods of probation as may be prescribed in the relevant recruitment rules.

### MACHINERY FOR IMPLEMENTATION AT DISTRICT LEVEL

DBE will be set up with the responsibility for implementation of all educational programmes including, school, non-formal and adult education up to the higher secondary level. The boards will also be vested with the responsibility for planning which would include *inter alia*, area development, spatial planning, institutional planning, administrative and financial control and personnel management with respect to primary, middle, secondary and higher secondary schools.

The DBE will be required to formulate development strategies and plan educational activities of these institutions mentioned for the entire district. These plans will, *inter alia*, look into the settlement pattern of habitations, distribution of educational institutions, the demographic profile and projections. The district educational plans will also go into the levels of participation and retention of boys and girls under different age-groups by socio-cultural and economic categories and plan for measures for ensuring not only for physical infrastructure and a more equitable access to all but also for the qualitative aspects of education.

The need for ensuring that the decisions at the state level regarding various educational programmes should invariably take into

account the plan drawn up and suggestions put forward at the district level would call for special emphasis.

Considering the planning and management model envisaged, and their functions, unless the District Boards of Education are vested with appropriate statutory authority, these bodies cannot effectively manage the functions entrusted to them.

In such states where administration and management of education already constitute the responsibility of panchayat raj bodies, the composition of the DBE will in consonance with the existing management structure of the Panchayat Raj bodies. In States where panchayat raj institutions are not in existence, the composition of the DBE will take into account the need for representation of educationists, women, youth representative of parents, Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes, minorities and interests of representative institutions in the district if any.

In order that the DBE discharge the functions allotted, it would be necessary to assign state funds for implementation of the various programmes. Provision will also be made while constituting the statutory authority to enable the District Boards of Education to raise their own resources. Some un-earmarked funds will also be placed at the disposal of the district boards by the state governments so that district boards can use these resources for any purpose that may be considered essential by raising matching funds of their own.

The relationship of the state government with the district boards of Education in terms of administrative and financial control and personnel management vis-a-vis primary, middle, secondary and higher secondary levels will need to be clearly spelt out in appropriate guidelines to be issued by the state governments. It will also be necessary to spell out clearly the levels of recruitment and structure of cadres of teachers of different categories. The state governments will take the measures required to constitute district cadres of elementary school teachers.

There will be a chief education officer for the district to look after all levels of education - primary, middle and secondary. Under him there will be a district education officer looking after establishment, budgeting, planning and the educational data base. In addition there will be district level official of appropriate rank engaged in specific educational programme.

Implementation of different educational programmes at the district level, will be supervised and monitored by the DBE which will oversee all aspects of educational development.

Monitoring of all educational programmes for implementation in the district will take place at the state level and relevant indicators to establish inter-district comparison will need to be worked out. The resources to be transferred to the district will be linked to the performance and achievement.

For ensuring quality of education in educational institutions at different levels, consideration will be given to appointment of district inspectors of education to look after academic functions exclusively. Such functionaries, who will be selected with due regard to their understanding of the academic functions to be performed, will be responsible for looking after the academic standards in educational institutions, provide academic leadership and help in

better performance of their academic functions by heads of institutions and teachers.

The District Institute of Education and Training (DIET) under the district board will be responsible for making substantive curricular and pedagogic inputs into all programmes of education at the district level and will also be responsible for training of personnel and provision of resource support to programmes including adult education.

#### MACHINERY FOR IMPLEMENTATION AT LOCAL LEVELS

Consistent with the important role assigned to the heads of institutions, their selection should be done with due care. It is essential that there should be fixed term of appointment for the head of the institution and transfer should be kept to the minimum to enable the head of the institution to exercise a leadership role and make his contribution to the development of the institution.

The head of the institution particularly at the primary/middle school level will be made accountable to the village education committee of which, he will be a member in respect of running of his institution.

A village education committee comprising not more than 15 members with representatives from parents, panchayats, cooperatives, women, Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes, minorities and local development functionaries will be constituted to look into the overall management of all educational programmes at the village level.

The state governments will lay down general guidelines regarding the constitution of the village education committee and establish norms of accountability in respect of head of the institutions at the village level to this committee. Accountability will be established also in respect of programmes like Early Child-hood Care Education (ECCE), elementary education, ICDS, non-formal education, adult and continuing education.

#### PROMOTION OF SCHOOL COMPLEXES

School complexes as a network of institutions on a flexible pattern will be promoted to provide synergic alliances to encourage professionalism among teachers, ensure observance of norms and conduct and enable the sharing of experiences and facilities. The school complex will serve as the lowest viable unit of area planning and will form a cluster of 8-10 institutions in which different institutions can reinforce each other by exchanging resources, personnel, material, teaching aids, etc., and using them on a sharing basis.

It is expected that in course of time, school complexes when fully developed, will take over much of the inspection functions. The inspection functions of school complexes will be performed keeping in view the need to bring in greater cohesion among the participating schools and will include inter alia:

educational mapping, grading of institutions and identifying strength and weakness of individual schools. Inspection to be conducted will invoke a culture of participation and providing correctives rather than the existing practice of finding faults.

These inspections will be in addition to the normal routine inspection functions of district/block level inspecting authorities.

The state governments may lay down necessary guidelines for qualitative inspections to be undertaken by the school complex and also specify the nature of quantitative data required in respect of each institution and each complex for inspection purposes.

Considering that many of the schools which will form part of the complex will be non-governmental institutions, the state governments may make necessary provision of funds for facilitating the work of school complexes including training, resource support travel costs as well as allowances for inspection.

Immediate preparatory action to implement the above suggestions will require to be taken so that appropriate guidelines for development of school complexes could be issued by the state governments and the school complexes could become operational in the year 1987.

#### PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION AND INVOLVEMENT OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

The successful implementation of programmes like elementary education including non-formal education, ECCE, adult education, education of the disabled, etc., will require people's involvement and participation in educational programmes at the grassroot level and participation of voluntary agencies and social activist groups on a much larger scale. Considering the need for ensuring relationship of the genuine partnership between the government and voluntary agencies, government will take positive steps to promote their wider involvement. Consultations will be held with them from time to time and representation given to them on bodies responsible for making decisions in respect of them. They will be assured necessary facilities to participate in implementation of programmes and procedures for selection of voluntary agencies and of financial assistance will be streamlined to enable the voluntary agencies to play optimal role.

#### PHASING OF REQUIREMENTS AND ADVANCE PREPARATORY ACTION

##### Requirement of Resources

The Plan of Action relating to Management of Education will require to be prepared at the state and local levels - village, block, and district. The state government will be required to work out there details and issue necessary guidelines for developing a multi-level planning model with decentralisation and autonomy.

It is essential that involvement of the local communities in the management of educational institutions in rural areas is ensured and the school complexes should commence from the year 1986-87.

Keeping this in view, the state governments will consider giving necessary powers to the boards of secondary education to earmark funds for developing multi-level planning models for management of education, and development of school complexes.



## CONTENT AND PROCESS OF SCHOOL EDUCATION THE PRESENT SITUATION

In a knowledge-based society, the content and process of education has to undergo continuous reorganisation and upgradation. A major reorganisation of curriculum took place in 1975 with the introduction of the 10+2 pattern of school education. While all the states have by now accepted this pattern in principle, its implementation, particularly in terms of reorienting the content and process has remained indifferent and uneven. One of the major weaknesses of the attempts to bring about curricular reform in the past has been the lack of a comprehensive plan to link curricular changes with the processes of teaching, learning, teacher training and examination reform. A review conducted by NCERT revealed that a large number of textbooks in languages and history were found to be unsatisfactory from the standpoint of national integration. Also, the comprehensibility of textbooks has been found to be by and large very poor through another study conducted by NCERT. It has also been observed that there is considerable room for improvement of text-books in terms of the organisation and presentation of the content and its value orientation. The layout, design, illustration and binding of textbooks also need drastic improvement, particularly in view of the advancement in the technology in these areas. Innovations and research in the field of curriculum development and training methodology is by and large confine to specially funded projects and small groups. The existing technical support structure is not adequately equipped to provide professional support to the process of institutionalisation of innovation. Except the project SITE, educational technology and mass media support to educational reorganisation has remained insignificant. The existing widespread disparities in the schooling facilities available to the children belonging to different socio-economic groups has stood in the way of ensuring comparability of education standards.

## THE POLICY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

The parameters related to the reorientation of the content and process of education, as indicated in the NPE are:

- (i) Access to education of a comparable quality for all irrespective of caste, creed, location or sex;
- (ii) Introduction of the norm of minimum levels of learning for different stages and provision of threshold facilities (operation Blackboard) so that learning becomes a more enjoyable experience even for slow learners;
- (iii) Articulation of a national system of education with a common structure, national curricular framework which contains a common core;
- (iv) Examination reform and introduction of evaluation as an ongoing process in schools for the improvement of teaching and learning;
- (v) Development of culture-specific curricula and instructional material for the tribal people and educationally deprived minority groups keeping in view their rich cultural identity;

- (vi) Overhauling of the system of teacher education and strengthening of the technical and resource support structures, including the establishment of DIET;
- (vii) Decentralisation of educational administration, creation of a spirit of autonomy for educational institutions with greater role assigned to the institutional heads and development of professionalism among teachers;
- (viii) Promotion of non-governmental and voluntary efforts and people's participation for giving impetus to innovative ideas and practices and mobilisation of resources; and
- (ix) Effective use of modern communication technology for generation and dissemination of educational programmes, training packages, and for creating awareness.

#### INTERVENTION PROGRAMMES

The intervention programmes will broadly cover orientation in curricular areas, in-service teacher training, support systems, use of technology for motivation and monitoring.

The modes of intervention and the corresponding programmes as deduced from the policy are as follows:

- (a) Content Reorientation
  - (1) National core curriculum
  - (2) Revised work experience programmes
  - (3) National curriculum framework, syllabi and instructional packages.
- (b) Process Reorientation
  - (4) Reorientation of in-service teachers
  - (5) Special raining programmes for in-service teachers in
    - (i) Work experience
    - (ii) Art education
    - (iii) Physical education
  - (6) Examination reform
    - (i) Reorientation of functionaries and teachers through special programmes
    - (ii) Establishment of educational testing service
- (c) Both Content and Process
  - (7) Strengthening of the technical support system
    - (i) Existing institutions
    - (ii) Linkages and networking
    - (iii) Establishment of DIET
- (d) Mobilisation and Motivation
  - (8) Communication technology
    - (i) Terrestrial radio and TV
    - (ii) Audio and video cassette service
    - (iii) Micro-computer, electronic notice board and teletext.
  - (9) Networking of non-traditional resource centres, voluntary agencies and social activities of groups.
- (e) Triggering and Monitoring
  - (10) planning, budgeting, coordinating monitoring network.



## THE STRATEGIES

As indicated earlier, the reorientation of content is proposed to be brought about by simultaneously launching three programmes. The approach to be followed in the preparation of instructional packages is linked with the method of teaching, learning and evaluation recommended under the national curriculum framework. Similarly, there is a need to reorient the educational personnel responsible for management, supervision and for provision of technical and logistical support. The strategy for implementation of the national curriculum is therefore linked with the

- reorientation of teachers and other educational personnel,
- development of professional capability at all levels, and
- phased preparation, production and distribution of textbooks and other instructional materials.

In order to achieve these objectives it would be necessary to decentralise the technical support system, and to standardise the methodology for diffusion of the programmes with reasonable flexibility. This process will be facilitated by the preparation and dissemination of the following methodological guidelines by NCERT in close collaboration with the educational authorities:

1. Curriculum guidelines,
2. Methodological handbook for teachers,
3. Methodological handbook for evaluators of textbooks and other instructional material,
4. Guidelines for textbook writers,
5. Guidelines for textbook designers and illustrators,
6. Guidelines for producers of kits and AV equipment,
7. Guidelines for producers of audio and video programmes,
8. Guidelines for principals and head teachers,
9. Guidelines for educational administrators and supervisors,
10. Training guidelines for teacher educators and resource persons,
11. Guidelines for evaluators of pupil growth.

The time schedule for development, production and introduction of revised instructional packages, including textbooks, based on the national curriculum framework is indicated in the chart attached.

The implementation of the national curricular framework in a systematic manner by the educational authorities will to a great extent depend on the creation of a favourable climate both within the education system and at the societal level. Such a climate is expected to be created with the introduction of the exemplar materials based on the national core curriculum and model instructional packages for upgradation of the quality of work experience programmes, right in the current year.

The present organisational structure for implementation of educational programme can be made more efficient through appropriate administrative measures and simplification of rules and procedures. However, without making room for introduction of new ideas into the system through deliberate promotion of its linkages with the existing

innovative projects (run by other governmental non-governmental agencies) the present system on its own may act as a self-propelling one. Induction of the communication media and local innovative groups into the process of implementation of the policy may itself prove to be an innovation.

Much of the effectiveness of the intervention programmes will depend on how they are planned, reduced to specific activities, sequenced and coordinated by dedicated groups responsible for providing professional guidance at different levels of implementation. The special cells identified for this purpose at different levels should constitute the planning and monitoring network.

As large number of institutions are to be identified at the state, district and local levels for providing technical support of specialised nature, it may not be feasible to provide any additional staff or capital equipment. Most of these institutions should be able to provide their own physical facilities and existing expertise for the organisation of the proposed programmes. However, some of them may soon prove to be very effective and willing to perform the role of resource centre on a long-term basis. A long-term plan to network these potential resource centres should be in-built in all short-term intervention programmes, so that the process of institutionalisation of the innovative practices could be realised within a reasonable period.

#### ORGANISATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Since NCERT and the state directorates of education, SCERT/SIE and Board of education are engaged in the implementation of several collaboration programmes over a long period, the whole operation of reorienting the content and process of education should be jointly planned by NCERT and the State agencies concerned. A detailed State-wise action plan will be designed by NCERT by October 1986 on the basis of the document on implementation of NPE in collaboration with the state governments and under the guidance of the Ministry of Human Resource Development. While concretising the total plan, the state authorities may simultaneously initiate action for implementation of the priority programmes planned for 1986.

The action plan will be initiated as follows: NCERT and other national level institutions will actively involve the State level agencies in the finalisation of methodological their translation into regional languages, production and wider dissemination.

- (a) Pending finalisation of the modality for budgeting and allocation of funds for the above programmes necessary money will be disbursed by NCERT to the nodal state agencies for implementation of these components of the programmes for which they will be directly responsible.
- (b) State agencies will be responsible for the establishment of the state planning, coordination and monitoring cells and identification of resource persons and centres for adoption/adaptation or preparation of instruction packages and organisation of local training programmes.
- (c) NCERT will be responsible for coordinating all programmes related to the orientation of key resource persons and pre-

- paration of programmes for the mass media.
- (d) NCERT will also initiate action for identification of competent professional and voluntary organisation, local activist groups and developmental agencies for providing logistical and resource support to the state, district and local educational authorities in the implementation of the intervention programmes with a broad framework of policy safeguards for funding.
  - (e) NCERT and the nodel state agency will be jointly responsible for monitoring the programme, reporting to the concerned authorities and for initiating corrective measures on a regular basis.
  - (f) Since the commitment of supply of revised textbooks kits and aids of different kinds to the resource centres and schools would immediately call for planning of large-scale production and distribution of these materials, the production capacity of the existing infrastructure needs to be immediately reviewed by Central and state governments, Department of Education. An appropriate division of the areas of operation will be decided for the public, private and voluntary or non-profit sectors with emphasis on technological upgradation, policy safeguards regarding pricing of the products and services, and standardisation of quality.

#### THE IMMEDIATE TASK

While the national curriculum framework and the common core provide the detailed rational objectives and guidelines for curricular change, their implementation in the form of the introduction of new instructional materials and appropriate teaching, learning and evaluation norms will have to be ensured by the national, state and other educational authorities in the shortest possible time. The draft curriculum guides, model syllabi and exemplary materials which are in the process of preparation by NCERT may provide the basis for immediate review of the textbooks prescribed or recommended by the educational authorities. In order to make a beginning in the process of curricular change in the current academic year itself, NCERT has been assigned the responsibility of bringing model syllabi and exemplar instructional packages in the following ten core curricular areas:

- (i) History of India's freedom movement,
- (ii) Constitutional obligation,
- (iii) Content essential to nurture national identity,
- (iv) India's common cultural heritage,
- (v) Egalitarianism, democracy and secularism,
- (vi) Equality of sexes,
- (vii) Protection of environment,
- (viii) Removal of social barriers,
- (ix) Observance of the small family norm.
- (x) Inclination of the scientific temper.

In addition to these packages, NCERT will also bring exemplar packages on 20 activities which may be organised by schools under the

curriculum area of work experience as model programme.

The core curricular and model work experience activities can be introduced in selected schools in 1986 without much difficulty in the appropriate stages of teaching in relevant subject periods. These packages should demonstrate not only the cross curricular content; but also the non-directive methods of teaching.

## MEDIA AND EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGY (INCLUDING THE USE OF COMPUTERS IN EDUCATION)

### PRESENT SITUATION

Several efforts have been made in the past to use technological aids for improving the quality of education. Audio-visual units and film libraries were set up at the Centre and in the States for promoting the use of educational films and projection/non-projection aids. Educational Technology cells were also established in 21 States/UTs in a phased manner and a Centre of Educational Technology was set up in the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) to stimulate the use of television and other instructional media. School radio broadcasts have been in vogue for more than 40 years. AIR's Educational Programme-Production units, set up in 44 of the network's 88 stations, produce radio programmes for primary and secondary schools, which are presently broadcast by 74 stations. General enrichment programmes of 15-20 minutes duration are relayed 3-5 schools days per week for primary school children. Programmes for secondary school students are broadcast for 15-20 minutes on all school days. AIR stations at Delhi, Jalandhar, Hyderabad and all stations in Tamil Nadu also broadcast programmes 5-7 days a week, in support of the correspondence courses conducted by Universities. 3-4 adult-education programmes are broadcast per week by 14 AIR radio stations.

Curriculum-based school TV programmes for secondary school students are presently being telecast by 4 Doordarshan kendras. Educational Television (ETV programmes) of general enrichment for children in the age group 5-11 years are being telecast in the respective regional languages through satellite, six days a week, in the 6 INSAT States, and are being relayed by all transmitters in the 4 other Hindi-speaking State. A 1-hour general enrichment programme for University/College students is also being telecast daily. 2,000 VHF and 2,000 Direct Reception Sets (DRS) have been provided for community viewing in selected village clusters in the 6 INSAT States, installed mostly in the village schools. Under the "INSAT for Education" project, launched in 1982, State Institutes of Educational Technology project, launched in 1982, State Institutes of Educational Technology (SIETs) are being set up in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh and a Central Institute of Educational Technology (CIET) has been established in the NCERT, with 100% Central assistance, to generate educational software for children. Audio-visual Research Centres (AVRCs) and Educational Media Research Centres (EMRCs) have also been set up in 6 Universities to prepare educational TV programmes for University/College students. Some facilities for TV programme/production have also been

## DEVELOPMENT, PRODUCTION AND INTRODUCTION OF REVISED INSTRUCTIONAL PACKAGES, INCLUDING TEXTBOOKS, BASED ON THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM FRAMEWORK

S.NO	ACTIVITY	1986			1987			1988			1989			1990		
		JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP
1	Preparation of guidelines for framing syllabi by NCERT (July & August 1986)															
2	Development of Syllabi for classes I to XII (August to October 1986)															
3	Development of Instructional packages, including textbooks, by NCERT (For Classes I, III & VI) (October 1986 to March 1987).															
4	Development of Instructional packages, including textbooks, by States/UTs (For Classes I, III & VI) (October 1986 to March 1988).															
5	Introduction of revised Instructional packages in Classes I, III & VI (July 1987 & July 1988)															
6	Development of Instructional packages, including textbooks, for Classes II, IV, VII, IX & XI by NCERT (April 1987 to March 1988).															
7	Development of Instructional packages, including textbooks, for Classes I, II, IV, VII, IX & XI by States/UTs (April 1987 to March 1989).															
8	Introduction of revised Instructional package in Classes II, IV, VII, IX & XI (July 1988 & July 1989).															
9	Development of Instructional packages, including textbooks, for Classes V, VIII, X & XII by NCERT (April 1988 to March 1989).															
10	Development of Instructional packages, including textbooks, for Classes V, VIII, X & XII by States/UTs (April 1988 to March 1990).															
11	Introduction of revised Instructional packages, including textbooks, for Classes V, VIII, X & XII (July 1989 & July 1990)															

\*\*\* States/Union territories which will adopt Hindi and/or English versions of the instructional packages, including textbooks, developed by NCERT

+++ States/Union territories which will adopt instructional packages, including textbooks, developed by NCERT or use them as models for development of similar packages in regional languages

developed in the Technical Teacher Training Institutions (TTTIs).

Video Technology has also appeared on the educational horizon. The Electronics Trade and Technology Development Corporation (ET&T) has formulated a "TELETEACH" project to prepare educational software on videotape. VCRs and viewing equipment would be provided in about 600 viewing centres to be established in schools this year. The Ministry has also identified certain subject areas in which educational software would be developed by ET&T.

Computer-education courses at the Master's level (NCA) are presently being offered in 25 Universities, in addition to the Ph.D., M.Tech. and B.Tech. programmes conducted by the IITs and other technological institutions. Diploma level programmes are being run in 35 polytechnics. With the introduction of the Computer Literacy and Studies in Schools (Class) project, computers, for long the preserve of select research and technological institutions, have transcended these barriers and entered the schools. 750 secondary/higher secondary schools have been provided with micro-computers to familiarise students and teachers with the range of computer applications and their potential as a learning medium.

#### TARGETS ARISING AS AN IMPLICATION OF THE NPE AND PRIORITY MEASURES DURING THE VIIITH PLAN

The following tasks would emerge from the NPE statements:

- (i) Expand the TV and Radio transmission network to:
  - Provide minimum ETV and Radio programme coverage for identified target groups in all major language zones by 1990
  - establish Radio stations in teaching Universities/Colleges during the VIIth Plan
  - provide a dedicated education TV channel by 1991-92
  - create a dedicated satellite system for educational needs in the long-term;
- (ii) Expansion of in-house programme-production facilities to generate adequate capacity in major Indian languages by 1990, and in other languages during the VIIth Plan;
- (iii) Developing of facilities/organisations for production, duplication and dissemination of curricular support material using non-broadcast methods/graphic teaching aids during the VIIth Plan;
- (iv) Development of training programmes/facilities for manpower generation for educational media during the VIIth Plan;
- (v) Provide Radio receivers in all primary/elementary schools during the VIIth Plan and TV sets to all schools by 1995;
- (vi) Eliminating elements of consumerism, violence etc. from media programmes without delay;
- (vii) Expand existing/initiate new programmes for computer-manpower development during the VIIth Plan to reach desired levels by 1995;
- (viii) Integration of computer-education modules in professional and general education courses at first-degree level and provision

- of computer facilities in these institutions-initiated in the VIIth Plan to be completed by 1995;
- (ix) Introduction of elective computer-science courses at higher-secondary level during the VIIth Plan;
  - (x) Extension of computer literacy programmes to cover all higher-secondary schools by 1991, secondary schools by 1995 and elementary schools in the long term;
  - (xi) Establish a national Centre of Educational Informatics during the VIIth Plan;
  - (xii) Mount a technology mission to develop a reliable source of electric supply to schools in remote areas by 1990.

#### STRATEGY ENVISAGED AND BASIC PRE-REQUISITES

The National Policy emphasises that "In order to avoid structural dualism, modern educational technology should reach out to the most distant areas and most deprived sections of beneficiaries simultaneously with the areas of comparative affluence and ready availability". This approach would intrinsically favour the use of broadcast methods, with their inherent advantages of greater reach, convenience of management and cost-effectiveness, over the non-broadcast methods largely oriented to individual learning. Because it is not possible to broadcast programmes for every class through Radio and TV, co-ordinated with their teaching schedule, these media can be utilised effectively only for enrichment of the learning process, and to transmit course material for distance education. However, the extent to which media like Radio and TV can be used in the service of education is, inter alia, dependent on the transmission capability of the network as well as the manner in which competing claims on broadcast time are sought to be rationalised. Large scale use of Audio and video programmes in broadcast and non-broadcast modes would also generate enormous demand for qualified manpower to work in educational media set-ups. In the long-run, it would be desirable and probably essential that maintenance structures be decentralised, both organisationally and geographically, and local "technician-entrepreneurs" could be trained for such responsibilities. Education requires media support which is related to the curriculum as well as enrichment. Curriculum-based education also requires materials which the teacher can draw upon in the course of this teaching. This could be provided in the form of charts, slides, transparencies etc. Video technology offers considerable potential for improving the quality of education especially at higher levels.

Exposure and training in the use of computers in professional education implies intensified manpower-development programmes for computer professionals at different levels and integration of computer-education modules in all professional disciplines, and even in the general education courses at the first-degree level; together with the provision of necessary staff and facilities in these institutions. Computers can play an important role in enhancing the efficiency of the teaching-learning process, to make children more creative and provide them with an individualised learning environment. Computer literacy will be crucial in preparing children to cope with the micro-computer explosion, which has the same potential for social change as the industrial revolution. The demands of



equity would, therefore, require that computer literacy programmes be progressively integrated with the school curriculum at lower-secondary and elementary levels.

Educational technology offers the means to reach large numbers in remote and inaccessible areas, remove disparity in educational facilities available to the disadvantaged and provide individualised instruction to learners conveniently suited to their needs and pace of learning. However, all technology requires supporting infrastructure, and unless that infrastructure, like trained manpower, competent and willing teachers, school buildings etc., exists, no technology--direct or distance--is likely to succeed. One of the major hurdles in the way of introducing modern technology in the rural hinterland is the availability of assured electric supply. Providing a source of assured electricity is a pre-requisite for using technological options in the service of education, and needs to be addressed on priority.

#### ROLE OF VARIOUS ORGANISATIONS

The Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting should jointly evolve a long-term perspective for media usage. The CIET and the UGC must continue to discharge a coordinating role, as well as provide the necessary leadership and guidance to the State agencies/Universities in setting up and managing production facilities, training of their staff, design of support material and tools for evaluation and programme research. The State Governments and their agencies would be responsible for the production of locally relevant programmes for the target audiences, supply and maintenance of receiving systems, production and distribution of support material, audience research and evaluation studies, and the recruitment and training of producing staff and user custodians of receiving sets. Voluntary agencies and individual producers will be involved in all these activities to the extent possible. The Department of Electronics, as the policy-making body in the field of computers, should be closely involved in the planning and development of various manpower programmes as at present, and in identifying the hardware needs of different educational institutions. The State Governments and their agencies, the UGC and other statutory bodies governing professional education at higher levels would share the responsibility for bringing about necessary changes in curriculum and admission requirements of various courses, accreditation and providing infrastructural requirements. Since the measures suggested involve considerable investment in hardware facilities and would require expert guidance at all stages of implementation, the Central government will have to continue to play a substantial role in the planning and implementation of this programme.

#### DELINKING OF DEGREES FROM JOBS AND MANPOWER PLANNING

The Policy visualizes delinking of university degrees from the requirement for recruitment to services for which a university degree need not be a necessary qualification. It is also envisaged that this measure will lead to a refashioning of job-specific courses.



## IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES

Different jobs require different combination of knowledge, skills and aptitudes. Performance in an academic examination may not, therefore, be the appropriate means of screening candidate for employment. There are, in addition, problems of comparability of grades/marks awarded by the universities.

An important first step towards matching education with employment is the formulation of programmes of education and training related to available employment opportunities. This would require a scientific analysis of the job requirements for various positions, and tailoring appropriate programmes of education and training to impart the knowledge and skills required for the performance of those jobs.

When once the training programmes are introduced, for identified job positions, it would be necessary to prescribe certificates/diplomas obtained after such training as a necessary qualification for recruitment. Such a measure is necessary also to promote vocationalisation of education.

Where comprehensive recruitment examinations are conducted by recruiting agencies, the possibility of dispensing with the requirement of formal degrees as a qualification may be considered. De-linking should ensure that the craze for degrees is discouraged and that pressure on higher education is reduced.

To begin with, it is proposed to create a Cell in the Department of Personnel for identifying the jobs for which recruitment requirements can be reviewed on the lines indicated above. Such a review will be initiated in consultation with the concerned Ministries/Departments.

Later, it is proposed to persuade other recruitment agencies like the State Governments, Public Undertakings, and private enterprises to undertake a similar review.

## NATIONAL TESTING SERVICE

The policy envisages the establishment of a National Testing Service to conduct tests on a voluntary basis to determine the suitability of candidates for specified job and to pave the way for emergence of norms of comparable competence across the nation.

In order to give shape to this policy, it is proposed to establish a National Testing Service as early as possible and to conduct the first test before the end of 1987. The primary use of such a test will be to allow people, whether they have formal degrees or not, to demonstrate that they have the proficiency to qualify for a variety of jobs that have been traditionally limited to graduates. Such a test can also help those in employment to qualify for promotions.

Specially designed tests can also be administered at the national level for the purpose of entry to educational institutions at various levels. For example, a single test at +2 level conducted on a national basis can replace a multiplicity of entrance examinations to universities and colleges, specially professional courses like engineering, medicine, etc. Similarly, a test conducted at the Bachelors' degree level can determine the eligibility of candidates for admission to Master's degree courses irrespective of the fact that the concerned universities have declared the bachelor's degree re

sults. At the Master's degree level, a similar test can determine the suitability of candidates for admission to research degrees, award of fellowships, etc.

It is proposed to develop a National Testing Service to perform the functions indicated above on a voluntary basis. Tests will be developed very carefully on expert advice based on experience. The NTS will be established under the auspices of the Ministry of Human Resource Development. The Department of Education of the Ministry of HRD would take early steps to have a detailed project report prepared for the establishment of the Testing Service.

# Education Policy

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## CONTENTS

### Editorial

Page

vii

### Articles

#### Management of Universities in India

Y.S. KIRANMAYI, G. PRASAD AND K.V. RAO

855

#### University Grants Commission - A Study of Organisational Frame

R.N. CHATURVEDI

875

#### Educational Administration in Zilla Parishads in Maharashtra: Policy Perspectives

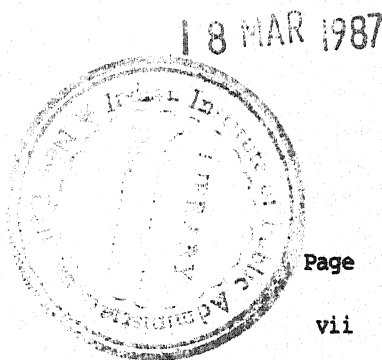
N.R. INAMDAR

889

#### Educational Policy for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and its Implementation

L.M. PRASAD

908



	Page
Educational Administrators Under Stress: A Study of College Principals in Orissa	
SMITA DAS AND N. HAZARY	933
Job Aspirations of Students in Institutions of Higher Learning in Nigeria	
A.K. SAHA AND DEEPAK CHAWLA	956
New Management System in Indian University Departments: A Study of Rotation System	
SHAMIM ALEEM	964
Delivery System for Agricultural Credit, Farm Inputs and Services and Small and Marginal Farmers	
M.L. SUDAN	980
Performance and Accountability in Public Services	
ARVIND G. RISBUD	992
Public Sector Performance: Perception Versus Reality	
PRAJAPATI TRIVEDI	1007
Note	
Police-People Relationship in Contemporary India	
RANAJIT DAS GUPTA	1036
An Overview of Educational Policy and Administration in India: States and Union Territories	
States	
Assam	1043
Himachal Pradesh	1053
Karnataka	1063
North-Eastern Council	1067

## Page

Punjab	1071
Tamil Nadu	1075

## Union Territories

Chandigarh	1081
Pondicherry	1085

## Book Reviews

Education in India (1781-1985): Policies,  
Planning and Implementation (Kuldip Kaur)

INDER PRABHA SHARMA	1090
---------------------	------

Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective  
(Ministry of Education)

P.C. BANSAL	1091
-------------	------

Educational Planning: A Long Term Perspective  
(Ed. Moonis Raza)

S.K. SHARMA	1095
-------------	------

Education for Socialism, Secularism and  
Democracy (S.N. Jha)

P.C. BANSAL	1096
-------------	------

Refugees and Development (Eds. Ernst E. Boesch and  
Armin M.F. Goldschmidt)

MARIO D. ZAMORA	1100
-----------------	------

• Management of Public Sector Enterprises in India  
(R.K. Saprú)

S.N. SADASIVAN	1101
----------------	------

• The Dilemmas of Indian Polity (S.N. Singh)

ASOK MUKHOPADHYAY	1104
-------------------	------

Dimensions of Political Communication, West Bengal:  
1970s (Srabani Raichaudhuri)

SAKENDRA PRASAD SINGH

1105

Police and the Society (Alphones L. Barayil and  
James Vadakumchery)

JAYTILAK GUHA ROY

1108

Elite in a Tribal Society (Renuka Pamecha)

B.B. SAHOO

1110

#### Documents

Education, Culture and Sports (Extract from Seventh  
Five Year Plan Document)

1113

Jarratt Committee Report (UK)

1138

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### Articles

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## EDITORIAL

THIS ISSUE carries seven articles and other material on education policy which was the theme for our special number this year. In a way, it is a supplement to the special number which deals with a crucial issue of current debate of lasting significance. We also have, however, other articles concerned with different aspects of public administration.

In the developmental process since Independence, our education system has grown up as one of the largest in the world, both horizontally and vertically. The size, however, has brought with it enormous problems of all kinds, both qualitative and quantitative, as is natural in an expansion of such dimensions not always backed by evolving perspective and purposive monitoring.

In the first article, Kiranmayi et al, focusing on management problems of universities in India, identify the reasons responsible for their alleged mismanagement. They also suggest a package of remedial measures, comprising broadening of the concept of a university (to encompass improvements in academic standards and infrastructure in affiliated colleges and institutions also), planning, structural reorganisation (to narrow the span of control and reduce levels), evolving a separate secretariat for vice-chancellor (for a vigorous follow-up of decision without helplessness of dependence on over-burdened Registrar), redefining responsibilities, improving coordination, creation of public relations and legal branches, paying special attention to problems of campus students, etc. But, as the authors also endorse, handing down a prescription is easier than administering the remedy as it would require political will and resolve in view of the complexity of the problems and the nature of clientele involved. It has to be kept in view that only external factors cannot be held responsible for all ailments of universities and the academic politics and factionalism have to be seriously reckoned with. And this requires introspection by those within the system if the system is to improve.



The next article by R.N. Chaturvedi takes up University Grants Commission--the Central funding and regulating body for all universities in the country--and discusses its evolution and organisational framework. Besides elaborating on its functions, he also discusses relationship of University Grants Commission with universities and the Union Government, which should help promote understanding the gamut of institutional relationships in the field of higher education in the country. The University Grants Commission has a very important role to play in the field of university education. But the expectations placed on it have not been fulfilled as is borne out by its own reports and those of the parliamentary committees. There is need for continuing vigilance in respect of its working and relationship with other institutions, who share the commonality of objectives though from different angles and in a limited manner. It has also to guard itself against dangers of excessive centralisation, flabbiness in structure, amorphousness in approach, wastefulness and duplication, indecisiveness, delays, etc. It has to have an honest approach to realise its purposes and the charter. It is an area which remains largely unexplored for objective academic assessment and research.

Shifting attention in the next article from higher education to the crucial area of education, that is primary education in the district, N.R. Inamdar discusses education administration under Zilla Parishads in Maharashtra. The article, therefore, underlines issues of decentralisation and involvement of local institutions in the working of the education policy and programmes. Inamdar's empirical research conducted in Poona district, which (he considered this district to be representative of an average type) is based though on data collected during 1970-71 yet its relevance shows no signs of dilution by the passage of time. In fact, despite claims of greater attention on districts under the rural development thrust, hardly has any one attempted to examine systematically the ground conditions of primary education at district and block levels, let alone the critical village level.

Inamdar finds that expansion of primary education under Zilla Parishads has come at the cost of quality, rise in the number of school buildings and a remarkable rise in the number of female students notwithstanding. However, despite paucity of resources with administration, a significant gain in this regard is ready cooperation of village community in provision of building and other facilities to schools and their vigi-

lance in ensuring regular attendance of pupils. Though there is uneven distribution of teachers in different talukas, yet the pupil-teacher ratio is found satisfactory. Number of teachers has inceased but the quality of teaching has gone down: large percentage of female teachers is responsible for decline in teaching quality, according to him. Deterioration in teaching quality has also been caused by slackened inspection and supervision by Zilla Parishad. Inamdar finds that even setting up of pre-primary schools has not helped in improving the quality of education. The relationship between Zilla Parishad officials and non-officials, which showed improvements subsequently, was not conducive to improvements in education as this subject is treated no more than one of the several developmental functions. As a result, there are problems in transfers and teachers are found to be used by non-officials for their political ends. Besides, strained relations were also found between superior generalist administrators (CEOs & BDOs) and specialists, and non-official elements.

Inamdar's conclusions only point to the existing crisis of confidence in regard to education administration and to an urgent need to introduce reforms in the educational system in the rural areas where nearly 80 per cent of our population lives. We can hardly afford to ignore the serious policy implications of Inamdar's findings. The politics and economics of education at the field level, especially in the field of primary education merit the attention of policy-makers, educationists and educational administrators if we aim seriously to make a dent on the prevailing state of affairs.

Education has a major role in bringing weaker sections of our society, like Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, into the mainstream of our national life. L.M. Prasad, in his article, presents their case. He discusses aspects of existing policy with regard to provision of scholarships, opening of schools in tribal areas, balvadis, hostels, book banks, mid-day meals, reservation of seats, etc., by giving a comparative picture of allocations during different plan periods. Prasad also gives details of measures taken in different states in this regard to enrich the contents of his article. While discussing implementation of education policy with regard to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes population, he presents the break-up of percentage of wastage among these children in all the states and Union territories of India as well as utilisation of reserved seats. Prasad also discusses various factors responsible for wastage and stagnation in

utilisation of facilities and makes some suggestions to improve the situation. Keeping in view the socio-political factors, education policy for weaker sections needs a closer scrutiny to devise strategy for correctives which, of course, has to be flexible enough to respond particularly to the varying needs of tribal population. It is in this area that the implications of education as an agent of social change must be understood with certain amount of integrity of thought and action.

Next in the sequence follows another empirical piece by Smita Das and Hazary on college principals in Orissa. The role of a college principal in the education system today hardly needs to be emphasised. The leadership role is organisational, academic as well as motivational. The study examines the stresses and strains that college principals have to undergo, including reasons therefor, by adopting the survey research methods. They covered 29 colleges (both government and non-government and included women's college too) in seven Orissa districts and got response from 15. The constituents of stress and strain were identified in the research design as: political interference, administrative pressure, pressure due to frequent transfers, pressure from outsiders, pressures due to curriculum and examination system deficiencies and financial inadequacies; and pressures from colleagues, students, ministerial staff, and guardians. Responses of the principals were quantified on these questions to reach conclusions.

As is also admitted by the authors, generalisations on findings of the study involving a small sample is bound to be risky. But the study does bring to the fore the challenges confronting a college principal today. This amply brings home as to how essential it is on the part of the principals to possess the requisite basic skills to maintain and promote healthy and fruitful human relations. Education has a vital implication in the recruitment and training of college principals of today and tomorrow. For growth of academic excellence, the position of the principal has to be strengthened and the colleges will have to be insulated against manipulative politics of various kinds.

Saha and Chawla write on job aspirations of students of higher learning institutions in Nigeria on the basis of data collected randomly from 280 students (including 35.36 per cent females). Besides quantifying their biographical characteristics (such as marital status--in the sample, over 16 per cent

of the males and females were married--age and number of dependents in family), the study gathered responses on reasons for working, factors influencing choosing of a job as a career and their perception about productivity. On analysing the data, the authors point to difference in attitudinal patterns of male and female students of these institutions while taking up job as a career as well as their perception of factors influencing productivity. The study, however, finds that biographical variables have no bearing on choosing a particular job as career by these students. Though the scenario of this study is Nigeria, yet the study has great significance to our country too due to commonality of developmental problems. It may be worthwhile for many organisations that have been set up in our country by the state governments and the Union Government to sponsor research in this area in a planned manner.

The democratisation of not only the university but also of the faculty administration has been advocated as a panacea by many an academic experts. The limited tenure of office of the departmental head has been conceived as an instrument of releasing mainsprings of initiative and innovations. Over the years, in our country, some experience has been gathered. According to objective observations of the university working, the experience is a mixed one. Shamim Aleem, in her contribution, presents a good deal of comparative information about the situation as it obtains in our universities and analyses the experiments made so far concluding rather on a hopeful note. This academic innovation needs further research by scholars and also more scientific and purposeful dialogue among university teachers and administrators themselves if this innovation is to facilitate attaining of academic excellence and not merely to end up in the marsh of academic politics. Besides the articles, we have also appended in this issue some further material relating to education policy and administration in the country.

In the next contribution, M.L. Sudan discusses various facets of the delivery system of agricultural credit, farm inputs and services catering to the needs of small and marginal farmers in the country, who, despite representing predominant chunk of population, are at a disadvantage compared with farmers having larger land holdings and by virtue thereof greater resources. Sudan starts with a discussion on allied aspects of agricultural credit delivery system comprising sharing of scientific knowledge generated by agricultural

research and spreading use of modern agricultural inputs through agricultural extension. He then discusses the three-pronged agricultural credit system consisting of cooperatives, commercial banks and regional rural banks. Sudan pleads, in his article, the case for adoption of single-window and integrated approach to improve access of small and marginal farmers to help them avail of these services without the least harassment and thereby enhance production and returns from agricultural activity. He also favours revitalisation of village-level cooperatives through adoption of a family and project approach. Besides, he also emphasises the need for changing bureaucratic attitudes to facilitate proper implementation of developmental programme for weaker sections. The analysis of Sudan assumes significance as a periodical review of the strategy is crucial to the nature of socio-economic developments to which the country has dedicated itself not only as a part of our planning system but also that of the Twenty-Point Programme of 1986 which professes to provide thrust to a new anti-poverty approach.

We have included an essay by Arvind G. Risbud which won first prize in IIPA's Annual Essay Competition for 1986. Risbud discusses some of the ever important issues of performance and accountability in the bureaucratic system. He approaches the problem not so much from the angle of reviewing performance of individuals functioning in a sub-system but from the broader framework of performance of the organisation as a whole in attaining the goals set before it as an individual's performance has but a limited correlation with performance of the organisation as a whole.

Risbud identifies the features important for reviewing performance, objectives of review, and limitations of a review exercise. He adds comparative dimension in the article by comparing performance review in a governmental bureaucratic system, a private sector organisation and a public sector industry. He particularly brings to sharp focus the prevalent effort to rationalise the dismal performance of public sector enterprises in the country.

Risbud favours adoption of Sunset Legislation, "a new and rigorous method of legislative overview" as practised in the USA, to ensure proper flow of an organisation's activities to attain its goals efficiently and to prevent drift as he finds that the legislation has "generally contributed to the considerable increase in the scope of government agencies and programmes and regulatory actions accompanied by growing

public disenchantment with their responsiveness, administrative efficiency, and sheer expanse at all levels". But then, this is also merely one of the mechanisms available to enforce better performance and cannot be expected to work wonders. The author, therefore, rightly concludes that a desired level of performance could "come only through commitment of all individuals within the organisation, and clarity of objectives and methodology at the top of the organisation".

Prajapati Trivedi's article is also on public sector performance. He analyses its perception in the country in the light of the reality emerging from conclusions drawn on the performance of cement enterprises in the country functioning as state public sector enterprises (under the control of State Governments in India). He questions the appropriateness of applying the criterion of private profitability for performance evaluation of public enterprises as it ignores the dimension of social welfare which clouds assessment of true benefits and true costs and ignores their important constraints.

Trivedi follows it up by discussing various indicators that comprise a more realistic performance evaluation system in countries like South Korea, Pakistan, etc. Before arriving at his conclusion, he also discusses pertinent economic issues, like generation and distribution of surplus; distribution of taxes, dues and donations; and opportunity cost of working capital vis-a-vis profitability. Underscoring the difficulties involved in making a realistic assessment of performance of public enterprises, Trivedi perhaps rightly avers that for measuring their true performance, "We need to consider the publicly relevant costs and benefits as captured in the concept of 'public profitability at constant prices'". He also advocates that such an approach is also feasible even at the macro level, covering all public enterprises in the country. True, it sounds as a valid defence mechanism but it must not be allowed to dilute the rather desperate need of the hour to raise both quality and quantity of production in our public enterprises wherein the nation has made colossal investments in terms of both money and manpower. Accountability and performance ought not be diluted by projecting alibis as the public sector must learn to appreciate the limitations and possibilities of our economic system.

Next follows Ranjit Das Gupta's note on police-people relationship in India today. He examines in his note the problems of popular control over police and the latter's accountability

to the people at large before drawing some tentative conclusions, such as fundamental reorientation and restructuring of the police system for which the initiative must come without delay, according to Das Gupta, from political leadership to protect political democracy in the country. Some important issues have been raised which merit consideration. In our Journal, we have discussed many dimensions of this problem from time to time. The need for social sensitisation of the police and for reorientation in its attitude and approach to the people and their problems cannot be lost sight of. Better leadership of the police will not grow automatically out of mechanical safeguards so much as out of a sense of inner responsibility and example-setting of capability and rectitude within the system, apart from self-discipline on the part of the political masters, whose attitude and approach condition working of the police system.

The issue also carries a survey on education policy and implementation in some of the states and Union territories in the country.

Besides the usual book reviews section, the issue also carries, in the document portion, extracts on Education from Seventh Five Year Plan Document and the report of UK's Jarratt Committee on Education which will be of general interest to our readers.

We also take this opportunity to wish distinguished readers of the Journal and members of the IIPA a very happy New Year.

--EDITOR

# Management of Universities in India

Y.S. KIRANMAYI, G. PRASAD AND K.V. RAO

INDIA, TODAY, has one of the largest educational system of the world with a total enrolment exceeding 3.5 million students for graduate, post-graduate, research degrees and diplomas and employ around 228 thousand teachers for teaching and research. The pace of growth and expansion in the field of higher education has in recent years been extremely rapid. The higher education, particularly the university education has been so phenomenal since Independence, in terms of number of universities established, students enrolled, and the amount allotted under various Five-Year Plans. Universities, only 19 in 1947, increased to 57 in 1960, 102 in 1970, 133 in 1980, and 157 in 1985. The number of post-graduates enrolled in different universities swelled from 16,000 in 1950 to 45,000 in 1960, 1.26 lakh in 1970, 2.6 lakh in 1980, and 3 lakh in 1985;<sup>1</sup> their number in science subjects, estimated to be 4,400 in 1950 rose to around 73,000 in 1985.

Education is the second highest sector of budgeted expenditure in the country after the defence: A little over 3 per cent of the Gross National Product (GNP) is spent on education. The amount spent on higher education is increasing more or less in the same proportion, and the government is allocating huge amounts for development of education. The amount spent on higher education, especially on university education, increased to a great extent from the First Five-Year Plan to the Seventh Five-Year Plan. The annual plan and non-plan expenditure on education from the Central and State Budgets has increased more than 50 times over the last 35 years, from Rs.114 crore in 1950-51 to more than Rs.6,000 crore in 1984-85.<sup>2</sup>

## PROBLEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

[ Despite achievements, university education in India is not without problems. By the end of 1985, more than 50 universities were closed for one reason or the other. While students, staff (both teaching



and non-teaching), and the administrators are unhappy over the functioning and the problems in universities, the government and the public are equally disappointed about the future of university education in India.<sup>3</sup>

The main problems of university education in India, at present are: explosion in the number of students, multiplicity of educational institutions, structures and controlling authorities, effect of federal Constitutional structure on education, democratic pressures, rising expectations and need for equality in educational opportunities, lack of adequate job opportunities, lack of adequate financial resources, inadequate relevance to the needs of the society, problems due to private management of some institutions, student unrest, student participation in management, political interference, etc.<sup>4</sup> Above all, lack of scientific management of the universities is the main reason for many of the problems of universities in India today.<sup>5</sup>

The phenomenal growth in the field of higher education, and the extraordinary increase in the volume and diversity of educational effort at various levels, have imposed a heavy strain on the existing administrative structure and organisation in universities and colleges. It is unfortunate that problems relating to governance of universities and colleges have not received adequate attention. Though government appointed many committees, they mainly looked into improving academic standards. Many also undertook reasonable studies, but most of these studies are on the quality of education, teaching methods, curriculum, student unrest and discipline.

[Educational administration is generally tradition-based and tends to rely on rules, procedures and techniques which have not changed over the years. A static organisation cannot meet the needs and challenges of a dynamic situation. Rules and regulations and techniques which hamper the essential functions and purposes of university education have to be modified or scrapped.<sup>6</sup>] They should not become strait-jackets into which all work and activity must be fitted. [Changes in organisational structures have to keep pace with the expansion and development of university education. The present rigid organisation fails to respond effectively to problems of a developing university. Procedures and programmes remain largely traditional, and the outlook of men operating them is generally rigid and conservative. The administration is very much office-oriented, and fails to catch up with new tasks and responsibilities that are entrusted to it. University teachers complain that rigid administrative procedures and financial controls smother departmental initiative, specially in the field of research.

There have been attempts to reform the academic side of education-

all institutions by introducing new ideas and making innovations. But it was seldom thought prudent to infuse reforms in the administration of educational institutions itself. No wonder the machinery of administration grinds and grinds but slowly.<sup>7</sup> If the machinery is overhauled and exposed to modern ideas and concepts in management and properly trained, it will do a lot of good towards fulfilling the objectives of the education system. A high level of sensitivity and understanding is necessary for the handling of the day-to-day problems of the academic community in educational and research institutions.

What is lacking in the administration of Indian universities so far is application of scientific management principles in running these institutions. Various educational committees in India, including Kothari Commission and Gajendragadkar Committee, have also emphasised the need for application of scientific management principles to university administration. But unfortunately the universities still follow outmoded procedures, programmes, rules and regulations which were developed during the British regime. So far no attempt has been made in majority of the universities to introduce administrative changes.<sup>8</sup> A new orientation in thinking and practice is necessary to promote the culture whereby creative people can function with freedom for the advancement of knowledge. The administration plays an important catalytic role, for creating and developing a learning culture which is very essential for success of an educational institution.

#### NEED FOR THE SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT OF UNIVERSITIES IN INDIA

One may wonder how management principles, more akin to business, apply to the non-profit organisations like universities. But these principles of management are also equally applicable to all types of organised activities and in all types of organisations. In fact, management is needed wherever people work together to try to reach a common goal.

Although management is as old as humanity itself and is widely practised by various types of organisations in Western countries, it is not very well used in developing economies. The knowledge of management can be applied to all organised human endeavours, whether they are business, government, educational, social, religious or other.<sup>9</sup> It is equally applicable at all levels of management in an organisation, lowest to the highest. If an administrator has this fundamental knowledge and knows how to apply it to a given situation, he or she should be able to perform the managerial function efficiently and effectively, with enough flexibility to adapt and adjust

to the new situation and environment.

### MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS OF UNIVERSITIES IN INDIA

An analysis of the present management scene of universities in India reveals the following problems and defects.

#### **Absence of Forward Planning**

The pressure on the university administration has been increasing considerably over the years due to rapid growth in the size of the universities over the last three decades in terms of number of students, courses, teachers, etc. There has been sizeable increase in the volume of work in the administration which was created primarily to monitor the required administrative services to the students and teachers. However, the planning that is resorted to currently in the universities takes care only of day-to-day operational matters. As a result, making ad hoc and interim arrangements becomes necessary from time to time to meet the immediate requirements.

No organised effort was made in the past by the universities to forecast a consistent growth of the universities year after year and accordingly carry out the requisite organisational planning to meet the resultant pressures and challenges. Even the present organisational structure of various universities has resulted from various adjustments to meet the exigencies from time to time and was not devised on the basis of systematic planning.<sup>10</sup>

True that in the recent past, due to student unrest, it has become rather difficult to formalise planning on long-term basis so far as examinations and teaching schedules are concerned, but planning has been totally absent even in case of important functions, such as development, construction, etc., which are in no way influenced by the student interference. When each university has to manage finances of over Rs.50 million every year, it is needless to emphasise that planning must be given increasing importance. Further, long-term planning needs to be given more attention in the universities not only to ensure that the development grants given by UGC and states are utilised properly and the schemes executed on time, but also to ensure better services to students and teachers.

#### **Lack of Decision-making at all Levels**

While Vice-Chancellor makes the decisions, Registrar is responsible for their implementation. All administrative papers, many which are not important, are at present referred to the Vice-Chancellor. The reason for this lies in the nature of the hierarchical system of administration which is in vogue in the universities for the past

several years. The system functions only if one person shoulders the responsibility for every thing that is done. Such an arrangement in the system gives the subordinates a sense of security for, if something is done under the orders, it will not be their fault in case any thing goes wrong. Without the Vice-Chancellor's signature, nothing, no matter how insignificant or unimportant gets done. Thus, the entire system of university administration is suffering from lack of decision-making at all levels. Even on routine and simple matters, decisions are not taken by the concerned department/section heads and these are passed on to officers who, in turn, pass the same to the next higher officer. The net result is that all routine administrative matters, irrespective of their importance, needs Vice-Chancellor's attention leading to:

1. delay in decisions causing inconvenience to employees, teachers, students and society;
2. unnecessary paper work in view of preparation of draft notes, typing, etc.;
3. the Vice-Chancellor, being overburdened with routine work, has no time to pay attention to important policy matters; and
4. feeling among staff, right from clerical to officer level, that the volume of work is high, as almost every paper received goes through all the levels in the hierarchy along with the officer's note.

Lack of orientation to the staff at various levels, absence of single-point accountability in the present structure, lack of strict observance of rules and regulations pertaining to various matters, absence of clear and foolproof rules and regulations, lack of clarification of roles, functions and responsibilities at different levels and lack of initiative and confidence among the staff have contributed to the above mentioned situation.

#### **Lack of Clarity in Duties and Responsibilities**

No specific duties and responsibilities have been assigned to different levels in the hierarchy, viz., Deputy Registrar, Assistant Registrar, Superintendent, Senior Assistant and Junior Assistant. Similarly, the roles of both supervisory staff and officers in the administration again have not been clearly defined. The duties and responsibilities of different categories of staff have not been clearly defined and made known to them. As a result, there is no proper distribution of work.

In many sections, the duties and functions of superintendents and below are either not specific or repetitive. The clerical functions

are carried out by the officers in some sections, while matters of great importance are dealt with by persons of relatively lower levels in some other sections. Due to absence of proper control and accountability, the supervisory function in many sections is only superfluous.

Due to inadequate powers and specific responsibility to deal with matters independently at the supervisory and officer level, much of the routine work has to be dealt with by senior officers and more often such matters are referred to Vice-Chancellor. The Vice-Chancellor, therefore, hardly finds time to devote to matters of academic importance, long-range planning and development of the university.

#### **Grouping of Unrelated Activities**

The existing division of the entire university administration into different working units (Sections) has not been done following any established principle or rationale. The present set-up is based more on convenience and on a trial-and-error basis being practised since inception of a university.<sup>11</sup> As a result, in the present structure, number of unrelated activities constitute a working unit (section) while a number of related activities are attached to different working units (sections). This has contributed considerably to delays and problems of coordination between different sections and has resulted in duplication of work in some cases.

#### **Faulty Staffing Procedures**

Staffing is selecting and employing, training and developing, and placing and orienting people in favourable and productive work environments. In performing this function, management determines the mental, physical, and emotional requirements of work positions through job analysis, job descriptions and job specifications and then finds the necessary employees with the personal characteristics --such as abilities, education, training, and experience--needed to accomplish the job.<sup>12</sup> This function includes activities, such as establishing rewards for effective job performance, evaluating employees for promotion, transfer or even discharge, and training and developing employees.

Administration is essentially a matter of faith and vision, bold and courageous leadership and proper handling of human relations. Absence of qualified and efficient personnel is the root cause of maladministration.<sup>13</sup> A university should be staffed with personnel which is capable of thinking and has a perspective of developmental directions with proper good orientation. The importance of securing the right type of personnel for it cannot, therefore, be over-empha-

sised. The major weaknesses of the existing organisation of the universities are largely related to personnel. These include: shortage of personnel at the higher level, lack of specialised staff, unsatisfactory remuneration and conditions of service, unsatisfactory methods of recruitment, inadequate provision of in-service education, and inadequate staffing.

Though the selection of teaching staff is to be done on the basis of the guidelines provided by the UGC, many universities are deviating from the norms and trying to mould the guidelines according to their needs. Coming to the recruitment of non-teaching staff, the selection system is so defective that it does not allow the right man for the right job. In many cases, universities appoint persons who do not have the requisite qualifications and experience in the posts of Finance Officer, Controller of Examinations, and Registrar.

Turning to the methods of training and development of the staff, while some attention is paid in the case of teaching staff, it is completely neglected in the case of non-teaching staff. Most of the universities do not have any job evaluation schemes and whether one works or not, one gets annual increments regularly and also promotion on time basis, particularly in the case of non-teaching staff.

#### **Student Interference in the Administration**

Student interference in the day-to-day work of the university administration has totally disrupted proper functioning of the administration. Student interferences in such important matters, like conduct of examinations, appointment of teachers, transfer of employees, promotion of employees, etc., disrupted the university administration in a number of instances.<sup>14</sup>

Failure on the part of the university authorities to observe strictly their own laws, statutes, ordinances and regulations has also contributed to indiscipline both among the students and the employees. In the past, there are several instances where the authorities acted arbitrarily, discriminating in the matters of admission to courses, etc., leading to disastrous effect on discipline. The indiscipline among the students together with lack of strict observance of rules by the university administration has affected universities in a number of ways. The universities' finances have continued to dwindle as the students hardly pay the requisite tuition fees, hostel fees, examination fees, etc., in full.

#### **Absence of Public Relations**

The important function of public relations is totally absent in the university administration. The universities receive a number of complaints from the public, students, and employees on various

matters. These complaints made through media, viz., local press, are left unattended which affect the image of the universities considerably.

Number of students come to Registrar's office to make enquiries on various matters, such as admissions, courses, etc. Most of these queries are clarified by the concerned officer working in the administration, wasting sizeable amount of time in the process. Similarly, there is no one responsible to project through wide publicity the various academic achievements and outstanding contributions made by the teachers and students.

### **Problems of Coordination**

There is a high degree of interdependence between various sections and departments of the university administration. Besides, university administration and external environment--viz., teachers, colleges, other service organisations such as contractors, printing press, etc.--are also interdependent. Apparently, high degree of coordination is needed to fulfil effectively the objectives of the organisation of university administration.

Coordination depends to a large extent on managerial commitments, interpersonal relationships, well-designed control systems and extent of functional differentiation. However, due to absence of these factors, there is currently no proper co-ordination between the various sections of administration in universities and the external environment leading to considerable delay in providing the requisite services, execution of UGC Schemes, recruitment of teachers, construction of buildings, timely declaration of examinations results, etc.

Because of inter-dependencies between the different sections and departments and lack of clarity in role, accountability is totally absent in the present system. Coordination becomes practically very difficult under these circumstances.

### **Lack of Formal Control Mechanism**

There is no formal control mechanism currently existing in the university administration. This is apparent because of absence of proper planning and lack of clarity in role of personnel, both of which are essential requisites for establishing control. Control is meaningful and can be effective only if responsibility for meeting the objectives or standards are assigned to specific individuals concerned with the activity. The present system does not provide for formal control in the shape of checks over the performance of subordinates, checks over utilisation of finances or an effective information systems as an instrument of control.

Moreover, control essentially seeks to compel events to conform to

plans. However, in the absence of planning at all levels, it is not possible to establish formal controls in the shape of standards of performance, financial controls, etc. Considerable drain on the university's exchequer in the form of unauthorised payments and expenditure far exceeding actual allocations for different projects/works, mounting backlog of work in the various sections, non-utilisation of sizeable amounts of UGC grants by the universities, non-maintenance of up-to-date records of important matters pertaining to various sections, etc., result from absence of a formal control mechanism in the present system.<sup>15</sup>

### SUGGESTIONS

Thus, the present problems of universities in India are mainly due to lack of planning, defective organisational structure, faulty staffing procedures, ineffective leadership and absence of controlling methods. A high level of sensitivity and understanding is necessary for handling day-to-day problems of the academic community in educational and research institutions. A new orientation in thinking and practices is necessary to promote the culture whereby creative people can function with freedom for advancement of knowledge. The administration plays an important catalytic role, for creating and developing a learning culture which is every essential for the success of an educational institution.

Time is ripe for the UGC and the state governments to take measures for putting the universities on the right course. The UGC should immediately appoint a High Powered Expert Committee to look into the functioning of the universities in India and to suggest measures for their effective working. The terms of reference of the Commission should be broad based and mainly include the management practices of various universities and the measures for toning up their administration. On the other hand, there is an urgent need on the part of the university authorities to implement the principles of scientific management in the administration of their universities.

It is the time for the Vice-Chancellors, who head these institutions, to take measures to streamline administration of their universities. This would require taking of some hard decisions by Vice-Chancellors despite initial opposition by various interest groups.

Generally, people accept the Vice-Chancellor's position in order to do some service to the university and in the process to get good name. A person who avoids, grappling with problems and just tries to save his job from mounting pressures and tensions, or who resigns in the middle due to many problems, will never get good name. On the other hand, a dynamic person, who takes bold and hard steps, despite



resistance from interested groups in the short-run, will get very good name.

The following suggestions, for consideration by the Vice-Chancellors, who are the administrators of universities in India, are being made.

### **Change in the Concept of the University**

At present, there is feeling among many that universities are existing to look after the welfare of the students, teaching and non-teaching employees working on the campus. Even most of the administrators of the universities are also viewing it with this narrow sense and due to this, they are spending all their time in solving the problems of campus people only. But all are forgetting that the universities were established for serving the needs of the society, affiliated colleges and institutions around them. The administrators in future should take more care for improving academic standards and physical facilities in the colleges and institutions affiliated to the universities. Hence, there is every need for broadening the concept of the university.

### **Systematic Planning**

The university administration has to work with vision. It must not end by merely assisting the academics in their routine academic work. It must be closely associated with planning for the future of the university. Planning in a university means the process whereby the educational institution establishes its long-run mission, goals, and objectives, the identification and evaluation of alternatives and making the choice among alternatives.<sup>16</sup>

The activity of planning in Indian universities is at its lowest ebb. Nobody knows how the institution should grow and develop in the next 5 or 10 years. Priorities are never fixed, procedures are not followed, methods and systems are not developed and the administrators are little bothered about strategies. In view of this, there is a need for a permanently constituted body of academicians and administrators to act as a vanguard and to lay the issues before concerned authorities for consideration. The university administration should have a well-informed planning section, staffed with men of calibre and fore sight to examine the different issues with their academic counterparts and crystallise these for implementation. The entire work of each section must be systematically planned and schedule of work should be prepared efficiently in advance. A chart of sequence of activities and time schedule programme of action within a particular period should also be prepared and circulated among the concerned staff based on which a periodic review should be made. To bring forth

willing cooperation in planning activities, all the staff should be encouraged to participate in planning and their views and options considered.

### Reorganisation of the Structure of the Universities

The present organisation structure is mainly responsible for most of the ills of the universities. Organising means determining what resources and which activities are required to achieve the organisation's objectives, combining them into workable groups, assigning responsibility for accomplishing them to responsible subordinates along with delegation of authority necessary to carry out these assignments. This function provides a formal structure through which work is defined, subdivided and coordinated.

If one goes through the organisational structure of universities in India, one finds that though they have formal organisational structures, these are never followed in practice. Quite often, the authorities at the higher level ignore the hierarchy and bypass the lower levels, to violate the principles of unity of command. The span of management is too wide and it is not unusual to notice executives managing more than 20 subordinates; while decentralisation and delegation of authority are found only on paper.<sup>17</sup> The committee type of organisation which is widely prevalent in the university administrative system is often misused. There is urgent necessity for reorganising the entire structure of university administration in India. The basic considerations in the design of the organisation structure of the university administration are:<sup>18</sup>

1. identification of the activities required to meet the objectives/purposes of the organisation of the university administration;
2. systematic grouping of related activities, according to similarity in basic objectives/purposes;
3. each working unit constituting the organisation of university administration performs a clearly useful role in contributing to the achievements of the objectives of the organisation;
4. maintain, as far as possible, homogeneity and proper span of control appropriate to the particular work needs;
5. assigning definite and clear cut responsibilities at each level; coupling responsibility with corresponding authority and delegation; and
6. systematic decentralisation of the entire administration for effective decision-making.

There should be a minimum number of levels in the organisation

hierarchy. A tall organisation, having too many levels, generates a climate of bureaucracy and feudalism which goes against the effective academic freedom.<sup>19</sup> Keeping in view the principles of organisation, an organisation chart for the universities has been evolved, given in Appendix I, is self-explanatory. While reorganising the structure of the universities, the following points are to be kept in mind:

1. In the universities, main importance should be given to academic roles and not the administrative roles. Otherwise, the teachers may see their preferred career paths in administration rather than academics.
2. Administrative roles should be only instrumental in promoting the academic work in the universities and should not assume unnecessary importance to become a competing system within the universities. If non-academic roles are given too much importance, parallel empires may emerge in the universities which may threat and obstruct academic functions. This does not mean that non-academic roles are not important at all. They may be given importance to the extent they facilitate the functioning of the universities and various sub-systems.
3. Seniority of persons in the universities should be delinked from their appointments to non-academic leadership positions. It is often complained that persons who have been in the universities for a long period of time tend to take over the main controlling functions and the young bright people who enter the system do not get an opportunity either to learn to perform these functions or to demonstrate their ability to manage some functions. Appointments to administrative roles may, therefore, be made from amongst all levels of teachers, irrespective of their seniority. If an attempt is made to locate bright young people who can perform a particular function more effectively, they may be appointed for a few years on these positions.
4. All academic administrative positions should be held for a timebound period and the assignment of people to these roles should be wholly delinked from status and seniority.<sup>20</sup> This does not mean an automatic rotation system in which 'every one will be given a chance'. Appointments to these positions would be carefully made by the Vice-Chancellor, on the basis of appropriateness of individuals to fulfil such roles, but the period for which the appointment is made can vary from position to position. The heads of the departments may be in position for 2-3 years. The Deans with a major departmental programme on hand might be in position for 5 years.

### **Vice-Chancellor's Secretariat**

At present, Vice-Chancellors are not having their own offices. For everything, they depend on Registrars and other sections. There is every necessity of creating Vice-Chancellor's secretariat immediately. The organisational structure and functions of the proposed Vice-Chancellor's secretariat is given in Appendix II. The Vice-Chancellors' Secretariat should maintain the bio-data sheets of all the teachers and officers of the universities. These sheets should be revised from time to time. The Vice-Chancellors should request the staff members to inform them about their achievements and send one copy of the article and book published by them from time to time. On receiving the information, the Vice-Chancellors should convey their happy feelings to the concerned teachers and officers. The Vice-Chancellors should also constitute a high level informal committee (with three members) to advise them on important matters. This committee should meet once in 15 days to review the progress and follow-up action. The Vice-Chancellors should also constitute three-member committees (one of these will work as member-secretary) for giving them advice on various matters relating to students, teaching staff, non-teaching staff, transport, physical development of the campus, academic, affiliations, examinations, extra-curricular activities, finance, and long-term planning and policies. No doubt, there are statutory committees like Finance Committee, but the committees we recommended above are purely to investigate and analyse the problems and advise the Vice-Chancellor.

### **Clarity in Responsibilities**

Definite and clear cut responsibility should be assigned to each staff member with provisions for exercising adequate control at different levels. Responsibility is the accountability for proper performance of work that must be done. Nothing encourages confusion, recreation and jurisdictional conflict more than unclear assignment of responsibilities amongst the executives. It is, therefore, important that every officer knows the responsibilities and the area of his work. Allocation of responsibility should not be arbitrary. The responsibilities should be proportionate to the level of the person in the overall hierarchy.

To enable the above mentioned to happen, each of the branches will have one or more sections depending on the volume and heterogeneity in the activities assigned to the branch. Every section should be a nucleus operating unit encompassing three levels, viz., officer level, supervisory level and supporting level. An officer should be incharge of a branch while a superintendent or assistant superintendent should be incharge of a section depending upon the volume and

nature of work in that section.

Every officer heading a branch, should break the entire work of the branch into component activities. The break-down of activities should be as far down as to determine the job to be performed by each individual. Specific job assignments should be made to different subordinates for ensuring a certainty of work performance. While doing so, proper delegation of work must be made, i.e., the officer should also entrust to his subordinates part of the rights and powers, which he would have exercised himself to get that work done. Through this, the officer at the higher level will be able to spend more time on planning and other important matters rather than wasting time on routine matters. Delegation of authority corresponding to the responsibility is necessary as responsibility without authority is an empty vessel.<sup>21</sup>

### **Coordination**

Coordination is the synchronisation of different activities for achieving common goals. Smooth functioning of the university administration and the definite achievement of its objectives depend on sound coordination. The accountability for proper coordination should primarily rest with the officers. They should play an important role in coordinating the work of their subordinates. Frequent formal and informal meetings and get-togethers of officers and representatives of external agencies should be held to bring in better internal and external coordination.

### **Creation of Public Relations and Information Branch**

A public Relations and Information Branch should be created in the university administration. It should be headed by an officer of the rank of Assistant Registrar who should be incharge of the following:

1. maintaining an information-cum-enquiry service for students, teachers, and also visitors to the university campus regarding examinations, admission rules, schedules, etc.;
2. ensuring that the information relating to the universities decisions are disseminated;
3. coordinating the provisions of the media for communication purposes--publicity of social events, academic achievements; and
4. gathering information about views and reactions of the community, on various university decisions to serve as feedback to review the existing programmes and facilitate future planning.

The Public Relations Officer should report to the Registrar. The creation of information and enquiry service will result in considerable saving of time of the officers in the administration who are currently spending lot of time in attending to queries from students, visitors, etc.

#### **Establishment of Legal Branch**

Every year there are number of litigation cases between universities on one side and students, teachers, employees, and suppliers/contractors on the other. The universities are generally hiring services of 'Legal Counsel' to represent such cases before the Court. Most of these litigations arise out of absence of foolproof ordinances, statutes, rules, regulations, etc., based on which decisions are taken by the authorities. At present, in most of the universities there is no officer in the administration to offer opinion on legal implications of various decisions taken from time to time and to provide all relevant information to the Legal Counsel. In the absence of this, the universities tend to loose most of their cases in Courts.

In view of the above, a Law Officer of the rank of Assistant Registrar, with a professional degree in Law, with at least five years of working experience in the legal profession should be appointed with following responsibilities:

1. attending to court cases arising out of disputes between the universities on one side and employees, students, suppliers, etc., on the other;
2. acting as a liaison between the Legal Counsel and the universities--briefing the Legal Counsel about the background of the disputes and provide all the relevant facts and information;
3. vetting the draft statutes, ordinances, rules and regulations and amendments thereof; and
4. offering opinion to the Vice-Chancellors on the legal implications of various decisions taken by the authorities.

#### **Campus Students**

The most important problem which requires immediate attention of administrators of many of the universities is 'Campus Students'. There are so many internal and external reasons for continuous agitation of students in a number of universities. They have been interfering and paralysing the administration from time to time. It is no exaggeration to say that more than 50 per cent of the time of the administrators is being spent on solving the problems of campus students only. If the student problems are solved in the univer-

sities, a number of other related problems will also be solved automatically. The following suggestions are offered in this connection:

1. The student problems should be sloved without any delay. It is good if they are solved at the level of the department or hostel warden or the Principal itself without approaching higher authorities for simple reasons.
2. No student should be allowed to join and study more than one course in the university campus. This step is very important and urgent since most of the problems of the universities from students are mainly because of a few students who continue to stay in the campus for long.
3. In the hostels, no outsider should be allowed to stay for more than one day. The hostel supervisors may be asked to note down and inform about presence of outsiders to the concerned wardens. If they fail to do so, they may be warned of the consequences.
4. The conduct of examinations should be decentralised. To start with, all the post-graduate examinations should be conducted in the respective departments under the control and supervision of the concerned head of the department.
5. The university authorities may consider the possibility of shifting some of the faculties, which have a very large enrolment of students, from the campus to other areas so as to reduce the pressure of numbers in the campus, which has been a major cause for student indiscipline.
6. There is every need for improving the student services in many respects. It is no exaggeration to say that student services in many universities are far from adequate, giving a feeling to the student community that 'nobody cares for them'.

### Control

Controlling is devising ways and means of assuring that plannig performance is actually achieved. It can be either positive or negative. Positive control tries to see that the objectives of the organisation are efficiently and effectively reached; negative control tries to insure that unwanted or undesirable activities do not occur or recur. Planning, organising, staffing, and leading are of limited value, unless the control function is performed effectively.<sup>22</sup> Without control there would be lack of meaningful performance at best, and chaos at the worst. The control function essentially ensures that planning performance is achieved with a minimum of disorder and disruption. It assures that plans are carried out and objectives are reached.

The basic steps in control, viz., establishment of standards, measurement of performance and correction of deviations are never followed in the universities. Lack of proper control mechanism has led to considerable dysfunctioning in certain important areas, such as finance and accounts and development of the university administration. In view of this, the administration should have a proper control system as a continuous process of determining what is being performed, measuring its actual results in relation to the predetermined objectives and adopting such corrective measures as may be necessary to ensure performance according to plan.

#### CONCLUSION

Thus, the problems of universities in India are many and varied. Different persons may provide different solutions for these problems. But all these problems can only be solved when authorities face the problems and take appropriate and bold decisions without caring for troubles, unpleasantness and threats. Further, the follow-up action is more important than taking many decisions. If one is determined to solve the problems, it may not be that difficult to resolve the problems of the universities and achieve the objectives for which they were established.

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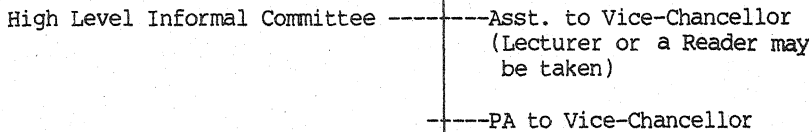
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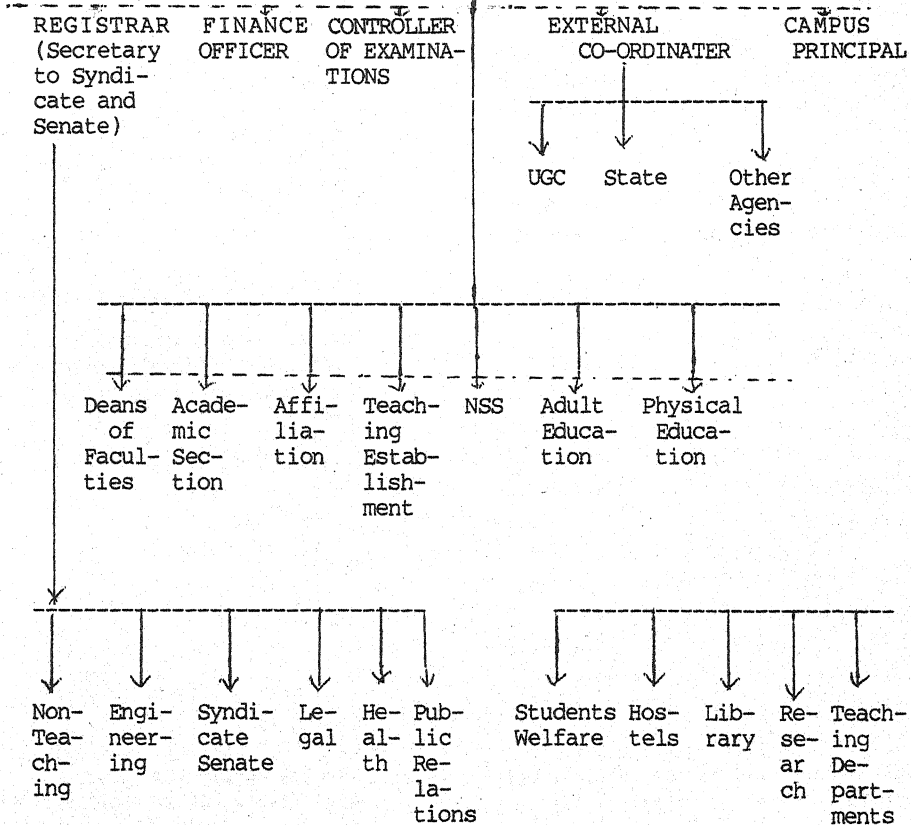
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Appendix I

VICE-CHANCELLOR



RECTOR  
(Syndicate Member)



## Appendix II

### PROPOSED ORGANISATION STRUCTURE OF VICE-CHANCELLOR'S SECRETARIAT

#### VICE-CHANCELLOR

Private Secretary to the Vice-Chancellor

Executive Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor

Role		Role
-maintenance of Vice-Chancellors' Diary.	Clerical Assistants	-Scrutiny of all papers/ letters/notes received by the Vice-Chancellor and disposal wherever Vice-Chancellor's instruction is not necessary.
-maintenance of Vice-Chancellor's appointments/programmes/visits.	Role	-Follow up of Vice-Chancellor's orders with the concerned branches/departments/offices/government/colleges/institutions.
-Stenography and other secretarial assistance.	-maintenance of records.	-Feedback to the Vice-Chancellor about the action taken on the Vice-Chancellor's orders by the above agencies.
	-filing	-Preparation of different types of proposals--academic, technical and departmental-based on the directions provided by the Vice-Chancellor.
	-inward/outward	-Handling of numerous complaints received in the Vice-Chancellor's office and taking action as per the guidelines given by the Vice-Chancellor.
	-typing	

# University Grants Commission—A Study of Organisational Frame

R.N. CHATURVEDI

JUST AS the three pioneer universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were set up on the model of the University of London, the University Grants Commission (UGC) was patterned on the model of the U.G. Committee that had been created in the UK in 1919.<sup>1</sup> Even in the pre-Independence period, with the coming into existence of new universities, the erstwhile British Government had begun to feel the need of an all India agency for coordination among various universities and maintenance of standards. This feeling was perhaps intensified by the birth of the U.G. Committee in the UK because only a few years later the vice-chancellors conference, held in 1924, decided to establish an Inter-University Board. In the historic perspective, this Board may be viewed as the first step in the direction leading to the establishment of an All India body analogous to the U.G. Committee in the UK.

## FORMATION OF UGC

The Inter-University Board represented the collective voice of the vice-chancellors and served as a forum for discussing problems of higher education. It did some useful work but it failed to evolve a convention whereby the collective voice of the vice-chancellors could have the force of law. It remained only as an advisory body.

The second step was taken with the constitution of the U.G. Committee in 1945 on the recommendations of a sub-committee, known as Sargent Committee, appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education to report on 'Post-War Educational Development in India'. The U.G. Committee was supposed to concern itself only with the three Central Universities of Banaras, Aligarh and Delhi. However, through the amendments made in 1946 and 1947, State Universities were also brought under its purview. The U.G. Committee was only a recommendatory body. Since no funds were placed at its disposal, it could only recommend to the Central Government what amounts needed to be

sanctioned to different Central and state universities and for what purpose. It was a body without authority of sanction.

The third step was taken when an interim UGC started functioning in December, 1953 vide Resolution of the Government of India dated November 3, 1952.<sup>2</sup> The problem before the government then was whether to institute two bodies or only one. If the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission were to be accepted as such, the UGC, when brought into being, would be concerned only with the task of allocation of grants. The tasks of coordination and maintenance of standards would fall outside its province. In that case, another body would be necessary because the Indian Constitution had placed special responsibility on the Central Government regarding these two important functions.

In the initial years of the post-independence period, the thinking of the Government of India seemed to have inclined towards having two bodies. The UGC, as per recommendation of the Radhakrishnan Commission (1949), was to concern itself with allocation of grants. The other body, as proposed in the Bill of 1951, was to function under the name 'Central Council of University Education' and was to be concerned solely with the problems concerning coordination and maintenance of standards.<sup>3</sup> The intention of government to create two bodies is obvious from the fact that the Draft Bill of 1951 did not envisage entrusting the function of allocating grants to the proposed 'Central Council of University Education'. When the Draft Bill of 1951 was circulated to the universities and the states, it was not supported by the Inter-University Board that had been in existence since 1924. On the contrary, the move was resisted by a significant section of the universities and states. Thereupon, a conference of the state education ministers and the vice-chancellors of the universities was convened in April, 1953 by the Education Ministry of the Government of India. This conference recommended unequivocally that a single statutory body, like the U.G. Committee in the UK, be set up instead of two and that the functions of allocation of grants and tackling problems of coordination and maintenance of standards be entrusted to it.<sup>4</sup>

#### **The UGC Act and Its Amendment**

The fourth and final step was taken when the Bill of 1951 was dropped and measures were taken in 1954 for setting up a statutory UGC. The University Grants Commission Bill 1954 was introduced in Parliament in September, 1954. Several important provisions of the original Bill were either deleted or drastically amended by the Joint Select Committee of both houses to which it was referred. The report of the Joint Select Committee was accepted by the government, and the

University Grants Commission Act was finally passed in 1956. The amendments made by the Select Committee rendered the statutory UGC a much less effective body than it would have been if the original UGC Bill had been passed. But perhaps concern for balance between centripetal and centrifugal forces in a new democracy was as necessary as the concern for standards of higher education. And the UGC Act, as passed in 1956, was a compromise between the two sets of forces.

The UGC Act of 1956 was amended in 1972. This amendment affected the composition of UGC and in some respects enlarged its powers. The constitutional amendment of 1976 put education in the concurrent list. Though the functions of the UGC were not affected by this constitutional amendment, yet it widened the scope of its activities.

The UGC Act of 1956, as amended in 1972, bears a clear imprint of the legacy of the past. During British times, education had developed as a provincial subject. During the days of the Dyarchy, it was one of the transferred subjects. The Act of 1935 also included education in the list of provincial subjects. When the Constitution of free India was on the envil, there were three alternatives: Whether to have education in the Union list or State list or concurrent list. Practical considerations ruled out the alternative of placing education in the Union list. At best, education could find place in the concurrent list, as recommended by the Radhakrishnan Commission. But the political climate in the morrow of Independence stood in the way of even this alternative. Consequently, education found place in the State list.<sup>5</sup> If higher education had been the concern of the Central Government alone during the British times, it would have been much earlier to continue it in the Union list and thus tackle the problems of maintenance of standards and coordination without any constitutional constraints.

In the early years after Independence, democratic sense reacted sharply against any punitive powers being conferred on the UGC. Moreover, memory of the British times was too fresh to permit arming even the statutory UGC with powers that could be used against the State universities. The Joint Select Committee not only deleted the penal clauses of the original bill but also those which authorised the UGC to recommend to the state governments of Central Government any penal step that it might think fit against a defaulting University.<sup>6</sup> Relationship between the Centre and states was also involved.

A discerning eye can clearly see that changed political climate in the country was the major factor that facilitated amendment in the UGC Act in 1972 or constitutional amendment in 1976 placing education in the concurrent list. The return of the Congress party with a two-thirds majority, after the great split in 1969, made the Centre much stronger and rendered the centrifugal forces much less effective.

Pure academic reasons in favour of these amendments were not less weighty in 1956 when the Constitution was framed or the UGC Act was passed.

#### COMPOSITION OF UGC

The UGC is a statutory body. All its members are appointed by the Central Government in the manner laid down in the UGC Act. It is a child of the Indian Parliament which can appoint parliamentary committees as and when considered necessary to review its activities. The interim UGC of 1956 was to have one whole-time chairman and five members, three of whom were to be non-official members and one representative each of the ministries of Finance and Education. It may, however, be pointed out that the interim UGC started functioning with a part-time chairman. Dr. Shanti Swaroop Bhatnagar, who was the first Chairman of the interim UGC, was also Secretary in the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research.

The statutory UGC, as constituted in 1956, was to have nine members including the chairman. Out of the remaining eight members, three were to be vice-chancellors, two from among the officers of the Central government and three educationists of repute. The chairman was to be a whole-time, salaried person, but he was neither to be an officer of the Central Government nor of any State government. The composition of the statutory UGC differed from that of the interim UGC in three respects, viz., disqualifying condition for the appointment of the chairman, number of members composing the UGC, and break-up of the members.

In the case of statutory commission, the chairman was to be neither an officer of the Central Government nor of any state government, but no such condition was attached for the chairman of the interim commission. The total number of members in the statutory commission was fixed at nine as against six in the interim commission, including the chairman in both cases. The interim commission was to have three non-official members, but there is no mention of the word 'non-official' in the composition of the statutory commission. A closer look at the UGC Act makes it evident that there was greater emphasis on the members of the UGC, being educationists of repute than on other factors, though these were not ignored.

The amendment of 1972 raised the total number of the members of the commission from nine to 12. The composition of UGC as amended up to 1972 is as follows.<sup>7</sup> (1) chairman, (2) vice-chairman, and (3) ten other members.

The term of the chairman is five years and that of the vice-chairman and other members three years. No person can hold office,

whether as chairman or vice-chairman or member, for more than two terms.

All appointments are made by the Central government within the limits set down in the Act. It is specifically mentioned that the chairman is neither to be an officer of the Central government nor of any state government. There is no such condition laid down for appointment of vice-chairman. The break-up of the selection of other members reveals the following differences between the UGC Act of 1956 and the amended Act:

1. There was no change in the number of government officers in the UGC after the amendment. It was two out of nine, including the chairman in the UGC Act 1956. It remained at two out of a total of twelve including the chairman and the vice-chairman after the amendment in 1972. It may be of some interest to recollect that it was two out of a total of six, including the chairman, in the interim UGC constituted in 1953. The only difference made was that, in the interim UGC, these government officers represented the ministries of Finance and Education. But vide UGC Act of 1956 and the amended Act of 1972 they could be any government officers representing Central government.
2. In the UGC Act of 1956, vice-chancellors figured very prominently. Their number was fixed at three out of six members besides chairman and two government officers. The amendment of 1972 gives this place of prominence to university teachers whose number is not to be fewer than four out of eight members besides chairman, vice-chairman and two government officers.
3. In the amended Act, the vice-chancellors have, however, not been completely side-tracked. They find place among the three categories out of which the remaining members of the commission are to be chosen. One category is of those who have knowledge of agriculture, commerce, forestry. The second category represents those who are members of engineering, legal, medical or any other learned profession. The vice-chancellors find place in the third category and are bracketed with educationists of repute.
4. An analysis of the composition of the commission, as laid down in the amended Act, reveals that the approach has been functional. The Act gives the Central government a wide choice in selection of remaining members of the commission. A glance at the categories does suggest that the framers of the amended Act had in mind that the Central government would choose one person out of each of the three categories to be a member of



the commission.

5. The wording of Clause (3b) of Section 5 clearly mentions that there would be at least four university teachers, suggesting that there is no ban on the Central government selecting five or more university teachers. Moreover, clauses 3C1, and 3C2 of Section 5, which mention two of the categories of persons, out of whom remaining members are to be chosen, do not put any ban on such persons being university teachers. The possibility of a person selected on the basis of his knowledge or experience, in agriculture, commerce, fishery or industry, being a university teacher was not a remote one. Likewise there was likelihood of a person selected on the basis of his being a member of the engineering, legal, medical or any other learned profession, being a university teacher. These clauses simply mean that the selection of persons on these bases would not be *ultra vires* of the Act in case they happened to be university teachers. In such an eventuality, the number of university teachers in the commission could go up to five, six or even seven.

Clause 3C(iii) of Section 5 bracketed vice-chancellors with those who are deemed by the Central government as educationists of repute or possessing high academic standards. There is clear mention in this sub-clause that person selected on the basis of his being deemed an educationist of repute or possessed high academic standard would not be a university teacher. It can be visualised that if the Central government chooses one person under this sub-clause, he would either be a vice-chancellor or an educationist of repute. In case the government decides to choose two persons under this sub-clause, one of them may be a vice-chancellor, and the other an educationist of repute. It all depends how the Central government decides at any particular time. There is nothing in the Act which may give an indication as to how the government may choose to act.

### **Size of the Commission**

Although the UGC was set-up on the model of the U.G. Committee in the UK, the analogy of that institution provides no rational basis for the size of the Commission in this country. The UK is comparatively a much smaller country. It is not only unilingual but also has a unitary type of government. The sole aim of setting it up was to create an agency which could advise the government in matters of giving grants to the universities in that country.<sup>8</sup> The UGC in India has to function in entirely different conditions. Moreover, even though it gives grants to universities, like the U.G. Committee in

the UK, the main objective of the creation of the UGC has been spelled out to be 'maintenance of standards and coordination' in the preamble of the Act of 1956. In the process of determination of optimum size of the UGC, therefore, even a passing reference of the U.G. Committee in the UK is very likely to create confused thinking.

The UGC can neither be a body of experts nor a body representing various interests. If representation of interests is chosen as the criterion, it fails to throw up any workable formula. There are 123 universities with which the UGC has to deal at present and each university has several faculties with a number of subjects granted in each one of them. It is futile to work out details on this criterion not simply because the number of members may easily swell up to three figures but also because the body so composed would be just useless. Such a large sized body may represent all the interests severally but would be incapable of pulling together to serve the one great interest, viz.; maintenance of standards uniformly in all institutions of higher education. It would, thus, defeat the very purpose for which the UGC has been set up.

On other grounds, too, a large-sized body composed of experts and representing as many interests as possible may not be desirable. Decisions pertaining to maintenance of standards can neither be taken judiciously by the experts nor representatives of narrow interests. An expert in one subject, unless he is also an educationist, can seldom spell out a sound opinion about other subjects. Similar would be the problem with the representative of any interest--be it a faculty or a subject--as his vision, bogged down to that particular interest, would render him incapable of seeing issues, whether or not pertaining to his narrow interest, in the widest perspective.

Thus, from the stand-point of maintenance of academic standards in all the universities of the country at a certain desirable level, the UGC has to be a small body of educationists of a high level.<sup>9</sup> But even educationists with all their capacity to understand the educational problems pertaining to different branches of learning, may fail to deliver goods if they are incapable of rising above bias and prejudice while taking decisions as members of the UGC. The UGC Act, as amended in 1972, clearly reflects this approach. It gives option to Central government to appoint an educationist of repute or a person of high attainments as a member of UGC without his being a university teacher.

There is no definite number of other members of the UGC which may be called optimum so that one more or one less may lead to deviation from the optimum size.<sup>10</sup> The break-up of this number is also an important factor. The present strength of other members, excluding the chairman, vice-chairman and two government officers is eight. A

glance at the break-up of these members shows that an attempt has been made to make the composition of UGC such as may enable it to take judicious decisions that may result in coordinated development in all branches of Learning. The existing size of UGC is adequate provided the members chosen out of different categories are also educationists in some measures.

Closely linked with the question of the size of the commission is that of whole-time or part-time membership of the members.<sup>11</sup> The determining factor in this regard is the kind of work that the members are expected to handle. It is the secretariat of the UGC that works out the details and the members have to deliberate and take decisions on specific issues whether they pertain to giving grants or taking measures with the objective of maintaining standards. If the commission is to act as a compact body and not like a divided house, division of labour at least at the level of decision-making is unthinkable. And if there is no division of functions, the issue of whole-time or part-time membership ceases to be a live issue.

#### FUNCTIONS OF UGC

Functions and powers of the commission have been given in chapter III of the UGC Act which has eight sections.<sup>12</sup> This chapter commences with a small paragraph, which sums up the general duties of the commission. Since all functions detailed in this chapter are linked with and flow from this general duty, its mention is relevant. It is to take such steps as it may think fit: (i) for promotion and coordination of university education, and (ii) for determination and maintenance of standards of teaching, examination and research in universities.

Functions of the UGC having direct linkage with this general duty are detailed primarily in Section 12 and to some extent in Section 13. In other sections, incidental functions, like keeping accounts, audit, etc., have been described.

Functions of UGC as detailed in eleven sub-sections running from 'a' to 'k' of Section 12 are to inquire; to allocate and disburse grants; to recommend and advise; to collect information; to require universities to furnish specified information; and to perform such unspecified functions as may be considered necessary.

The commission has to ascertain the need of university before allocating or disbursing grants to it. It is the process of inquiry that brings to light whether the need is for maintenance or development or for any general or specific purpose. This function finds place in sub-section (a).

### Allocation and Disbursal of Grants

Sub-sections 'b', 'c' and 'd' deal with this function. They reveal that grants of the commission can be for one or more of the following purposes: maintenance or development, or any specific or general purpose. All the universities whether central, state or deemed, are entitled for grants meant for development or for any specific or general purpose. A line of demarcation is drawn with respect to maintenance grants. Only central universities are entitled to get them in full. These may also be given to deemed universities in special cases. Other universities, i.e., those which are not Central, are not entitled to get these.

### Recommendation and Advice to Universities

Sub-Sections 'e', 'f', 'g' and 'h' deal with these functions of the commission. Its recommendatory function is restricted only to universities but its advisory function has a much wider range. Its function is to give advice to the Central government, state governments, universities or other authorities but only when such advice is sought. The advice sought may be in connection with allocation of grants to universities for any general or specified purpose out of the Consolidated Fund of India to any state for establishment of a new university or any proposal pertaining to expansion of activities of any university.

The UGCs function is also to give unsought advice to universities regarding measures necessary for improvement in university education. This advice pertains to action to be taken for implementing its recommendation.

### Collection of Information

The information that the UGC is required to collect under sub-section (i) is on all such matters about university education in India and abroad as it thinks fit. This information is meant to be made available to any university.

### Specific Information

Sub-Section (j) gives an indication of the kind of information which the UGC can make a demand on the universities to furnish, when needed. It may be with regard to financial position of the university or with respect to studies in different branches of learning. Specifically, it means information about standards of teaching and examination, including rules and regulations thereof.

### Inspection

The function of inspection is of a slightly different nature from

that of other functions detailed in the eight sub-sections of Section 12. Therefore, it finds place in Section 13. That the inspection of a university by UGC is not a unilateral affair, is clearly borne out from the purpose, manner, method, etc., of inspection given in this section. The university, of which the inspection is proposed to be caused, has to be consulted before hand. The date of inspection has to be communicated to it and it has also the right to be associated with the inspection. The inspection has to be in the prescribed manner and for specific purposes of ascertaining the financial need of the university and its standard of teaching, examination and research. The views of the UGC about the results of the inspection are then required to be communicated to the university for its opinion. If, after ascertaining the opinion of the university, the UGC considers it necessary, it may recommend any action to be taken. The executive authority of the university is under obligation to report back to the UGC within a reasonable time as to what action is proposed to be taken on the recommendation.

#### Penal Action

Section 14 of the Act entrusts UGC with the function of withholding grants proposed to be made to a university in case it does not comply with the recommendations given to it under various sections of the Act. In this case, too, the cause of non-compliance is given due consideration before the grant is withheld. It is a function which renders UGC dysfunctional vis-a-vis the defaulting university. It can be viewed as a reminder that the UGC grants are not of the nature of a dole but are closely linked with the objectives of promotion of higher education and maintenance of standards of teaching, examination and research.

#### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN UGC AND UNIVERSITIES

The relationship between UGC and any university is a relationship between two statutory bodies incorporated under separate Acts and which function in accordance with the provisions of their respective Acts. There are certain spheres in which they have to collaborate and it is in those spheres that the relationship is to be examined.

A close look at clauses 'a' and 'g' of Section 12; Section 13; clauses 'f' and 'g' of Section 25 and clauses 'e', 'f' and 'g' of Section 26 of the UGC Act gives a clue to the relationship which exists between UGC and any other university.

The correct relationship between UGC and universities can be visualised only when the analogy of the relationship between two individuals, one of whom is donor and other receiver, is shed com-

pletely from the mind. The UGC's duty as a statutory body is to allocate and disburse grants and that of the universities as statutory bodies to receive them for a common purpose of promoting higher education and maintaining standards of teaching, examination and research.

The relationship between UGC and any university cannot be other than that of equality between two autonomous institutions existing by their own rights. Hence, UGC is required to take steps for promotion of higher education or maintenance of standards, in consultation with universities. Likewise even when UGC proposes to conduct an inspection of a university, it is required to do so only after consultation with the university concerned. Moreover, the university proposed to be inspected has a right to be associated with inspection.

There is, however, Section 26 which empowers UGC to make regulations but where there is no mention of the consultation with the universities. Even though these regulations have to be consistent with the provisions of the Act and the rules made by the Central government under Section 25, there is no room for doubt that UGC gets an edge over universities thereby. Any contravention of regulations with respect to clauses 'e', 'f' and 'g' of Section 26 gives ground for the operation of Section 14 which empowers UGC to withhold grants.

These rules and regulations made by UGC do not become operative in a university automatically. They have to be adopted by the Syndicate or some analogous bodies of each university separately. How the Syndicate of any university will act in this matter cannot always be predicted. This situation has, on deeper analysis, some sort of centre-state relationship inherent in it particularly in the case of state universities.

Section 25 of the Act makes it clear that the status of UGC as a statutory autonomous body is at par with that of any other university, which like it is also a statutory autonomous body. This section list those matters about which the Central government makes rules. It is only the regulations made by the UGC under these rules, which along with other rules are required to be observed by the institutions. A defaulting university continues to function as before even after the grant to it is withheld by UGC. Obviously there is no difference in the status of the two.

#### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN UGC AND UNION GOVERNMENT

The UGC is a statutory body and so its relationship with the Central government is what the relevant sections in the UGC Act

specifically lay down.

Sub-section (1) of Section 5 of the Act lays down that all the members of the commission, including the chairman and vice-chairman, are appointed by the Central government in the manner detailed in subsequent sub-sections of the same section, viz., Section 5. This section merely lays down how and by whom the members of the commission are appointed. It is silent about the relationship that exists between UGC and the Central government.

Section 10 empowers the Central government to make rules in accordance with which the commission is authorised to appoint its staff, including the Secretary. The commission is autonomous to the extent of making appointments but not in making rules for that purpose. The dependence of the commission on the Central government is obvious in this matter.

Sub-sections 1 and 2 of Section 20 of the Act specifically require UGC to be guided by such directions as may be given to it by the Central government in matters of policy. It is also laid down that if there is a conflict between the commission and the Central government whether a matter is one of policy or not the decision of the Central Government is final. The phrase 'Questions of policy relating to national purposes' is a very vague one and capable of being interpreted in any way. What is evident is that UGC acts as an agent of the Central Government while dealing with those questions with respect to which directions are received.

Section 25 of the Act lists those matters regarding which the Central Government is empowered to make rules. Sub-Sections ('f' and 'g') of this Section are important because they relate to functions of UGC vis-a-vis universities. These refer to : (1) the returns and information which UGC can require the universities to furnish, and (2) inspection of the universities.

To sum up, the UGC is a statutory autonomous body constituted by the Indian Parliament under a legal enactment passed in the year 1956. The Indian universities with which the commission has to deal in matter of grants or allied areas pertain to maintenance of academic standards and coordination of educational efforts. The commission and the universities are autonomous bodies brought into existence by statutes passed by Parliament or state legislatures. All of them are governed by their respective Acts and are required to act within the bounds laid down therein.

The question whether universities are subordinate to the UGC is a delicate one. Legally speaking, it is the Act of each university that is supreme, but in practice the *de facto* position of the institution that sanctions grants is generally considered significant. Moreover, notwithstanding the rules within which the UGC acts, there

is wide scope for varying the quantum of grants to different universities for various development purposes. The universities have to satisfy UGC for receiving the grants and, even though legally not subordinate, they often behave in a manner not very different from that of a *de facto* subordinate.

Since UGC is required by its Act to act according to the directions given to it by the Central government in certain specific matters, it may be considered to be its extra limb but only in those matters and to the extent to which it is obligatory on its part to play the second fiddle to it. But to the extent it is capable of taking decisions independently as an autonomous body for discharge of duties laid down in the Act, it cannot be regarded as an appendage of the Government of India.

So far as Parliament is concerned, the UGC has no direct relationship with it. Since the Central government is itself accountable to Parliament for all its acts of omission and commission, UGC, too, does stand accountable to Parliament but only obliquely. The UGC does not come in contact or in confrontation with Parliament directly. Even if a Parliamentary Committee is constituted to enquire into any affairs of UGC, it is at the instance of the Union Government which answers questions raised by members of such a committee about UGC or any of its acts of omission and commission.

The Act under which UGC is constituted, has made it an institution, which though autonomous, has some aspects of a government department as well. It is not the appointment of all its members, including the chairman by the Central government that goes to make it non autonomous.

But in those matters, in which UGC is required to carry out the directions of Union Government (notwithstanding the reservations if any, which it may have about them), does make it non-autonomous to that extent and reduces it to a position analogous to a government institution within the Ministry of Human Resources Development in the Union Government.

#### REFERENCES

1. The Report of the UGC 1953-1957, New Delhi, UGC, p. 7.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
3. Report of the Review Committee on UGC, Ministry of Education, Government of India, Delhi, 1977, p. 4.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
5. Constitution of India, Government of India, Law Ministry, Government Printing Press, New Delhi, p. 263.
6. The UGC Bill 1954, Section 44 (As introduced in the Lok Sabha) states as follows: "...The Commission may advise the Central Government or the State Government to withhold its grants from



that University or to take such other action in respect of the University as the Government may deem proper".

7. The UGC Act 1956 (as amended up to 1972), op.cit. Section 5.
8. The U.G. Committee was created by Government. Its tasks were:

"to enquire into the financial needs of University education in Great Britain, to advise the Government as to the application of any grants made by Parliament towards meeting them...."

Report of the Review Committee, 1977, op. cit., p.5

9. "In determining the right size of this Commission we have to balance two factors. On the one hand, the Commission must have frequent first hand contacts with all the Universities and intelligent knowledge of the work of all faculties... On the other hand, the members of the Commission must not merely deserve but command the confidence of all Universities and of the Government; they must, therefore, be people of very high reputation both for wisdom and integrity and this suggests a small body". University Education Commission (1948-49), Delhi, Manager of Publication, Government of India Press, p. 41.
10. The Review Committee, 1977 has recommended that the number of members of UGC may be increased from 12 to 18, including chairman and vice-chairman.  
The break-up of the proposed six additional members was as follows:

1. two college teachers (including principals) one of whom may as far as possible, be from a women's college;
2. one person from the field of secondary education;
3. one expert from the field of higher education in rural areas;
4. one expert from the field of non-formal education; and
5. secretary, planning commission, as an ex officio member.

Report of the Review Committee, 1977, op. cit., p. 84.

"Also see Report of the Committee of Members of Parliament on Higher education, 1964. This committee had recommended that the commission should have 15 members in place of 9 and out of these five should be the whole-time members, p. 35.

11. "...It is inconceivable that a whole-time Chairman and a vice-chairman would be able to supervise each and every of the varied items of work entrusted to the Commission, much less professionally contribute to the academic role of the UGC. In the circumstances, the Committee recommend that Government may consider what positive steps should be taken to make the Commission a dynamic and vigorous body capable of shouldering the increasing responsibilities in the context of the enlargement of the field of higher education. One suggestion that the Committee would like to make is reorganisation of the existing pattern of composition which, besides, whole-time Chairman and vice-chairman, should have a few more whole-time members". Public Accounts Committee, 1977-78, Seventy Third Report on University Grants Commission, New Delhi, Lok Sabha Secretariat, 1978, p. 253.
12. Section 12, University Grants Commission Act, 1956 (As amended up to 1977).

# Educational Administration in Zilla Parishads in Maharashtra : Policy Perspectives\*

N.R. INAMDAR

THE INCEPTION of Panchayat Raj in Maharashtra in 1961-62 opened a new era in the field of primary education also, since the functions of the administration of primary education and inspection were transferred from the District School Board to the newly created Zilla Parishads. The undertaking of the study on the basis of the experience of more than eight years was, therefore, very appropriate.

The main focus of the study was to examine the effects of the agency of the Zilla Parishad on education, particularly, primary education, since it provided for direction of administrative functions by a body of non-officials, through the instrumentality of generalist and specialist functionaries. The study sought to assess the role of rural leadership in promoting the cause of primary education. The leverage over the officials gained by the popular leadership in the Zilla Parishad educational administration is weightier in comparison to their relative position in the erstwhile School Board administration. The existence of three levels of administration, viz., the Zilla Parishad, the Taluka Panchayat Samiti and village school, was another component of the analytical framework of the study. The interplay of the functions of the generalists in the Chief Executive Officer of the Zilla Parishad and the Block Development Officer at the Panchayat Samiti and the specialists in this Parishad Education Officer and the Samiti Extension Officers, supported by the respective non-officials at their levels, added another dimension to the analysis. These two dimensions did not exist in the School Board administration. The new elements in the situation gave a significance to the present study.

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\*This article is based on a pilot study conducted in Poona District during 1971-73 with ICSSR financial support, but its contents, findings and policy implications are relevant even today. The work of the project was executed during February 1970-June 1971.

### Hypotheses

The following were the hypotheses taken up for detailed study:

1. The Zilla Parishads had been able to tackle the expansion of primary education, but the quality of education had suffered.
2. Widespread interference from elected office bearers and other popular elements in educational administration, specially in matters like teachers' transfers, particularly during early years, resulting in dislocation of stable functioning of schools and other aspects of educational administration.
3. Harmonious relationship between educational administrators and the generalists depended on personal factors, such as the atmosphere of understanding among the elected office-bearers and other popular elements in the Zilla Parishads.
4. The Zilla Parishads had been slack in regard to the inspection and supervision arrangements, as the identity of the educational officials was completely lost due to the dominance of the elected element.
5. Financially, the Zilla Parishads had been solely dependent on the state government for implementation of the educational programmes, and they had not been able to find out resources commensurate with the functions entrusted to them.

The district of Poona was selected for more than one important reasons. Firstly, Poona was an educational centre and in studying the educational administration in a rural area close by, we would have a glimpse of the influence-area surrounding the city. Secondly, the district adequately contained regional or topographic variations in its area for testing the hypotheses in different socio-economic contexts. In the third place, the performance of Poona Zilla Parishad in education was reported to be neither excellent nor too unsatisfactory and hence it could be taken as representative of an average Zilla Parishad in this respect.

### Methodology

Functionaries, officials as well as non-officials, particularly at the levels of district and taluka, and the teachers at the level of village, are associated with the educational administration of the Zilla Parishad. The policy decisions on important matters of administration are generally taken by the Zilla Parishad Education Committee and to a certain extent by the Zilla Parishad. The decisions regarding most of the matters of implementation are taken by the Taluka Panchayat Samitis. Working of these bodies and the functionaries constitutes the main subject-matter of the study.

Within the Poona Zilla Parishad, the Haveli taluka was selected for an intensive study. The district of Poona consisted of 13 talukas out of which Haveli taluka was selected for intensive study on the same grounds as influenced the selection of the district of Poona.

Not much difficulty was experienced in circulating written questionnaires to the respondents, who comprised official functionaries and primary school teachers. In the case of non-official functionaries or the elected members of the Zilla Parishad and the concerned Taluka Panchayat Samiti, however, a personal approach was adopted, for otherwise it would have been difficult to get a response to the questionnaires.

All the Block Development Officers (hereafter referred to as BDOs) of the Taluka Panchayat Samities and the Assistant Deputy Educational Inspectors (hereafter referred to as ADEIs) working under them were requested to fill in the questionnaires. Out of the 13 talukas in the district, 10 BDOs and 21 ADEIs belonging to 10 talukas responded to our request. The BDOs and the ADEIs from three talukas, namely, Baramati, Indapur and Dound, did not comply with our request, in spite of a number of reminders.

Further, the Chief Executive Officer (here after referred to as CEO) and the Education Officer (hereafter termed as EO) of the Poona Zilla Parishad were also requested to return the questionnaires duly filled in. Both of these functionaries, too, did not send their replies, in spite of frequent reminders. However, this deficiency could be compensated for the replies of other official and non-official respondents working at all the three levels of the hierarchy, including the primary school teachers, and by informal discussions held with these officials (including CEO and EO) and non-officials as well as other knowledgeable persons in the district.

Structured questionnaires were sent to 48 primary school teachers in Haveli Taluka. Teachers working in four schools in different villages, located in different areas in the taluka and having different performance levels, were contacted for the purpose. Accessibility and size of the school were the additional criteria in selection of schools for the purpose. These schools were selected in consultation with BDO and ADEIs of Haveli Taluka Panchayat Samiti. The teachers working in the schools at Vardads (Poona-Panshet road, relatively small in size, functioning satisfactorily, somewhat in the interior), Wade-Bolai (Poona-Rahu road, relatively small in size, functioning unsatisfactorily and easily accessible) and Chinchwad (Poona-Bombay road, relatively large in size, functioning unsatisfactorily and easily accessible) were given questionnaires.

Although the main stress was laid on replies of these functionaries to the structured questionnaires, informal discussions with

these functionaries and with some more teachers--primary as well as secondary--were also availed of with a view to understanding more intimately the matters which they might conceal in their written replies due to the confidential nature of the information.

Separate questionnaires were issued to members of the Zilla Parishad and Haveli Taluka Panchayat Samiti for both the first and the second terms of these bodies. Out of 120 members for both the terms of the Zilla Parishad, 61 could be interviewed. Only 13 of these respondents were members of the Education Committee of the Zilla Parishad, which had associated 22 members with its work. Of the 42 members of Haveli Taluka Panchayat Samiti for both the terms, 16 could be interviewed. These 16 members did not include members of the Zilla Parishad.

A few of the meetings of the Education Committee of the Zilla Parishad and a few of those of Haveli Taluka Panchayat Samiti were observed to understand at first hand the working of these bodies in respect of educational administration.

Further, information on important matters related to spread of primary education was collected from offices of Zilla Parishad and Taluka Panchayat Samitis in the district in the general proformas sent to the concerned offices. Completed proformas were not received from either the office of Zilla Parishad or from offices of the three Taluka Panchayat Samitis in the district, namely, Baramati, Indapur and Dound. This was so inspite of a number of reminders. The required information was, however, collected from Zilla Parishad office during personal visits.

Independent questionnaires were prepared in English for the Chief Executive Officer and the Education Officer of the Poona Zilla Parishad and for all the BDOs in the district. Matters, such as the role of the CEO as a generalist administrator, his relations with the elected office bearers in the context of different administrative matters related to primary education in the district, his views and experiences on role-performance of Education Officers and BDOs in his district and his general experience with primary educational administration in the district, were included in the questionnaire for the Chief Executive Officer. The questionnaire for the Education Officer of the Zilla Parishad touched matters like his role as a specialist, his experiences with the non-official functionaries, his assessment of the role of the ADEIs and of the primary school teachers in district and of Taluka Panchayat Samities, position and role of Education Committee, difficulties faced by the Zilla Parishad in the field, etc. In the questionnaire for the BDOs, issues such as his role as a generalist administrator at the Panchayat Samiti level, control and supervision over the schools and the teachers in the

taluka, participation of non-officials in administration and its effects in the field, etc., were included.

Separate questionnaires were prepared for the ADEIs and the teachers in Marathi, the regional language. Matters related to the effects of the Zilla Parishad administration on their role-performance and quality of education, their role vis a vis the administrative superiors and the political or non-official bosses, etc., were included in these questionnaires. Here, the main stress was on the effects of the Zilla Parishad administration on the field or line functionaries. Experiences of the teachers in regard to internal administration of schools as well as with the local community were also assessed.

Questionnaires for the Zilla Parishad members as well as for the Panchayat Samiti members were also prepared in Marathi. Their experiences with the administration in general and with the official functionaries as well as the teachers and of the functioning of primary schools in their localities, were sounded. Effects produced by the Zilla Parishad administration in their own localities and the emergent problems in the field, which the administration should immediately heed, were also gauged.

As many as 53 of the total number of 125 primary schools in Haveli taluka were contacted personally and information was collected on matters of importance regarding functioning of school organisation. Out of these 53 village schools, 40 were selected on the basis of systematic random sampling and the remaining 13 on non-sample basis. Availability of school buildings, complement of teachers, pupil-teacher and pupil-room ratio, adequacy of teaching aids and equipment, examination results, experiences in regard to basic education and teaching of English, inspections of the schools, role of teachers in non-educational yet developmental activities and, lastly, cooperation between the schools and the local community, were matters on which information was collected.

Besides, a few of the case studies of primary schools in the district were undertaken to obtain an intimate knowledge of the functioning of the schools all over the district. Informal discussions with parents of a few of the wards in the schools visited were also carried out to understand thoroughly the local situation and problems.

Further, use was made of official records, annual reports of the Zilla Parishad, relevant government resolutions and directives, which were available from the Zilla Parishad office as well as office of Director of Education.

As a check on the data of the pilot study, the other Zilla Parishads in the state were contacted. Statistics were also called

for from them in the form of a general proforma sent to the Chief Executive Officers. Besides, questionnaires in English were sent to the Chief Executive Officers and the Education officers of these districts to sound their experiences in regard to educational administration in their districts. Nine of the twenty-six Zilla Parishads (CEOs and EOs) responded to the questionnaires.

Further, Velhe Taluka in the district of Poona was selected in the later phase of the research project with a view to re-testing the hypotheses in a backward and hilly tract. The approach was, however, very selective. The BDO, the only ADEI working in the taluka at the time of investigation, and five of the members of the Taluka Panchayat Samiti (out of twenty of both the terms) were contacted for the purpose of investigation. Of these, five non-official members, one was the Chairman of the Taluka Panchayat Samiti and another was a Zilla Parishad member from the Velhe taluka. Only the non-official members were personally interviewed and the officials were asked to fill in the questionnaire sent to them by post. In addition, 10 per cent of the total of 120 schools in the taluka were selected on the basis of systematic random sampling for collecting information on important matters on the basis of a general proforma used in case of schools in Haveli taluka.

#### FINDINGS

The hypotheses, with one exception, formulated as the basis of the research project have been validated by the data collected in the investigation. The hypothesis regarding harmonious relationship between the educational administrators and the generalists was formulated in the light of the experience gained in the Zilla Parishad administration during the earlier phase. This hypothesis needs to be reformulated in view of the field data bearing on this aspect. The major hypotheses concerning expansion of primary education accompanied by decline of its quality, interference by non-officials in educational administration in Zilla Parishad, slackening of inspection and supervision functions and financial inadequacy, have been borne out by the investigations. The facts as well as the views and opinions gathered have, by and large, supported the hypotheses. There might be more efficient and/or more favourably inclined village schools, teachers, ADEIs, BDOs and non-officials, including the Zilla Parishad members and office bearers, Chairman and members of the Taluka Panchayat Samities and Village leaders. The effectiveness of the sample for the pilot study in certain matters, like the percentage of trained teachers, might be more gratifying than in units not studied in the project. Limited percentages of facts or views and

opinions of respondents might be at variance with the substance of truth in the hypotheses. But the broad thrust of the data in favour of the hypotheses is unmistakable. The performance of the Poona Zilla Parishad in education was reportedly representative of the average type of Zilla Parishad in this respect. Hence, the result of this pilot study could be taken as widely applicable to other Zilla Parishads in the state. The data collected from some other Zilla Parishads also confirm the wider applicability of the findings of this pilot study.

The socio-economic factors are mixed up with administrative and political factors in the shortcomings of the Zilla Parishad educational administration. The presence of the socio-economic factors should, however, not imply under estimation of importance of administrative and political factors operating in the Zilla Parishad. Nor should the support structure at the state level in regard to the educational function be lost sight of in this context.

The first hypothesis stated that educational administration in Zilla Parishad was successful in regard to the quantitative aspect but that it failed in raising or even maintaining the quality of education imparted in the primary schools conducted by it. The data collected in the project bears out that the number of schools has increased in the district. The growth is especially marked in regard to the number of fullfledged schools. The strength of pupils in the Zilla Parishad primary schools has gone up; the number of female pupils has risen remarkably. There has also been a remarkable increase in the strength of the pupils belonging to scheduled castes. The total complement of teachers in the schools has gone up; the number of trained teachers, especially among the female teachers, has also risen. The number of school buildings in which the Zilla Parishad primary schools have been accommodated has increased, the number of buildings owned by the Zilla Parishad is showing an upward trend. In keeping with the rise in the number of schools, the complement of ADEIs has also gone up. It is remarkable that almost all the villages in the district now have schools. It is only in respect of the villages with a population of less than 100 persons that the Zilla Parishad has not been able to provide schools. The fullfledged schools, however, could not be located in smaller villages on account of smaller number of pupils available. The position in respect of the sports materials, playgrounds and equipment, like furniture and blackboards has also shown an improvement. The most significant gain of the Zilla Parishad educational administration is evident in the more readily available cooperation of the village communities in regard to construction of schools buildings and provision of facilities and amenities to the schools like a garden in the school com-



pound, repairs to the school buildings, provision of equipment, etc. The local communities have become more vigilant regarding provision of school facilities in their villages and regular attendance of teachers as well as a more even spell and level of teaching in the school. The awakening among the village people regarding the value of primary education is the net gain of the Zilla Parishad educational administration.

As a result of the quantitative growth in primary education, however, the need for looking to the qualitative aspect with greater care and vigilance was obvious. But, on the whole, the observations and investigations in the project indicate that this qualitative aspect has received scant attention of the Zilla Parishad administration. One important reason is paucity of financial resources with the Zilla Parishad, but a much more important reason is the crisis of confidence among educational administrators, namely, the Education Officer and the ADEIs, as well as among the teachers in the village schools, which has been the result of the pattern of educational administration in the Zilla Parishad. The pattern of relationships between non-officials and educational administrators as also between senior generalist administrators and the educational administrators has discouraged the persons concerned with management and conduct of primary education in the Zilla Parishad. More about this in a following paragraph. The accommodation for schools is not commensurate with the spread of primary education. The shift-system has to be resorted to in a number of village schools on account of the paucity of accommodation. The huddling together of pupils in different divisions and standards in the same rooms as well as the same teacher looking after more than one division or standard is responsible for the discontinuous and haphazard instruction imparted in the schools.

The number of teachers, although much larger than in the beginning of the Zilla Parishad, has not kept pace with the increase in the number of schools and number of divisions, even if the pupil-teacher ratio in the whole of the Zilla Parishad seems to be fairly satisfactory. The actual distribution of the teachers over different talukas and among different village schools has been uneven with the result that the pupil-teacher ratio has suffered in a large number of the village schools investigated in detail in the project. The number of trained teachers has, no doubt, increased but the quality of training of the teachers has been found inadequate to cope up with the needs of instructing the new waves of pupils from the hitherto neglected sections of the community like the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The ratio of female teachers, although most of them are trained, is as high as over 40 per cent in the investigated

village schools. This has created several problems. The larger percentage of female teachers is one of the factors underlying the decline in the quality of instruction in the village primary schools. The policy of ad hoc and non-genuine transfers of primary teachers, who have not stayed even for three years continuously in the same village, has also been responsible for disturbing the even tenor of teaching in village schools. The quantum and quality of teaching aids and equipment has not been as satisfactory as the growth in the number of schools and divisions calls for. The position in most of the basic schools regarding availability in adequate numbers of the teachers trained in the particular crafts has been responsible for the decline in the quality of teaching in these schools. The phenomenon of wastage is still there and that of stagnation has been reduced at the cost of quality of education as evidenced in the lowering of examination standards. The policy of not holding public examinations in the higher standards in an impartial manner has wrought great harm to the quality of the school products. Although this policy has now been discontinued, it would take much more time for the pattern of public examinations to get stabilised and to show better results. Absenteeism among pupils has assumed a more serious dimension in the village schools in the interior; it is related to the crisis of confidence among the teachers and the headmasters that has been a consequence of the existing pattern of relationships between the officials and the non-officials on the one hand, and the generalists and the educational specialists on the other. The local communities have exerted themselves in regard to improvement of physical facilities and amenities but unfortunately they have not been able to lend a helping hand in improving the attendance of pupils and inducing them to work hard in their studies. A very important factor in the deterioration of the quality of education has been slackness in the inspection and supervision arrangements provided by the Zilla Parishad, which is dealt with in the following paragraph.

It is not that the Zilla Parishad has not been alive to these maladies of educational administration. They have set up pre-primary schools in order to improve quality of pupils seeking admission in primary schools proper. They have organised teachers' camps in which a kind of ad hoc short-term refresher training course and discussion of education problems facing participants are held. They have instituted prizes to teachers and pupils who excel. A service extension scheme has been instituted with the help of the State Institute of Education to tone up the quality of education. Some of the extracurricular activities which would indirectly help in raising the quality of education are: the nutrition programme, the scout movement and the

drama competitions. The Zilla Parishad has also tried to transform the Central schools into model schools. It has also been trying to tone up the examination system. But these attempts have so far not yielded tangible results. The State Government is also involved in indirect activities and actions affecting the quality of education in Zilla Parishads. They have improved the salary scales of primary teachers, instituted a pension scheme for them, granted facilities of free education to the teachers' children, and so on. But the task of raising the teaching standards and the quality of pupils is a stupendous one, and it is felt that, unless there is a structural re-organisation in the whole pattern of the educational administration at present with the Zilla Parishads, there will not be any substantial improvement in the situation.

A reference has been made in preceding paras about unsatisfactory inspection and supervision arrangement under the Zilla Parishad. This was the fourth hypothesis of the project. Not only has the administrative and educative value of the inspections been lost under the present pattern but the normal supervision requirements also have been overlooked. The most important reason is the multi-functional nature of the duties of the inspectorial staff under the Zilla Parishad. As long as education is mixed up with other developmental and administrative functions, this result is to be expected. The ADEIs as well as the teachers have been looked upon as development functionaries like the other functionaries in the Zilla Parishad, such as extension officials, gramsevak and gramsevikas, and agricultural assistants. Although in some of the areas in the Zilla Parishad under study the total number of visits by the BDOs, the non-officials and the ADEIs has shown a rise, the supervision visits proper and visits for inspections have not evinced a satisfactory trend. There was almost unanimous opinion on the declining quality of inspections and supervision among different categories of respondents, including non-officials. The attitude of the teachers towards inspections and supervision has undergone a radical change. The inspection and supervision is no more treated with respect and regard. This also is a consequence of the present pattern of relationships mentioned earlier. Both in regard to the decline in the quality of education and of the supervision and inspection arrangements, the position in the Velhe taluka was more unsatisfactory than in the district as a whole.

The official non-official relationship is really the crux of the whole problem. It is quite true that relations between officials and non-officials are not as bitter now as they were during the earlier phase of Zilla Parishad. But, even then, the pattern of educational administration that is a part of the whole developmental

administration in the Zilla Parishad is such that better relationships should not be expected. Education is not regarded as a vital function per se. As long as it is treated as one of the several developmental functions to be taken care of by the non-official policy-makers with the generalist administrators in charge of overall supervision, the present maladies of primary educational administration cannot be expected to disappear. A unanimous response was sounded in the course of the investigation that there has been interference by non-officials, namely, the Zilla Parishad and Panchayat Samiti office-bearers, the Zilla Parishad and Panchayat Samiti members, and important political leaders, including legislators, in the educational administration in the Zilla Parishad as well as the internal administration of the village schools. No doubt, teachers' transfers have now been regulated by rules prescribed by the State Government and now there is less interference on this score than in the past. But even in the 10 per cent transfers that are effected in the Zilla Parishad, non-officials' interference is keenly felt. Teachers have been used by non-officials for their political ends. That is why the identity of the educational officials has been completely lost.

The data on finances has indicated the truth of the fifth hypothesis formulated in the project. This hypothesis states that financially the Zilla Parishads have been solely dependent on the State Government for implementation of educational programmes and that they have not been able to find out resources commensurate with the functions entrusted to them. The Zilla Parishad under study has been able to spend an amount only to the tune of about Rs. one lakh on a few of the educational items like prizes to teachers and pupils who excel and building up of school libraries. All through these years, the Zilla Parishad has been dependent on the grants-in-aid from the State Government. It is true that the quantum of plan grants has declined in later years but the grants-in-aid under other heads were disbursed on a higher scale to the Zilla Parishad for making both ends meet in regard to primary educational administration.

As stated at the outset, the hypothesis concerning harmonious relationship between the educational administrators and the generalists being equally dependent on personal factors and the atmosphere of understanding among the elected office-bearers and other popular elements in the Zilla Parishad, was constructed on the background of the experience gained during the earlier phase of the Zilla Parishads. During that phase, educational administrators as well as teachers had better relations with elected elements. This had a particular significance in the then prevailing atmosphere of bitterness between elected elements on the one hand and generalist adminis-

trators, namely, the CEOs and the BDOs, on the other. This also had relevance to the factions in the Zilla Parishads. This situation underwent a change later. The CEOs and the BDOs came to accept the existing state of affairs with regard to the dominance of the elected elements, particularly the office-bearers. The educational administrators were then relegated to the background in which they realised their subordinate position in the hierarchy of relationships underlying the developmental administrative set-up in the Zilla Parishads. The original hypothesis, therefore, required a reformulation as above. The reformulated hypothesis has been verified and found appropriate.

The links of the Panchayat Samities and the BDOs connecting the Zilla Parishad educational administration and the village schools have, on the whole, been proved to be too weak to sustain the burden of responsibility placed on them. The pattern suggested in following paragraphs here should provide a more rational and functionally more efficient linkage in the form of the intermediate tier without disturbing the overall responsibility of the district tier for educational administration.

In regard to execution of provisions regarding compulsory education in the Primary Education Act, the experiences are not very congenial. These provisions are now mostly defunct. There are also valid socio-economic reasons behind this state of affairs. But this does not remove the need for a strict implementation of the provisions regarding compulsory education, especially in backward tracts. Neither the general body nor the Education Committee of the Zilla Parishad, however, seems to be aware of the need to take action for enforcement of provisions regarding compulsory education.

The role of the Zilla Parishad in regard to secondary education is peripheral. The Zilla Parishads act on an agency basis on behalf of the State Government in secondary education. There is, however, a need here for improving and streamlining the grants-in-aid procedures as well as annual inspections of the secondary schools.

The performance of the Zilla Parishad under study in regard to the propagation of adult literacy has been commendable. But even then the overtones of propaganda in this matter have to be taken note of and played down. There is much to be done in regard to the follow-up action to maintain the tempo of adult literacy in the district.

The conclusions mentioned above of the analysis of the data point out that the present pattern of the educational administration under the control of the Zilla Parishads is defective and that, unless a radical change is brought about in the whole pattern, there is no possibility of reforms towards improvement in the quality of primary education in the rural areas. Three alternative patterns can be

conceived to replace the existing pattern as laid down by the Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samities Act. The most suitable alternative pattern would be the one which could remove the three main shortcomings in the present educational administration in the Zilla Parishads. The first shortcoming is the loss of identity of educational administrators as well as teachers on account of multi-functional nature of their duties. This multi-functional nature is, in turn, due to primary education being regarded as one of the several developmental functions that are entrusted to the Zilla Parishads. This is a result of the carry-over by the Zilla Parishads of the multi-functional community development programme. But in the original community development programme, primary education was not considered as an element in the complex of developmental activities, although social education had an important place in it. The second shortcoming is the strained relations between the officials, including educational administrators and non-officials in Zilla Parishads. At all the three levels, namely, the village, the taluka and the district, mutual confidence and camaraderie is lacking between non-officials on the one hand and officials on the other. The impact of these strained relations is felt in all the spheres of Zilla Parishad activity, but in spheres, other than education, some kind of rapprochement has been brought about between superior generalist administrators, namely, the CEOs and the BDOs, and non-official office-bearers as well as between subject-matter specialists other than in education and the non-official elements. The feeling of respect for generalist administrators as well as subject-matter specialists other than in education existing in the minds of the non-official elements is also responsible for this rapprochement as the need for amicable relations for smooth execution of development programmes other than in education. Unfortunately, the activity of primary education, the role of teachers and the inspectorial staff operating it are looked upon by the non-official elements with a feeling of superiority complex. This has lowered the image of teachers and educational administrators in the estimation not only of non-official office-bearers and other elements, but also of village dignitaries and other leaders in the districts as well as the generalists and other specialists in the Zilla Parishads. In short, there is a crisis of confidence in regard to educational administration in the Zilla Parishads. The third shortcoming is the absence of a feeling of comradeship between the senior generalist administrators and the educational administrators. In the whole Zilla Parishad and Panchyati Samiti set-up, educational administrators and teachers are not considered as equal partners in the development efforts and teachers are regarded as subordinate instruments to be used to the

satisfaction of their generalist superiors. Hence, primary educational administration in Zilla Parishads has lost its *raison d'être*.

#### POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The three alternative patterns of educational administration which can readily be conceived of are: (a) the present pattern to continue with minor changes in the internal organisation like vesting of greater authority in the Education Committee and the Education Officer and/or in the Panchayat Samitis and the BDOs; (b) to revert the function of primary education to the State Government; and (c) to create School Boards as the educational authority in place of the Zilla Parishads.

As stated above, the most suitable alternative pattern would be the one which could obliterate the three important shortcomings outlined above. As long as the present pattern of educational administration in the Zilla Parishads prevails, albeit with minor structural changes here and there, the three significant shortcomings, namely, the multi-functional nature of the duties of the educational functionaries, the strained relations between the officials and the non-officials, and the absence of comradeship between generalist superiors and educational specialists, would continue. These three shortcomings are embedded in the pattern of educational administration in the Zilla Parishads. Unless the function of primary education is completely withdrawn from the Zilla Parishads, the three maladies referred to above would not disappear. So, the alternative (a) in fact offers no solution to the problems raised by the existing Zilla Parishad set-up. The alternative (b) is unthinkable because primary education has traditionally, and rightly, been handled by the local governments not only in western countries, but also in India, especially since the inauguration of the Montford reforms. Both on the grounds of democratic theory as well as practical utility, the primary educational function has to be administered by local governments. This leaves only the third alternative intact.

The creation of independent and autonomous School Boards in place of the Zilla Parishads, coupled with the bifurcation of the policy-making and policy execution functions, would remove the three principal shortcomings outlined above. The main objection that can be raised to the creation of School Boards to replace the Zilla Parishads as educational authorities is that the School Boards had existed before the transfer of their functions to the Zilla Parishads in 1962 and that they would not have been abolished if their administration had been satisfactory. The principal defects of the School Boards as they were constituted before 1962 were the lack of adequate

financial resources and of adequate authority. These two principal defects were removed when the Zilla Parishads were created in place of the School Boards by assuring adequate grants-in-aid to and by vesting sufficient authority in the Zilla Parishads. There is no reason why the proposed School Boards, if endowed with adequate financial resources and authority, should not be a worthwhile proposition discharging the primary educational function with efficiency. These School Boards would be independent and autonomous local authorities in charge of primary education because they would look after the exclusive function of primary education and their attention would not be distracted by other developmental functions associated with the present Zilla Parishads. Since they would be local governmental units, they would evoke an adequate degree of local interest and cooperation. It would not be correct to state that the only alternative to the discontinuance of the Zilla Parishads as educational authorities is to revert the primary educational function to the State Government. The School Boards in the past, in India as well as abroad in advanced countries, like the UK and the USA, have been local government units separated from the all-purpose rural local governmental units, like the counties and the districts. There is absolutely no reason why an independent local educational authority should not succeed if it is endowed with an adequate quantum of finances and power. The function of primary education consumes the largest of expenditure incurred by the Zilla Parishads. Since the number of schools and teachers is so enormous that justice can be done only if administration of primary education is vested to an independent local authority. In fact, the other development efforts in agriculture, public works, small scale industries, etc., do not receive as much attention as they deserve from the Zilla Parishads on account of their distraction by the function of primary education.

So, in order to enable the Zilla Parishads to devote adequate attention to the developmental functions proper, it is very essential that the function of primary education should be withdrawn from them and vested in an independent local authority like the School Boards.

Further, it is a misconception that education is a developmental function in the same sense as agriculture, animal husbandry and creation of physical amenities. Education in the sense of the conduct of instruction in schools, supervision and inspection by the inspectorial staff and the overall higher administration by the roof organisation, is an important function per se demanding devoted and undistracted attention from educational administrators and teachers alike. The time has come to realise fully that primary education is a vital function affecting lives of prospective citizens and their future careers and that as such it does not brook any tampering and



mishandling by those involved in politics. Even a remote suspicion of the injection of politics into the schools and the educational authorities would spell ruin to the vital primary educational functions.

Another misconception associated with the one mentioned above is that, since education concerns the rural people, in the interest of promoting political development, it has to be vested in the Zilla Parishads which are the most effective bodies to accentuate political development in the countryside. It has already been stated that education is not a developmental function in the sense in which agriculture and cooperation are. Further, by providing for administration of primary education through an independent local authority, local interest and cooperation would definitely be evoked in adequate measure. The efficient execution of the function of primary education would indirectly contribute to the growth of political development, but involving the function of primary education directly in the whirlpool of the Zilla Parishads, which are looked upon as a primary instrument in political development, would be conducive neither to the growth of political development nor to the efficient execution of primary educational programmes. It is also worth noting that the Balwantrai Mehta Committee had not advocated the pooling of primary education with other development functions and personnel but it had not given sufficient thought to the problems that would arise in the wake of taking such a step. The experience during the last eight years or so is, however, clearly indicative of the unsuitability of the Zilla Parishads as primary educational authorities. Could the proposed School Boards be created within the broad framework of the Zilla Parishads and be required to submit the annual budget and the annual report to the Zilla Parishads? Any such formal, though tenuous, link of the School Boards with Zilla Parishads would affect the image of the School Board as independent local educational authority.

The exact proportion of the government-nominated, elected and co-opted membership of the proposed School Boards would better be left to the judgement of the State Government. The elected membership would be returned by the respective Zilla Parishad. The nominees of the State Government would comprise of experts in different aspects of education and co-opted members would represent sections of public opinion like women, the scheduled castes/scheduled tribes, secondary education, technical education and higher education. Care should, however, be taken that the members returned by the Zilla Parishad should not exceed the majority of the total membership of the School Board. Taluka School Committee would be constituted in each taluka with requisite powers of executing policy-decisions of the District

School Boards and of decision-making within limited jurisdiction on matters, such as sanctioning leave to teachers up to one month, levy of fines on defaulting parents under the compulsory education provisions of the Primary Education Act, repairs to school buildings within a limit of, say, Rs.1,000, provision of aids and equipment up to a limit, say of Rs. 100, and appointments to fill leave vacancies of teachers. The payment of salaries and sanction of leave to teachers up to one month, as also other functions referred to above, would be taken care of by the Taluka School Committees to guard against these committees being reduced to the status of passive instruments of the District School Boards. The inspectorial function should be completely withdrawn from the proposed School Boards and be vested in the government so that the principle of bifurcation of the function of inspection from the actual administration of primary education is maintained. This would re-establish the direct contact by way of some kind of control over the rural educational bodies on the part of the State Education Department, that was entirely absent during the years since the setting up of the Zilla Parishads. The District School Boards and the Taluka School Committees would be endowed with adequate staff to look after the functions of administration and supervision of primary education. While policies would be laid down by the District School Boards and the Taluka School Committees the execution of these policies would solely be the responsibility of the administrative personnel whose respective heads in the districts and the talukas would be the Education Officer and the Assistant Education Officer. The latter would also act as the secretary to the District School Boards and the Taluka School Committees respectively. Just as the Zilla Parishad representatives would be associated with the District School Boards, the Taluka Panchayat Samitis would be associated with the Taluka School Committees through their representatives on them. The present distribution of powers and functions between the State Government and the Zilla Parishads would be retained to govern the relationship between the State Government and the proposed School Boards, with the modification caused by the reversion of the function of inspection to the State Government.

One of the important bottlenecks of the present Zilla Parishads is inadequate financial resources. To remove this financial imbalance, a portion to the extent of 30 per cent of the land revenue and the education cess collected by the State Government should be earmarked for use by the proposed School Boards. The backward tracts populated by preponderant numbers of scheduled tribes/scheduled castes, chronically famine stricken areas and hilly tracts should receive a proportionately larger share from the earmarked resources by way of a portion of the land revenue and the education cess. A part of these

resources should be made available for construction and repairs of the school buildings. It is needless to state that economically poorer areas be granted larger assistance in this respect than the economically more affluent areas. In view of the availability of a large number of training institutions, a compulsory qualification of having passed the training course for primary teachers may be laid down for recruitment to the cadre of primary teachers. As far as possible, the qualification of training in teaching of English may also be made compulsory in the recruitment of all primary teachers. In view of the harmful effects of reservation of 33 per cent of posts of primary teachers for woman, this reservation should be lifted. The policy to be followed in regard to the opening and recognition of the fullfledged primary schools should be strict. A minimum capacity of the products of the IV standard has to be laid down for qualification. Wastage and stagnation could be reduced by stipulating corrective actions, such as withholding grants and giving incentives like larger grants and even prizes to the village schools and the respective Taluka Committee and District School Boards. The passing of the primary school certificate examination has to be made compulsory for admission to the secondary schools as far as the primary schools under the School Boards are concerned. This would help to raise standard of pupils of village primary schools. In regard to the teachers' transfers, a continuous stay of five years at a village should be made obligatory before qualifying for transfer. As far as possible, no transfers should be made by the School Boards within these five years. The residence at the site of the school or a short distance say, five miles of the school has to be made compulsory for the teachers. Transfers should be made on only genuine grounds, such as personal health, education of children, etc. The present limit of 10 per cent for the whole district and five per cent for each of the taluka is the optimum limit and it should be observed in all circumstances.

As far as the basic schools are concerned, the spinning and weaving craft needs to be discontinued altogether, and in respect of agricultural and carpentry both the provision of adequate equipment as well as of teachers trained in these crafts has to be made. The functions of disbursement of grants-in-aid and recognition to the secondary schools at present handled by the Zilla Parishads should be reverted to the State Government, because the role of the Zilla Parishads in these matters is peripheral. Similarly, the function of primary education in municipal towns needs to be transferred to the municipal bodies to prevent growth of discontent among municipal population. The provisions regarding compulsory education in the Primary Education Act need to be strictly enforced, especially among

the educationally backward areas; corrective actions and incentives mentioned above to reduce wastage and stagnation require to be taken in this behalf also. The function of propagation of adult literacy in the villages should cease to be a part of the routine duties of the primary teachers under the School Boards. A separate remuneration should be paid to the teachers and social workers for this purpose. Local contributions from the villagers need to be mobilised for propagation of adult literacy.

# Educational Policy for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and its Implementation

L.M. PRASAD

SOCIAL SCIENCE literature, in India and abroad, acknowledges education as the most important correlate of development. Numerous studies have demonstrated positive correlation between education and modernity, believed to be the pre-requisite for development.<sup>1</sup> The Indian Planning Commission, while formulating the Third Five Year Plan in 1961-62, considered education to be the most important single factor for economic development as well as social emancipation. The Report of the Education Commission (1964-66), commonly known as Kothari Commission, displays in its title the belief that education is the key to development. Titled, "Education and National Development", it asserts that for social change and development there is one instrument, and only one instrument, to be used, i.e., education.<sup>2</sup>

Education acquires special significance for the weaker sections of the society which are facing new situation in the developmental process to adjust themselves properly to the changing circumstances. For them, education is an input not only for their economic development, but also for promoting in them self confidence and inner strength to face new challenges. The Scheduled Castes have been the targets of economic exploitation, harassment, atrocities and social disabilities mainly due to illiteracy. Likewise, the Scheduled Tribes have been exploited by middlemen, merchants and money-lenders due to their illiteracy and ignorance. The need for their educational development, therefore, assumes prime importance to save them from economic exploitation and to help them in their arduous development.<sup>3</sup>

## THE PROBLEM

Although the spread of education in the country has been quite fast during the last decades, the progress in respect of Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes has not been quite proportionate. The all-India literacy rate in the country during 1971, being 29.45 per

cent, the corresponding rate of literacy for Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes is 14.7 and 11.3 per cent, respectively. In other words, the literacy rate of Scheduled Castes accounts for 50 per cent of the all-India level of literacy rate while in case of Scheduled Tribes it works out to be 38.4 per cent. Even the level of educational development of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is not the same in all the States/Union Territory. The Ministry of Home Affairs, in one of its background papers on tribal development, have published the classification of Scheduled tribes by literacy rates. In its preface, it is stated, "An examination of the literacy figures would reveal that the rate of spread of literacy amongst different tribal groups varies considerably".<sup>4</sup> To clear the point we discuss the statewise position of literacy among the Scheduled Tribes.

### Scheduled Castes

As against 14.67 per cent of the all India literacy rate among the Scheduled Castes (for general population the rate being 29.45 per cent), the rate was higher among the Scheduled Castes of Assam, (including Mizoram), Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, Maharashtra, Manipur, Meghalaya, Orissa, Punjab, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, West Bengal, Arunachal Pradesh, Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Delhi, Goa, Daman & Diu and Pondicherry. The literacy rate (percentage) was lower among the Scheduled Castes of: (1) Bihar (6.53), (2) Rajasthan (9.14), (3) Uttar Pradesh (10.20), (4) Andhra Pradesh (10.66), (5) Jammu and Kashmir (11.97), (6) Haryana (12.60), and (7) Karnataka (13.89). Among the scheduled castes females, the literacy rate (percentage) was very low (less than all India scheduled castes females literacy rate of 6.44), in the states of Bihar (1.03), Rajasthan (1.25), Uttar Pradesh (2.46), Haryana (3.09), Madhya Pradesh (3.88), Jammu and Kashmir (4.18), Orissa (5.17) and Andhra Pradesh (5.29). Thus, it is seen that a contiguous belt stretching from Andhra Pradesh to Jammu and Kashmir and Rajasthan to Bihar is educationally backward.<sup>5</sup>

### Scheduled Tribes

The States which have better literacy rate among the scheduled tribes (as compared to the all-India Scheduled Tribes literacy rate of 11.30 per cent) are Assam (including Mizoram), Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Karanataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and Goa and Lakshadweep. The states/Union Territories having poor scheduled tribes literacy rate (percentage) are: Arunachal Pradesh (5.20), Andhra Pradesh (5.34), Rajasthan (6.47), Madhya Pradesh (7.62), Dadra and Nagar Haveli (8.90), West Bengal (8.92), Tamil Nadu

(9.02), and Orissa (9.46). Among the scheduled Tribes females, States having lower literacy rate (lower than the all India Scheduled Tribes females rate of 4.85 per cent) are Rajasthan (0.4), Arunachal Pradesh (1.70), Andhra Pradesh (2.13), Madhya Pradesh (2.18), Orissa (2.58), Dadra and Nagar Haveli (2.59), West Bengal (3.09), Maharashtra (4.21), and Sikkim (4.48).<sup>6</sup>

In view of the facts mentioned above, efforts for educational development for the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes have to be tackled differently, keeping in view the needs of each group in each region.

At the same time, it has also been observed that, even within a state, there are a number of tribal communities in many areas which have a very low level of literacy. For example, in a study, it was revealed that in Kerala, according to the 1971 census, the percentages of literacy among some Scheduled Tribe communities-- viz., Adiyar (8.44), Eravellar (3.10), Irular or Irulan (3.82), Kathunayakan (1.96), Koranga (5.80), Malayan (8.74), Mannan (4.81), Muthuvar (3.46), Palliyar (9.09) and Paniyan (4.30)--were very low as compared to the percentage of literacy for all Scheduled Tribes in the state (25.72). It was also observed that as compared to the level of literacy in 1961 census, the percentages of literacy actually fell or remained almost constant in the case of some Scheduled Tribe communities, viz., Eravellar (7.14 to 3.10), Kathunayakan (1.95 to 1.96) Palliyar (11.89 to 11.01). In other states, having large tribal populations, also there are some tribal communities having very low literacy level.<sup>7</sup>

The Central Advisory Board of Education also considered the problem of education among the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in their meeting held in July 1976. The following are some of its recommendations:

- (i) The problem in relation to these groups is also most acute in some states. Even within these groups and areas, there is wide variation in terms of literacy, enrolment and educational instruction. Therefore, universalisation of elementary education should be addressed to these specific groups and selected areas.
- (ii) These social groups (Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) are not homogeneous. Among certain Scheduled Castes and some Scheduled Tribes, education has spread fairly widely while there are some Scheduled Tribes among whom the rates of enrolment are low and the percentages of literacy are less than even five. It is necessary to develop differentiated programmes, greater efforts to be made for the more under-

privileged and less advanced Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

- (iii) In case of tribal areas, educational infrastructure is non-existent in many cases. A network of educational institutions of single teacher schools, sub-schools, peripetatic schools, and residential schools should be planned for each micro-unit. A supporting network of hostel facilities according to the sparseness of population and density of the school network should be established. It is also necessary to evolve suitable curricula, adopt appropriate school timings in the context of the local economic cycle, prepare reading material in local dialects, recruit teachers from the local community even with lower qualifications (but greater training input) support non-formal education, provide scholarships and stipends and construct school buildings and quarters for teachers.<sup>8</sup>

After reviewing the problems of education for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, we come to the conclusion that the problems of general population and that of the latter are different. In view of the above, these communities cannot be covered by the general programmes of education. It is necessary that the reasons for poor progress of education among these communities should be identified by the state governments concerned and special efforts for spread of education among these communities are made. Some of the reasons, which are quite obvious, may be unsuitability of curricula, vacation and school timings unsuitable to the area, remoteness of the region in which they are living, difficulty of communication because of different dialects, and socio-economic conditions of the groups concerned. The problems of each community should be clearly understood and specific solutions found. Each concerned State Government should, therefore, identify such communities and identify low literacy pockets and prepare specific educational programmes for them.

#### Constitutional Safeguards

The founding fathers of the Indian Constitution made special provisions for educational development of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Article 46 provides:

The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and



shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

The Constitution has also made safeguards to protect the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes against any injustice in the matter of establishment and admission to educational institutions and grant from State funds. Article 15(4) provides "nothing in this article or in clause (2) of article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes". In fact, the necessity for incorporating of Article 15(4) arose after the Constitution came into force because of the decision in *Smt. Champakam Dorairajan's Case* (AIR 1951 S.C.2266). The distribution of seats in the Medical and Engineering colleges among the various communities under an order issued by the Madras Government was held to be invalid both by the High Court as well as by the Supreme Court as the same contravened Article 29(2) of the Constitution. In pursuance of Article 15(4), the Union Ministry of Education issued instructions to various State Governments/Union Territory administrations and universities that 20 per cent of seats in different educational and technical institutions should be reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes with a distinct reservation of 15 per cent for Scheduled Castes and 5 per cent for the Scheduled Tribes. This reservation is interchangeable, i.e., if a sufficient number of candidates is not available to fill seats reserved for Scheduled Tribes, these may be filled up by suitable Scheduled Caste candidates, and vice-versa. The Ministry also suggested that a minimum qualifying standard should be prescribed for admission and Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students should be eligible for admission to the reserved seats if they attain that standard without any reference to the gap between their marks and the marks of the last person admitted to the open seats. Where admissions are restricted to candidates who obtain certain minimum percentage of marks and not merely the passing of a certain examination, a 5 per cent reduction for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was suggested, provided that the lower percentage prescribed did not fall below the minimum required to pass the qualifying examination.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, the framers of the Constitution consciously adopted a policy of temporary discrimination in favour of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. They were to have reserved quotas in educational institutions and public services. They were to get special financial support by way of scholarships and other facilities. The position was to be reviewed after a stipulated period of time with a view to either extending or terminating these protective measures and

concessions.<sup>10</sup>

### Policy

The above mentioned directives enshrined in the Indian Constitution have been reflected in various five year plans which have sought to raise the level of education among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. During the First Five Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 10.87 crore was spent by various State Governments mostly for pre-matric education of backward classes and in particular of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In addition, the Central government spent a sum of Rs. 3.65 crore for the award of scholarships for post-matric education of these classes. In the First and Second Five Year Plans, the educational schemes for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were as follows:

1. scholarships (pre-matric and post-matric),
2. opening of school in tribal areas,
3. grants of books, hostel fees, and
4. opening of residential schools, balwadis community centre, etc.

Gradually the scope of programmes for educational development in various five year plan periods broadened. A mid-term appraisal of Fourth Plan showed that nearly half of the Backward Classes sector allocations (48 per cent) was mainly spent on educational programmes alone. The pattern of educational programmes for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of the Government of India and of the State Governments is given below:

Central and Centrally Sponsored Programmes (Sixth Plan outlay given in parenthesis:

1. Post-Matric Scholarships (Rs. 130 crore);
2. Girls Hostels (Rs. 13 crore);
3. Pre-Matric Scholarships for children of those engaged in unclean occupations (Rs. 8 crore); and
4. Book Banks (Rs. 3 crore).

State Sector Schemes (Selected ones):

1. Scholarships and stipends at various levels;
2. Supply of text books, stationery, equipment, uniform, sports material;
3. (a) Administration of balwadis, primary schools, middle schools, higher secondary schools;

- (b) Attendance prize to students;
- 4. Residential schools;
- 5. Hostels (and reservation of seats in general hostels);
- 6. Amenities to boarders in private hostels and financial assistance for sharing rental accommodation;
- 7. Merit scholarship;
- 8. Expenses of those reading in public schools;
- 9. Reimbursement of examination fees and tuition fees at various levels of education;
- 10. Excursion;
- 11. Mid-day meals;
- 12. Loans to students for pursuing education;
- 13. Vocational craft classes;
- 14. Introduction of modern trades and training centres for self-employment;
- 15. Coaching and study centres;
- 16. Award to teachers; and
- 17. Houses for teachers.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to this, the Ministry of Education and the University Grants Commission have also been providing various other facilities to Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes students, namely--

- 1. Reservation of seats in educational institutions, including engineering and medical colleges, technical institutions and sainik schools;
- 2. Relaxation in age and marks for admission;
- 3. Research scholarships and fellowships:
  - (a) 10 per cent of the junior research fellowships by the universities (287 fellowships);
  - (b) 50 junior and 20 senior research fellowships for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes by University Grants Commission;
  - (c) 10 per cent of senior research fellowships (10 fellowships) and 10 per cent of the research associateship, in addition to 20 research associateships;
  - (d) 25 post-graduate scholarships for Scheduled Castes/ Scheduled Tribes belonging to Border Hill areas;
  - (e) 6 fellowships (10 per cent) in Engineering and Technology;
  - (f) 4 scholarships (10 per cent) for post-graduate studies in Sanskrit, Pali/Prakrit, Ardhamagadhi, Arabic, Persian and
  - (g) 5 scholarships (10 per cent) for L.L.M. courses.

Thus, in pursuance of the safeguards provided in the Constitution, the Government of India and the state governments have been making progress in educational development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes by making liberal financial allocations for a variety of educational schemes in various five-year plans. The Table 1 gives details of these.

The Ministry of Education have issued guidelines for providing following facilities to Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes students in educational institutions:

1. Univeristy and College Education:

- (a) reservation of 20 per cent seats in educational courses;
- (b) concession of 5 per cent marks in the minimum percentage of marks required for admission to any course;
- (c) a further relaxation in the marks for filling the reserved quota; and
- (d) reservation of 20 per cent seats in hostels.

2. Technical Education

The Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes students are given following facilities in pursuing technical courses:

- (a) in the Engineering colleges/polytechnics under the control of Government of India, 15 per cent of seats are reserved for Scheduled Castes and 5 per cent for Scheduled Tribes;
- (b) necessary relaxation in the minimum percentage of marks;<sup>12</sup>

Facilities provided to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes students puruing technical courses are as follows:

- (i) There are special coaching arrangement for Scheduled Castes-/Scheduled Tribes students in the Indian Institutes of Technology to bring them up to the level of other candidates in the various subject fields.
- (ii) Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes students are facilitated to take lower load compared to other students in the semester examinations by organising appropriately the courses for them at the Indian Institutes of Technology.
- (iii) An amount of Rs.500 per head is provided to Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes students for purchase of books. Several copies of books required by students have been purchased by

Table 1 LITERACY RATE, ENROLMENT AND SCHOLARSHIPS

**Literacy Rate**

	1931	1961	1971	Increase in percent- age (1931-1971)
Scheduled Castes	1.9	10.3	14.67	672 (7 times)
Scheduled Tribes	0.7	8.5	11.30	1514 (16 times)
General	9.5	24.0	29.45	210 (3 times)

**Enrolment**

(in lakhs)

	1952-56 ( First Plan Period)	1979-80
Scheduled Castes	6.00	127.60
Scheduled Tribes	4.50	54.15

**Post-Matric Scholarships**

	1948-49	1981-82
Scheduled Castes	647	6,16,961
Scheduled Tribes	84	(excluding Karnataka)
Total	731	6,16,961

**Overseas Scholarships**

	1954-55	1981-82
Scheduled Castes	2	9
Scheduled Tribes	2	3
Total	4	12

SOURCE: Report of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (chairman: Hakishe Sama), Fourth Report, Delhi, Controller of Publications, 1984, p.81.

the libraries and these are loaned to Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes students for one semester at a time.

Another special scheme for helping Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes students is in the process of formulation. Under the proposed scheme, scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes students studying in class XII (Science stream) aspiring for admission to engineering/professional courses will be given free special coaching for about 10 months prior to the joint entrance examination of the Indian Institute of Technology. The coaching will enable them not only to compete for admission to engineering colleges but also help them perform better in the Senior Secondary School Examination. It is envisaged that 182 or so senior schools having Science stream throughout the country will help administer the scheme by registering the students desirous of joining the coaching classes as also the teachers volunteering to coach. The Principal of the school will monitor the scheme.

The Government of Karnataka have informed the Commission of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Fourth Report, p. 64) that special coaching arrangements are made in the first year of the technical institutions on permanent basis, vide G.D. No. ED 47 MTE 76, dated August 26, 1976. All the government and aided technical institutions in the state are having Book Banks from where Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes students are supplied books. The Government of Tamil Nadu started special coaching scheme from the academic year 1981-82 in the seven Engineering Colleges in the state. But under their scheme special coaching classes are to be conducted only for a period of two months every year (20 days in a month) and for two years every day out of the regular class hours.

#### STEPS TAKEN TO IMPROVE EDUCATIONAL POSITION IN VARIOUS STATES

The schemes like providing special coaching to meritorious students, failed students and poor students to improve their performance in the class, award of incentive prizes to the meritorious Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students, and awards for the school achieving better results in school final examination aim at minimising stagnation rate in pre-matric classes.

Three schemes are implemented in Andhra Pradesh for providing incentive to meritorious Scheduled Tribe students. The first and second rank Scheduled Tribe students of SSC examination in each district are granted a scholarship of Rs.100 each per month for 12 months. All the Scheduled Tribe students securing 60 per cent or more marks in SSC examination are sanctioned a lumpsum award of Rs.100 each. The first and second rank students in VII class in each

district are also awarded Rs. 50 each per month for 12 months by the Government of Andhra Pradesh. It is not known whether similar schemes are implemented in the state to benefit the Scheduled Caste students. The State Government purposes to admit 200 bright Scheduled Caste students of classes V to XI in reputed institutions for availing better standard of education. Similar scheme is also implemented to benefit the Scheduled Tribe and Denotified Tribe students.

In Tamil Nadu, first and second prizes in the shape of National Savings certificates are awarded to Scheduled Caste students in each district who secure highest marks in SSLC public examination and VIII standard examination to include a spirit of competition in their studies. A silver shield to the value of Rs.200 is also awarded to the Harijan Welfare School which secures the highest percentage of marks in the public SSLC examination. Part-time tutors are appointed for all the hostels to give coaching to the boarders. In order to improve educational standard of the failed Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students in classes IX to XI, the Government of Tamil Nadu have sanctioned a scheme in 25 Harijan Welfare High Schools for giving coaching in Mathematics, English and Science. A cash award of Rs.200 to each Warden/Matron of the Government Welfare hostels in each district is also given for securing better results in the public SSLC examination.

For improving educational standard of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students in post-matric classes, the Government of Tamil Nadu has taken up four schemes. The "Gandhi Memorial Scholarship Scheme" was introduced in 1970-71 for Scheduled Caste students securing highest marks in Pre-University class in each district. Under this scheme, a lumpsum grant of Rs.500 is sanctioned to such a student at the time of admission to college, and a recurring scholarship of Rs.100 per month is given per student for 10 months in a year. The scholarship is sanctioned for a period of six years. This is in addition to any other scholarship to which the student is entitled.

Under the "Loan Scholarship Scheme", financial assistance is given by way of interest-free loan to such Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students who are not eligible for award of either the State or Government of India post-matric scholarship and whose pecuniary circumstances are such that they are not able to meet full expenditure for pursuing professional post-graduate degree courses. The loan ranges from Rs.900 to Rs.1,750 per annum per student.

The Government of Tamil Nadu have also sanctioned a scheme of training of five Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students for the Chartered Accountant course, and financial assistance to cover the cost of books, pocket expenses, boarding and lodging charges, tuition

fees and examination fees is provided to each candidate.

For providing free tuition and special coaching to the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students studying in P.U.C. and degree courses, the State Government have sanctioned a scheme during 1974-75 by opening two centres in Madras, Coimbatore, Tiruchirapalli and another scheme for giving special coaching to meritorious Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe college students has also been taken up by the State Government. Students securing 60 per cent and more marks are selected by the Director of Collegiate Education. Four hundred such student are given coaching in Madras city.

In Haryana, the Scheduled Caste students of classes IX, X and XI are given special coaching in English, Science and Mathematics from November to February, every year.

During 1978-79, the Government of Kerala sanctioned a scheme for providing special coaching to Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students of pre-degree courses. The coaching is provided in 10 colleges, one in each of the 10 districts of Trivandrum, Quilon, Kottayam, Ernakulam, Alleppey, Trichur, Palghat, Malapuram, Kozhikode and Cannanore. Each centre gives coaching to 60 students in Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Botany and Zoology and Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students from other educational institutions are also allowed to attend the special coaching classes.

No scheme of incentives to meritorious students and special coaching appear to have been implemented in Punjab, Rajasthan, Bihar and Gujarat where special coaching is provided only for the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe boarders in government hostels. Special coaching scheme and scheme for giving incentives to meritorious Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe candidates is not being implemented in Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. The position in respect of other states is not known.

The schemes for improving the educational standard of the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students are being implemented in the Union territories of Goa, Daman and Diu and Pondicherry. In Goa, Daman and Diu, the scheme only benefits the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe girls. Merit Scholarship of Rs.20 per month are paid to each of the girl students studying in class IX who secure 55 per cent and more marks. The rate of scholarships for each such girl student in classes X and XI is Rs.25 and Rs.30, respectively. In Pondicherry, 97 tutorial centres are run to provide coaching facilities to the Scheduled Caste students studying in classes VI to VIII and IX to X.<sup>13</sup>

#### Implementation

The education policy of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes



presents an idealistic picture. However, many research studies revealed that the tribal areas stand at a much lower level in terms of literacy and school going children compared to the other areas.<sup>14</sup> Thus, it cannot be denied that though there have been a marked progress in educational development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes yet genuine equalisation of opportunity still remains a distant ideal. For an overwhelmingly large part of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes population, the structure of economic opportunity continues to be as bounded and closed as before. The educational programmes for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have not succeeded in achieving the desired impact on account of various socio-economic problems faced by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes are not much aware and convinced of the practical utility of education and need their children to help them in economic pursuits even from an early age. It seems that the defects lie in implementation.

Although the total enrolment in elementary education in the country has increased from 223 lakhs in classes I-VIII in 1950-51 to around 905 lakhs during 1979-80, yet, for every three children enrolled in primary and middle schools, one other eligible child is left behind. Thus, it is seen that 25 per cent of the eligible children are still required to be enrolled in schools to achieve the goal of universal education of all children up to the age 14 years. According to an estimation, the position in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is further poor as 38 per cent of Scheduled Castes and 56 per cent of Scheduled Tribes children are yet to receive elementary education. In addition to this, nearly 64 per cent of the children enrolled in class I drop out before completing class V. The position with regard to low literacy among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and specially among the females can be seen from the Table 2.

Table 2 LITERACY RATE AMONG SCHEDULED CASTES AND  
SCHEDULED TRIBES ACCORDING TO 1971 CENSUS

	Persons	Males	Females
General	29.45	39.45	18.69
Scheduled Castes	14.67	22.36	6.44
Scheduled Tribes	11.30	17.63	4.85

### Poor Enrolment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Primary and Middle Stages

The task of Planning Monitoring and Statistics Division of the Union Department of Education is to collect information regarding educational development, including enrolment, etc. The latest selected educational statistics prepared by the Department of Education and published in 1981 relate to educational year 1979-80. It is found that the percentage of enrolment for the general students in the primary classes is 81.9 while that of Scheduled Castes is 75.7 and for Scheduled Tribes 69.2. In the middle stage of education (11-14 years), the percentage of enrolment to the respective age group population or general students is 38.4 while the corresponding figure for Scheduled Castes is 27.4 and for Scheduled Tribe it is as low as 18.2.<sup>15</sup>

It is expected that State Governments would take adequate steps in coming years so that universalisation of elementary education as envisaged in the Sixth Plan document is achieved and the gap between the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and others is eliminated.

### Wastage of Education

Although enrolment of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe children in elementary classes is gradually increasing, yet it has been observed that most of the efforts made and money spent to achieve this go waste because a large number of children belonging to these communities drop out by the time they are due to complete the primary stage. Information regarding percentage of wastage at primary stage among the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe children in various states/Union territories during the year 1975-76 and 1976-77 is given in Table 3.

It would be seen from Table 3 that among Scheduled Castes the all India percentage of wastage at the primary stage, which was 67.8 in 1975-76, fell marginally to 66.5 in 1976-77. Statewise, the percentage of wastage among these communities in 1976-77 was higher than the all India percentage of 66.5 in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Manipur, Orissa, Rajasthan, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh and west Bengal.

### Wastage Among Scheduled Tribes

Among Scheduled Tribes, the all India percentage of wastage which was 78.1 in 1975-76, increased to 79.8 in 1976-77. Thus, the percentage of wastage among the Scheduled Tribes was much higher than that among the Scheduled Castes. Statewise, the percentage of wastage among the Scheduled Tribes in 1976-77 was very high in Andhra Pradesh (77.6), Bihar (82.6), Madhya Pradesh (87.6), Maharashtra (79.2),

Table 3 PERCENTAGE OF WASTAGE AMONG SC/ST CHILDREN

Name of the State/ Union Territory	Percentage of Wastage			
	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes	
	1975-76	1976-77	1975-76	1976-77
Andhra Pradesh	71.0	68.8	73.3	77.6
Assam	68.1	38.6	80.9	45.9
Bihar	76.0	74.2	78.0	82.6
Gujarat	62.7	51.7	65.4	64.3
Haryana	47.0	45.4	- +	- +
Himachal Pradesh	39.8	33.4	28.9	46.5
Jammu & Kashmir	17.7	41.2	- +	- +
Karnataka	79.5	77.2	73.9	68.6
Kerala	30.2	11.1	45.0	25.8
Madhya Pradesh	73.3	79.8	82.1	87.6
Maharashtra	67.8	56.2	80.2	79.2
Manipur	87.6	87.7	82.1	81.3
Meghalaya	*	*	75.9	75.9
Nagaland	-	-	67.0	76.7
Orissa	75.6	77.7	85.9	86.4
Punjab	38.2	48.9	- +	- +
Rajasthan	64.6	67.5	79.2	78.3
Sikkim	-	N.A.	-	-
Tamil Nadu	57.0	55.0	70.3	55.3
Tripura	75.1	81.4	80.8	84.8
Uttar Pradesh	73.6	74.1	38.8	55.2
West Bengal	75.7	75.9	77.9	7.6
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	-	-	13.9	16.1

\* Population of Scheduled Castes is negligible.

+ No Scheduled Tribes.

SOURCE: Shishir Kumar, Report of the Commissioner For Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Part I 1979-81 (Twenty Seventh Report), Delhi, Controller of Publications, 1981, pp. 165-66.

Manipur (81.3), Meghalaya (75.9), Nagaland (76.7), Orissa (86.4), Rajasthan (78.3), Tripura (84.8), West Bengal (77.6), Arunachal Pradesh (84.1), Dadra & Nagar Haveli (89.7) and Goa, Daman and Diu (70.9).

### Reservations are not Effective

We have already seen that the Constitution provides reservation of seats in educational institutions. However, in many institutions their reserved seats are not filled up and their representation is poor particularly in technical institutions because the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are poor in science subjects.

To explain this point we take the example of Medical Education.

The percentages of reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes students in Medical Colleges of a few selected states are as given in Table 4

Table 4 EXTENT OF UTILIZATION OF SEATS RESERVED FOR MEDICAL EDUCATION IN SELECTED STATES

	Seats reserved		Seats filled	
	SCs	STs	SCs	STs
1. Maharashtra	129	67	133	55
2. Uttar Pradesh	140	16	140	16
3. West Bengal	170	35	115	1
4. Goa, Daman & Diu	11	2	1	-
5. Pondicherry	-	2	-	2
6. Madhya Pradesh	108	108	90	59

SOURCE: Report of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (chairman: H. K. Sema), Fourth Report, Delhi, controller of Publications, 1984, p.64.

It may be noted from Table 4 that excepting the states of Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh, seats reserved for Scheduled Castes could not be filled up. In respect of Scheduled Tribes the position is further dismal in all the states except Uttar Pradesh, and Pondicherry in which Scheduled Tribes population is very small. If we study other technical institutions, the result will be the same.

### Lack of Hostel Facilities

Hostels play an important role in spread of education among the

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Provision of hostels helps in arresting the problem of dropouts resulting in increasing enrolment of Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students. In tribal areas, the schools are located in distant places and the children find it difficult to attend the school. The hostels provide study atmosphere for the students. A study conducted by the Directorate of Social Welfare, Karnataka State on the performance of the hostellers in SSLC examination held in 1978 revealed that the general percentage of pass being 50.8, that for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes it was 36.5 and 38.4, respectively. As against these figures the percentage of pass for the hostellers recorded 56.8 for general (including Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students), 53.5 for Scheduled Castes and 68.0 for Scheduled Tribes. The fact that hostels help in the educational progress of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students, both quantitatively and qualitatively, is very clear from the survey discussed above.

The number of government hostels for Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes is not adequate in many states/Union territories. In his Twentysixth Report (1978-79), the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes observed that the number of such hostels continued to be inadequate in states like Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh and reiterated that urgent action should be taken to meet the deficiency by opening sufficient number of such hostels in those states. One of the most important reasons for the slow progress of education among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is lack of residential facilities for students belonging to these communities, whose homes are generally far from schools.

The pertinent questions which now arise are: 'Who is to blame for lack of results? Are the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes inherently incapable of taking advantage of the equal opportunity extended to them? Or, have we to search for inadequacies and deficiencies in planning and pedagogy employed for the educational advancement of these sections?

### **Causes of Failures**

For the first time since Independence, massive physical and financial inputs have been made available in these areas. While progress in educational development of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes cannot be denied yet it is not in commensurate with the investment in this field. Thus, benefits accruing to the tribals as envisaged in the objectives have not been fully realised. Reasons of failures in this regard can be broadly summarised as follows: lack of proper family orientation for studies; non-adoptability to the school

atmosphere; frequent absence of teachers in remote areas, specially in single-teacher schools; and absence of students in the classes as they are being utilised by the poor parents for: looking after young children during their out-door work, grazing cattle, and assistance in other economic pursuits. These are some of the important reasons responsible for high rate of stagnation of Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students at the pre-matric level. Let us now examine these points separately.

### **Lack of Uniform Administrative Structure**

There is no uniformity in primary and middle education of the country and this creates several problems in planning for the weaker sections. For example, in Andhra Pradesh and Kerala, the primary stage includes classes I to V and the middle classes from VI to VII, while in West Bengal, class I to IV are in primary and classes V to VIII are in the middle section. The primary classes in Karnataka are from I to IV and middle classes are from V to VI. In Nagaland, Class I to II are in primary standard and classes III to VI are included under the middle stage. The primary and middle stages of education in Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Tripura and Uttar Pradesh comprise classes I to V and VI to VIII respectively. In order to plan for formulation of policies and programmes at the national level for improvement of elementary stages of education, and to help State Governments to implement these schemes properly, it is necessary that there is uniformity in the structuring of the primary and middle stages. The author agrees with the views of the Working Group on Education and Culture for reorganising the pattern of both these stages of education for administrative convenience, and grouping classes I to V in primary and classes VI to VIII in middle stage.

### **Gap in Enrolment Ratio**

According to the statistics made available by the Ministry of Education pertaining to 1978-79, the enrolment ratio of all communities in primary stage (Class I to V) being 84.5, in case of Scheduled Castes the ratio was 79.9. The corresponding figure for middle stage (Classes VI to VIII) were 38.1 and 26.5 for the general and the Scheduled Caste students respectively. Thus, we find that the gap in enrolment ratio of the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe children at the primary and middle stages of education is quite alarming and special drive for additional enrolment of these students is necessary to bring them on par with the general students in educational sphere.

One of the reasons of this gap is shortage of educational insti-

tutions in the vicinity of the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe settlements. As such, while opening new schools, it is desirable that priority should be given to locate the educational institutions in settlement having concentration of Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe population.

#### **Wastage and Stagnation**

Premature withdrawal of children from school at any stage before completion of their course of study is called wastage and retention of a student in a particular grade for more than one year on account of unsatisfactory progress results in stagnation. Besides low enrolment, another indicator of the educational backwardness of the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students is their heavy drop-out rate. When a student drops out in the middle of educational career, the entire investment on education goes waste.

A study entitled "School Drop-outs Among Scheduled Caste Children: Causes and Cure", conducted by the Central Institute of Research and Training in Public Cooperation in Eastern Uttar Pradesh during 1975 indicated that the percentage of drop-outs of Scheduled Caste children to the total drop-outs was more than 40 per cent in classes I to III and about 33 per cent in classes IV to V. About the factors attributing to the high drop-out of Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students, the report noted as follows:

The most dominant factor relates to the poverty conditions and economic hardship of the Harijan families. Need to engage child power in domestic services or in gainful employment, helplessness with regard to the provision of basic physical needs are indicators of the educational backwardness of the Harijan families. The next important reason for school drop-outs stems from school and school-related factors. Domestic exigencies like sickness or death in the family or long illness of the school going child formed the third important category of drop-out reasons.<sup>16</sup>

The second report of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has dealt extensively with the problem of stagnation. There has been no extensive study of the problem of stagnation in different stages of pre-matric education, but the problem is quite alarming in post-matric courses of study, where the performance of the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe student is poor and the failure rate is quite high. A study conducted by the Madras Office of the Commission of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe in 12 colleges of Trivandrum and Ernakulam districts of Kerala during 1976-77 indicates that out of 396 Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students on

roll in pre-degree, degree and post-graduate classes during 1976-77, 333 students, constituting 85.55 per cent of the total sample, appeared in the final examination. Only 99 students passed and the extent of failure was as high as 74.36 per cent.

A study report of the Madras office on the assessment of the performance of Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students in Tamil Nadu during 1975-76 also throws light on the problem of stagnation in post-matric classes. The results of seven colleges indicate that, in non-professional courses, the percentage of pass was 17 and that of failure 83.

In professional courses, out of 109 Scheduled Caste students studying in Medical Colleges during 1974-75, only six passed, the percentage of pass being 5.5. In Engineering courses, out of 28 Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students, six (21.4 per cent) passed during 1971-72. During the corresponding years of 1972-73 and 1973-74, the pass percentage of the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students was, however, reported to be 71.4 and 66.6 respectively.<sup>17</sup>

### Reasons of Stagnation

#### Communication Gap Between the Teachers and the Taught

Many tribal communities speak their own dialect. Medium of instruction in primary classes being the state language, the tribal students fail to understand the courses taught to them by the teachers. They also get disinterested in their studies as they cannot read the text-books written in unfamiliar language. The teachers posted in tribal areas are drawn mostly from non-tribal areas, as such they neither have knowledge of the local tribal dialect nor proper aptitude to serve them.

So far no State Government/Union territory has printed text-books in tribal dialects. In Orissa, an attempt was made during 1966 to prepare primers in Juang dialect (spoken by the Juang, a backward hill-tribe of Keonjhar district of Orissa) for the primary classes. The primers were prepared by a Research Officer of the State Tribal Research Bureau, who had learnt the tribal dialect. The State Text Book Committee reviewed the primers and acclaimed their technical standard, but did not favour their introduction as text-books as it would go against the national policy general of education. Since the medium in higher classes would only be the state language, adoption of primers in tribal language at the initial stages would only do harm to the tribal students who would not be able to pick up studies in higher classes. Lack of teachers knowing Juang dialect was also viewed to be another problem.

Besides the problem of medium, the text-books should include



topics reflecting the culture and tradition of the tribal communities. It would be desirable to encourage preparation of books in tribal dialects which could be used as supplementary books. The teachers employed in tribal areas may be encouraged to learn the local tribal dialect and may be suitably rewarded for that. Since the teachers play a vital role in spreading education in tribal areas, talented teachers knowing the local tribal dialect may be appointed with higher scale of pay and other incentives for serving in tribal areas. As far as possible, the local educated tribals should be appointed as teachers in their respective areas.

## 2. Socio-economic Pursuits and Their Traditional Ethos of Life

Some of the tribal communities practising shifting cultivation have to shift their settlement from time to time to different sites. Likewise, there are nomadic tribes and food gatherers who have no definite place of abode and who move from one part of the jungle to the other in search of food and other forest produce. The tribes like Birhor roam to and fro in jungle in search of food. Toda, having large herds of cattle, are required to shift their hamlet from one area to the other in search of grazing ground for their cattle. Locating schools for such communities becomes a problem and the only solution for this would be to open pre-school centres and Ashram type of schools with residential facilities for the tribal children from pre-primary to middle and high school stages of education.

For giving pre-school training to the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students and to acquaint them with the school atmosphere, balwadis and creches should be opened in all the State/Union territories for admitting the children of 0-3 and 3-6 age groups. This would not only help in achieving the national target of 100 per cent enrolment at the primary level of education, but would also create an urge the young children for studies and improve their standard of learning. It is, therefore, necessary that such pre-school centres may be opened in sufficient numbers with qualified teachers to cover the pre-school going children of the target groups.

## Cultural Factors

Cultural factors also act as barriers of educational development. Among the Binhrias, a Scheduled Tribe of Kalahandi district in Orissa, the girls are given in ceremonial marriage to an arrow and after attaining puberty they are not allowed to take food and water outside their family. Such customs retard educational advancement of girls. It is also a general apprehension among the tribal people that their boys will grow insolent and rebellious and the girls will go astray if they go to school. They also have a fear that the

educated tribal youths would not respect their traditional norms and values of life and look down upon their own people. These social barriers, fears and psychological complexes of the tribal people have to be overcome for carrying forward the educational programmes in tribal areas.

### **Nutritional Deficiencies**

The reservation of seats in educational institutions and financial support to Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes do not ensure equal educational opportunity. Due to harsh realities of their life, many of them start losing the battle for high educational attainment in the pre-school entry years itself. Nutritional deficiencies, both in terms of calories and protein, cause varying degrees of mental retardation. The educational system has no control over this situation and the damage is often irreparable. The Scheduled Tribes are victims of this initial handicap.

The first step towards equalisation of educational opportunity, thus, lies in improving the dietary intakes so that the children entering school do not start with a disadvantage. The efforts will, therefore, have to be sustained during the first three or four years of their schooling.<sup>18</sup>

### **SOME SUGGESTIONS**

In the light of discussions in preceding paras, it is necessary that the following steps may be taken to arrest the problem of drop-outs by increasing the enrolment of Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students, and to minimise the drop-out rate by improving their educational standard at the pre-matric and post-matric classes of studies.

#### **Abolition of Single Teacher School**

The system of single-teacher schools weakens the elementary education system and defeats the purpose for which the schools are opened. The Government of Gujarat have proposed to do away with the single-teacher schools in tribal areas during 1981-82. It is desirable that other State Governments/Union Territory administrations take similar steps in this regard and provide at least two teachers for each of such schools so that in absence of one of the teachers, the school need not be closed down.

#### **Universalisation of Incentive Schemes**

It is unfortunate that only few States/Union territories have taken steps to tackle the alarming problem of drop-outs among the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students by providing incentive schemes. Con-

sidering the magnitude of the problem, it is desirable that all the State Governments/Union Territory administrations take early steps to provide such schemes for award of attendance prize to the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students and granting monetary relief to the parents of the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students so that they are not put to financial hardship on account of sending their children to school. This would encourage regular attendance in the class in early stages of education and promote improvement of educational standard of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes student.

#### **Incentive to Teachers and Their Orientation**

To take special interest for improving educational standard of the Scheduled Caste/ Scheduled Tribe students, the Headmasters/ Headmistress of the schools and Warden/Matron of the welfare hostels, which report better performance of the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students, may also be awarded certificates and cash prizes. The schemes of giving special coaching may not be confined only to the welfare hostels, but may be extended to the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students also. The Government of Tamil Nadu have already taken pioneering steps in this regard and other States/Union territories should follow Tamil Nadu in implementing the scheme aiming at improvement of educational standard of the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students.

There is almost no emphasis in the teacher training programmes on special needs and problems of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Thus, the pedagogy in vogue is inappropriate for all these weaker sections of the community.

#### **Different Working Hours for These Schools**

To promote regular attendance of Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students in their classes, it would be desirable to adopt the working hours of the schools keeping in view the local conditions. Likewise, during certain agricultural seasons, the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students go to the fields to help their parents in agricultural operations and thereby remain absent in their classes. The proper solution for this would be to follow the vacations and other holidays according to the local requirements.

#### **Timely Supply of Books**

Various states are supplying text-books and other requirements to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe boys free of cost. Supply of these, however, is not at all regular. The reasons mostly mentioned were: short-supply, non-availability of books in time, financial constraints, transport difficulties, etc. In many cases (like Andhra

and Bihar), the supply of books reached three months after the commencement of the session and in some cases even at the end of the academic year. As a result, there are certain cases where children have opted out of the school for want of required number of note books and text-books. This position must be rectified.

### CONCLUSION

Higher education in colonial India had an extremely narrow socio-economic base. Its gates were closed to the vast majority, particularly members of the Scheduled Castes or Tribes. This was true of women too. The Indian Government has done a commendable job by providing special programmes for educational uplift of these communities. No doubt, the result has not been in proportion to the attempt. This cannot be denied that the strategy of education for the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes, adopted during the last three decades, has yielded limited results. But one should not expect wonders in this field. Molinowski has rightly opined that social and educational development is slow and one should hasten slowly in these fields. Consequently, the principal beneficiaries were the children of the thin upper crust of these communities. Education to them was an instrument to reinforce their elite status and consolidate their gains. The calculus of power, however, makes it impossible to withdraw the advantages enjoyed by them.

This requires a new education policy which is entirely different and more relevant to the needs of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Ashram schools or educational institutions with suitable hostel facilities covering all tribal and Harijan children should be set up and their entire education should be completed at one place. Required note books, text-books, clothing and other facilities should be provided to all the children.

The role of teachers is very crucial in the entire setting. He is the guardian and educator to the tribal and Harijan children. The educational development depends on his commitment and performance. Qualified and trained teachers should be selected with higher emoluments and attractive incentives. Recruitment policy should include assessment of aptitude and value pattern of each teacher before his selection.

With regard to pre-school education, the present 'Anganwadi' experiment should be extended to all the tribal children, so that they are better equipped for school education. The policy should take into consideration the environment, cultural background, economic and social conditions, language content and relevance of education, school timings, vacation, school buildings and hostel facilities,

supply of text-books and note books, clothing and other allowances, job orientation, and vocational type of education for gaining immediate results. Any haphazard, hasty or unimaginative steps would only aggravate the problem and the dreams of universalizing education among the tribals would never come true.

Despite the advice of higher authorities, we have not succeeded in evolving a pattern of elementary education which is truly environment-based and craft-oriented. For higher education, imaginative programmes of anticipatory and preparatory education as well as remedial and supplementary education will have to be devised.

This calls for a high degree of imagination and commitment. The prototype must be evolved imaginatively, tested carefully and extended discriminatingly. Unless this is done, the effort will be self-defeating.

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# Educational Administration Under Stress : A Study of College Principals in Orissa

SMITA DAS AND N. HAZARY

EDUCATION IS the key parameter in the growth strategy of any developing nation and has always been accorded an honoured place in Indian society. It plays a crucial role in economic development and social progress and largely determines the quality of manpower and healthy social climate in a society. As a key factor in production, it supplies requisite number and quality of persons required for various tasks of the society. Besides in a democracy, majority of persons, if not all, should be educated.

## Educational Administration and Educational Administrators

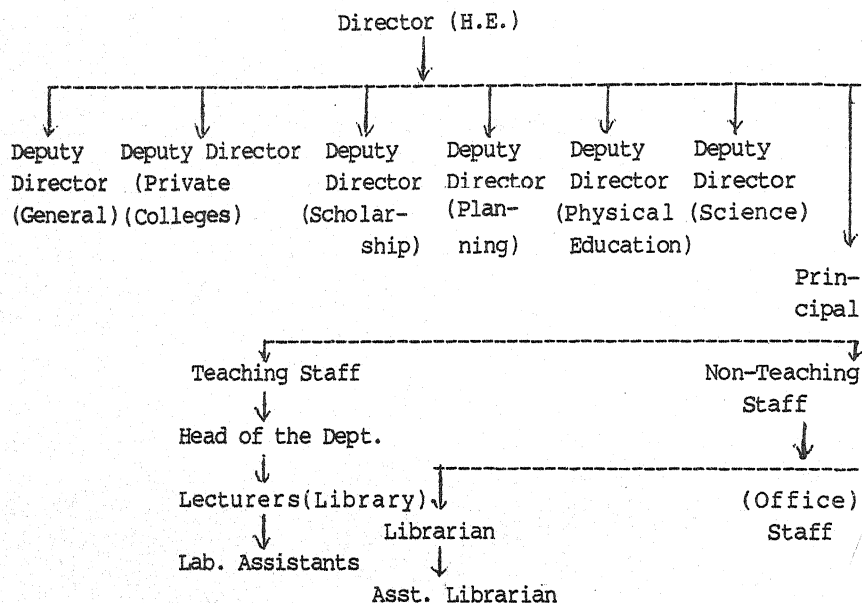
Basically, educational administration implies arrangement of human and material resources and programmes available for education and carefully using them systematically for achievement of educational objectives. The educational administrator is essentially an organiser or implementor of plans, policies and programmes meant for specific educational objectives. He contributes to planning, policy-making and programme-designing. Besides being involved with the totality of educational enterprise, he also plays a major role in effective and efficient implementation of such plans, policies and programmes for the benefit of education.

Educational administration is a social process that takes place within the context of a social system. Structurally, administration is seen as the hierarchy of superior-subordinate relationships within the social system. Functionally, this hierarchy of relationships is the locus of allocating and integrating roles and facilities in order to achieve goals of the system. Operationally, the administrative process takes effect in situations involving person to person interaction.

The agencies at the national level, concerned with development of education, are Ministry of Education, University Grants Commission and National Council of Educational Research and Training. The State Education Department constitutes principal agency to prepare and

implement educational plans in each state. For administrative purposes, the State Department is divided into two sections, i.e., Secretariat of Education and Directorate of Education. The Secretary of Education holds the key position in the Secretariat and keeps liaison between Directorate of Education and Government (see Organisational Chart below):

Chart STRUCTURE OF DIRECTORATE OF HIGHER EDUCATION



The Directorate is the executive body and executes the policy of the government and also offers technical guidance to the minister in all educational matters. The educational policies are implemented through a number of educational administrators, i.e., the executive heads or principals of various educational institutions.

### The Principal

Principal of a college is educational administrator in the field, who is responsible for administration of the institution, staff morale and constant evaluation of their work procedures and techniques and student performance.

Involved with the totality of the education enterprise, he is a leader of the college community. Therefore, he has to strive constantly to build goodwill all around and to maintain effective inter-relationship with the community and external agencies. As a leader,

he selects his sub-group leaders and charges them with responsibility for task accomplishment. He sets the condition for communication channels within the organisation and stipulates the limits of authority and responsibility. He himself functions as a problem-solver and a decision-maker as well as a group leader vis-a-vis his own work group.

Administration is essentially a matter of faith and vision, bold and courageous leadership, and proper handling of human relations. The administrator's job is a difficult one when he has to coordinate and integrate the thinking and actions of hundreds of human beings with whom he comes into contact daily. He can successfully lead and control them only if he enjoys genuine respect of all these people.

To involve his colleagues in the decision-making process, he has to decentralise his administration as much as possible and delegate authority and powers to suitable persons below him, retaining to himself policy-decision, supervision and consultation on important issues. This is important to enhance efficiency, check indifferent staff motivation and identification, low staff morale and even antagonism. As his job is mostly interpersonal, he has to work constantly and closely with the management board, guardians, colleagues, students, local community, government and university officers. His human skill will have focus on ensuring pleasant and fruitful human relations. The heads of institutions of higher education should now rest their oars not only upon status leadership, but also on their supervisory skills, planning acumen and human relationship.<sup>1</sup>

Principal of a college has also to look after resource and programme planning. He has to set up controls to measure achievement of objectives and take remedial action if the objectives are not being achieved. Principals also look into the provisions and maintenance of funds and facilities. They have to face problem of finding funds for meeting the fast growing maintenance and development expenditure.

#### OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Higher education has to generate strategic manpower for economic and social development of Orissa. Since it is one of India's most backward states, though endowed with a rich heritage, it is a challenging task. Literacy rate in the state is one of the lowest in the country. For rapid growth of higher education, the government has adopted certain crash programmes. While over a period of 30 years from 1944 to 1974, the annual increase in the number of Colleges in Orissa averaged 2.5, in the next six years from 1975 to 1981, the increase averaged 22 per year.<sup>2</sup> During the Sixth Plan period, a



large number of colleges have been established.

The rapid expansion of higher education in the seventies and eighties has given rise to a number of crises. There has been overcrowding of students in the urban colleges, which contrasts with small non-viable colleges in the rural and backward areas. It has strained the resources of the institutions. Lack of finance is a major reason for increase in the number of non-viable and substandard colleges. The colleges have inadequacy of buildings, laboratories, hostels and staff quarters, etc. This expansion has also resulted in bringing about a change in the composition of students. More students are from the generation of new learners and backward classes or traditionally not education-oriented classes. They seek education which can give them the power to earn, not for knowledge or other non-economic benefits. Moreover, educational priorities are not geared to national, economic and social priorities. This expansion has brought in a mismatch between the need and supply. Though higher education is considered to be instrumental in promoting economic growth, political development, social change and in approaching the moving frontiers of modernity, yet there has not been any improvement in the quality and content of higher education. Nor there has been appreciable change or proportionate return. There has been rapid increase in the academic type of education. But since products of such higher education are rejected by the market, it has led to continuous increase in educated unemployed persons, contributing greatly to frustration, violence and lack of urge for excellence.

Therefore, proper evaluation of the role and efficacy of the institutions of higher education, especially colleges is necessary. In this back drop, the educational administrators have a definite role. In the context of rapid and unplanned proliferation of colleges and series of problems created by it, the educational administrators, especially principals of colleges bear the brunt of the impact. This study, therefore, focuses on causes of stress and strain.

### **Hypotheses**

Experience and the review of literature on educational administrators has thrown up some hypotheses which have been tested in the study.

1. Stress and strain on principals is not a product of government unawareness or apathy to the problem of higher education, but is a result of interaction of increasing enrolment, physical deficiency in the colleges and financial inadequacy.
2. Stress and strain on principals is caused by pressure from

teachers.

3. Principals suffer from stress because of political interference.
4. Defects and deficiencies in the curriculum and examination system cause stress to the principals.

### The Setting

In 1936, when the new State of Orissa was formed, it had only five colleges (of these, four were arts and science colleges and one was a training college). It was after establishment of Utkal University in 1943 that higher education began to expand slowly. But after independence, the expansion was rapid. In 1947-48, there were 11 arts and science colleges and one medical college with total enrolment of 3,885. The Radhakrishnan Commission (1943) influenced the entire development of higher education in the post-Independence period and after Independence the demand for higher learning began to grow fast. At the beginning of the First Plan (1950-51), the number of colleges increased to 14 with an enrolment of 6,671. During the Second Plan, the number of colleges increased to 36 with an enrolment of 14,719. By the end of the Third Plan, the number of colleges became 72 with an enrolment of 37,190. During the Fourth Plan, emphasis was laid on consolidation of the existing colleges (keeping in view the recommendations of the Kothari Commission 1964-66). But still some new colleges were established to satisfy public demand. By the end of the Fourth Plan, the number of colleges increased to 84 with an enrolment of 51,303.<sup>3</sup> According to the Report of the Fourth Educational Survey, Orissa 1982, the number of colleges by the end of March 1982 was 233. Two new universities, namely, Berhampur University and Sambalpur University came into existence with effect from January 1967. Now there are about 192 affiliated colleges under the Utkal University.<sup>4</sup>

### The Method

The study has been based on methods of survey research. The universe of the study is confined to Utkal University, and its affiliated colleges. Utkal's affiliated colleges can broadly be classified as government colleges and non-government colleges. The non-government colleges fall within distinct subgroups depending on quantum of government assistance and as a consequence of government control. At one end are the colleges which have recently been started and function without any government aid, and at the other, fully aided colleges. The autonomy of management of these non-government colleges is dependent on the quantum of government aid/ assistance. In full-aided colleges, government has its nominee in the Management

Committees and appointment of president/chairman of the committee is subject to government's approval. Implicit control is also maintained through principals who are deputed from the government colleges for a specific period.

However, without going into details of classification of colleges on the basis of their management, funding and control, it would suffice for the purposes of this study to take a representative sample of all types of colleges under Utkal University.

Since the pressures on colleges is substantial in urban and district headquarters, the study is specific to the colleges located at these centres. The justification for limiting the study to colleges in the district headquarters and the capital could be attributed to the peculiar and distinctive features of these colleges. Consequently, the administrative, financial and social problems faced by principals are different from those of the colleges in rural areas.

The number of respondents has been calculated on the basis of number of colleges situated in the district headquarters and the capital. The professional colleges have been excluded. The respondents include principals of government colleges, non-government colleges, co-educational colleges and women's colleges.

Table 1 gives a representation of the total sample size as well as of the responses.

Table 1 DISTRICT-WISE BREAK-UP OF THE SAMPLE

No.	District Headquarters/ Capital Town	Total Number of Colleges	Total Number of Responses
1.	Puri	3	1
2.	Cuttack	9	8
3.	Dhenkanal	2	1
4.	Keonjhar	3	-
5.	Balasore	2	-
6.	Mayurbhanj	3	-
7.	Bhubaneswar (capital town)	7	5
Total		29	15

Limitation of the study is a relatively small size (29) of the sample and the response of 15, despite being representative, is not

adequate for generalisation.

The primary data has been collected through mailed questionnaires and the secondary data has been collected by review of available literature. The analysis has been done in two sets. Comparisons have been made between government and non-government colleges as well as between co-educational and Women's Colleges.

### STRESS AND STRAIN

It is an accepted fact that teaching, unlike other professions/vocations, is essentially a social activity and a teacher constitutes the most crucial single factor in any educational organisation. Assuming this key role of the teachers, one is faced with the dilemma of increasing enrolment of students at all levels, i.e., explosion of numbers, administrative red-tapism bordering on callousness, financial inadequacy, political interference, and crippling effects of frequent transfers on administrative or political grounds.

Against this back-drop, one has to interpolate expectations of the society and the social milieu, of considerable dissatisfaction about the role of teachers, especially in colleges and universities. As a consequence, the education scene as also the system suffer from a myriad of strains today that not only hamper its performance, but also generate a paranoia of discontent and frustration. The gap between the expectations of the society from teachers, especially an educational administrator, and what is actually offered by them in terms of performance on the one hand, and the expectations of the teachers from the society in general and the political decision-makers in particular is widening. This itself throws up a situation of stress and strain.

The strain in this context could be identified as the stresses and tensions within the functional area of the educational administrator, in this case, principal of a college.

The principal of a college, being at the apex of the academic and administrative hierarchy of a college, is exposed to different pressure-groups and constraints. The pressures and constraints get further accentuated by:

1. changing nature of the job,
2. democratisation of government and increasing susceptibility of the decision-makers to pressure groups and lobbyists from within and outside, and<sup>5</sup>
3. administrative callousness and financial constraints which hamper carrying on of their assigned role and functions effectively.

## POLITICAL INTERFERENCE

Political or administrative intervention has a definite role in a democratic country. Unless this role is supportive or strives to correct the distortions in the educational institutions, it will only have a marginal effect. However, in most cases, the interventions are negative and counter-productive.

It will, however, be too naive to expect that a principal can work without any political or administrative intervention. In this context, the role of administrators become crucial. They provide the general setting in which the educational institution has to operate. Administrators are not completely autonomous. Apart from rules and regulations which guide them, they are also governed by the whims and caprices of those above them, especially their political bosses. On numerous occasions, they get contradictory orders/directions. In certain cases, they even get orders/directions not to intervene where intervention is absolutely necessary and called for.

In response to the questionnaire, as could be seen from Table 2 and 3, 46 per cent of the respondents (principals) have expressed that they are under stress because of political interference. One of the respondents has remarked, "There is too much political interference". Some principals have stated, "Politics has polluted the entire social arena. Once the teachers and students will sincerely try to enforce or propagate a certain ideal, it will have a tremendous effect. But this part of the game will immediately be exploited by the vested interests and political parties through their agents amongst the staff and the students." Table 2 indicates that political interference is at a higher rate in government colleges (62.5 per cent) than the non-government colleges. This may be due to transfers in government colleges, which are done at regular intervals. The government has also introduced transfer for non-government colleges, which is very infrequently done. Most of the non-government faculty members resist transfers because they have almost become permanent residents of the local towns due to long stay. Most of them have their own house in the local town and they are most reluctant to move out of the place. Table 3 indicates that political interference is more in women's colleges (57.1 per cent) than the co-educational colleges (42.5 per cent). This may be due to the fact that faculty members in the women's colleges are highly connected (political/administrative/educational) and to stay in a college for a good number of years they have to pull the strings. As shown in Table 4 and Table 5 political functionaries cause political interference through political patronage.

Our above mentioned findings partially corroborate our third hypo-

thesis, "Principals suffer from stress because of political interference."

Table 2 GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENT COLLEGES

Sl. No.	Factors of Stress	Government College N=8		Non-government College N=7		Total N=15	
		No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
1.	Students' pressure	5	62.5	5	71.4	10	66.6
2.	Guardians' pressure	-	-	2	28.5	2	13.3
3.	Pressure from colleagues	5	62.5	5	71.4	10	66.6
4.	Pressure from ministerial staff	6	75	3	42.8	9	60
5.	Political interference	5	62.5	2	28.5	7	46.6
6.	Administrative pressure	4	50	3	42.8	7	46.6
7.	Financial inadequacy	4	50	5	71.4	9	60
8.	Frequent transfers	1	12.5	-	-	1	6.6
9.	Pressure from outsiders	3	42.5	2	28.5	5	33.3
10.	Pressure due to defects and deficiencies in curriculum and examination system	3	42.5	3	42.5	6	40

Table 3 CO-EDUCATIONAL AND WOMEN'S COLLEGES

Sl. No.	Factors of Stress	Co-Educational College N=8		Women's College N=7		Total N=15	
		No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
1.	Students' pressure	5	62.5	6	85.7	10	66.6
2.	Guardian's pressure	-	-	2	28.5	2	13.3
3.	Pressure from colleagues	4	50	6	85.7	10	66.6
4.	Pressure from ministerial staff	3	42.5	6	85.7	9	60
5.	Political interference	3	42.5	4	57.1	7	46.6
6.	Administrative pressure	4	50	3	42.8	7	46.6
7.	Financial inadequacy	5	62.5	4	57.1	9	60
8.	Frequent transfers	1	12.5	-	-	1	6.6
9.	Pressure from outsiders	2	25	3	42.8	5	33.3
10.	Pressure due to defects and deficiencies in curriculum and examination system	3	42.5	3	42.8	6	40

Table 4 GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENT COLLEGES

Sl. No.	Sources of Stress	Government College N=8		Non-Government College N=7		Total N=15	
		No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
1.	Physical deficiency in the College	4	50	7	100	11	73.3
2.	Poor and indifferent teaching	1	12.5	2	28.5	3	20
3.	Lack of Communication between teachers and students	2	25	1	14.2	3	20
4.	Defects and deficiencies in the curriculum and the examination system	3	42.5	3	42.8	6	40
5.	Political partronage	2	25	1	14.2	3	20
6.	Student unionism	2	25	1	14.2	3	20
7.	Lack of residential accommodation for teachers	5	62.5	3	42.8	8	53.3
8.	Inadequate salary of teachers	-	-	5	71.4	5	33.3
9.	Frequent transfers	1	12.5	-	-	1	6.6
10.	Inadequate research facilities for teachers	5	62.5	1	14.2	6	40
11.	Heavy workload for teachers	2	25	1	14.2	3	20
12.	Interference by politically active teachers	3	42.5	1	14.2	4	26.6
13.	Trade unionism among teachers	-	-	1	14.2	1	6.6
14.	Inefficiency and delay on the part of ministerial staff	3	42.5	1	14.2	4	26.6
15.	Corruption among ministerial staff	2	25	-	-	2	13.3
16.	Lack of proper dealings by ministerial staff with students and teachers	1	12.5	2	28.5	3	20
17.	Inadequate living conditions for ministerial staff	3	42.5	1	14.2	4	26.6
18.	Callousness of administrative official in education department	3	42.5	2	28.5	5	33.3
19.	Pressure from outsiders	2	25	1	14.2	3	20



Table 5 CO-EDUCATIONAL AND WOMEN'S COLLEGES

Sl. No.	Sources of Stress	Co-educational College N=8		Women's College N=7		Total N=15	
		No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
1.	Physical deficiency in College	6	75	5	71.4	1	73.3
2.	Poor and indifferent teaching	2	25	1	14.2	3	20
3.	Lack of Communication between teachers and students	2	25	1	14.2	3	20
4.	Defects and deficiencies in curriculum and examination system	3	42.5	3	42.8	6	40
5.	Political patronage	3	42.5	-	-	3	20
6.	Student unionism	2	25	1	14.2	3	20
7.	Lack of residential accommodation for teachers	5	62.5	3	42.8	8	53.3
8.	Inadequate salary of teachers	2	25	3	42.8	5	33.3
9.	Frequent transfers	1	12.5	-	-	1	6.6
10.	Inadequate research facilities for teachers	4	50	2	28.5	6	40
11.	Heavy workload for teachers	1	12.5	2	28.5	3	20
12.	Interference by politically active teachers	4	50	-	-	4	26.6
13.	Trade unionism among teachers	1	12.5	-	-	1	6.6
14.	Inefficiency and delay on the part of ministerial staff	1	12.5	3	42.8	4	26.6
15.	Corruption among ministerial staff	1	12.5	1	14.2	2	13.3
16.	Lack of proper dealings by ministerial staff with students and teachers	1	12.5	2	28.5	3	20
17.	Inadequate living conditions for ministerial staff	2	25	2	28.5	4	26.6
18.	Callousness of administrative official in education department	3	42.5	2	28.5	5	33.3
19.	Pressure from outsiders	1	12.5	2	28.5	3	20

### Administrative Pressure

The principal of a college has to establish harmonious relationship with officials in the Education Department. He needs the help and cooperation of these administrative officials for developmental activities in the institution. Sometimes officials become callous and attach little importance to the needs of the educational institutions. Moreover, they also get pressures from the officials in the department for admission and hostel accommodation. As seen from Table 2 and Table 3, 46.6 per cent of the respondents agree with this view. Pressure from administrative officials in the Education Department seems to be more or less equal in all categories of colleges. As seen from Table 4 and Table 5, callousness of these administrative officials is a cause for stress on the principals (33.3 per cent).

### Pressure due to Frequent Transfers

The principal is the head of the team of teachers. He has to see that the courses are covered in time and the academic quality is maintained in the college. But very often, principals are unable to ensure this due to transfer of the teachers. Transfers in government colleges are done at regular intervals. Sometimes vacancies are not filled up immediately. This creates stress for the principal. As shown in Table 2 and Table 3, principals of government colleges and co-educational colleges face such problems (6.6 per cent).

### Pressure from Outsiders

Apart from political and administrative intervention, principal of a college is also exposed to pressure from eminent and influential persons in matters beginning from admissions to preference for subjects. Specially at the time of admissions and selection of students for honours courses, principal is besieged with numerous requests from all sectors. With limited seats and infrastructure facilities, and the number of students seeking admission increasing every year at an alarming rate, the gap between the availability of seats and the demand for admission is widening. As for instance, for admission to the first year of +3 course in science, students securing even 65 per cent could not get admission in Ravenshaw College; Stewart Science College, Cuttack; and in B.J.B. College, Bhubaneswar in 1986. As a consequence, there was persistent pressure on principals for accommodating students at the time of spot selection and transfer.

One-third (33.3 per cent) of the respondents, as can be seen from Tables 2 and 3, have subscribed to the view that they undergo stress because of pressure from outsiders. This type of stress is more in

case of principals of government colleges (42.5 per cent ) and of women's colleges (42.8 per cent). This pressure, as seen from the above mentioned two tables, is almost same in government, and women's colleges.

#### **Pressure Due to Deficiencies in Curriculum and Examination System**

Another factor, which in recent years has been one of the leading causes of stress, is inherent defects and deficiencies in curriculum and examination system. These two factors are interlinked and have to be tackled by a comprehensive policy package, in order to make education meaningful. In the words of Prof. P.C. Lal of Calcutta University, "A spectre is hanging over academia. The examination system is a total failure...The system affects the morality of students, teaching methods, teacher-student relationship and private ethics".<sup>6</sup>

The curriculum should be so designed and formulated that it has some relevance to ever-changing needs of the economy in particular and society in general. Any reform in the right direction will also pave the way for a better student-teacher relationship and minimise cause of stress. Linked with curriculum reform is the pattern of our education system.

Many educationists are of the view that the current examination system violates the fundamental tenets of testing. It totally flouts the integral relationship existing between teaching, learning and examinations. At the same time, it denies educational system of any feedback in respect of curriculum, text-books, methods of teaching, techniques of learning, and study habits of students.

Since curriculum and evaluation system has no relevance to requirements of present-day needs, it is viewed with apathy by majority of the students and for the teachers it has become a mere ritual to teach without any involvement. The consequences have, therefore, been far-reaching and has shaken the very foundation of our educational process. Instances of masscopying, leakage of question papers, disturbances in examination and other malpractices are spreading like cancer. In this context, the role of an educational administrator and specifically that of principal of a college assumes greater significance. Principal of a college, in addition to his numerous administrative and academic functions, is entrusted with the task of conducting both the internal assessment of the students of the university and +2 council examinations. The multiplicity of examinations, the number of examinees and the prospect of conducting the examinations properly, avoiding disturbances and use of unfair means, has accentuated stress on principals.

In response to the questionnaire, as seen in Tables 2 and 3, 40 per cent of the respondents have subscribed to the view that defects and deficiencies in curriculum and examination system are some of the sources of stress. Moreover, one of the principals has specifically stated, "The students wanted to adopt mass malpractices as before. It was abruptly prevented and there was violent reaction. The principal was physically assaulted. Tense atmosphere prevailed for a long period". Analysis of the Tables 2 and 3 indicates that the amount of stress on principals of government, non-government, co-educational and women's colleges are almost equal.

These findings partially corroborate our fourth hypothesis, "Defects and deficiencies in the curriculum and examination system cause stress for the principals".

### Pressure from Colleagues

Implementation of the policies has to be made by the executive heads of various educational institutions. The principal alone is responsible for administration and discipline in the institution. As the head of the team of teachers, he is to ensure that the courses are covered in time and the academic standards are maintained in the college. He has to supervise extra-curricular activities, like NCC and NSS, and give them such assistance as would be necessary. But he cannot do this without the cooperation of the staff. The principals have to take a strong line. What inhibits them is that those teachers who do not wish to take their duties seriously, choose to gang together and hold the Principal to ransom in regard to a number of contentious issues that arise in colleges. Some principals are able to deal with this phenomenon, but their number is comparatively small. For the greater part, they are more or less at the mercy of the teachers working under them. The existing style of unionisation strengthens this capability of teachers.<sup>7</sup> But the teachers have to extend their strong support to the principal who chooses to enforce discipline. As per the UGC recommendations, a college teacher should be present in the college for 30 hours a week and the principal has to ensure this. But there can be no sanction against a teacher not performing well; the only effective sanction is how far does he take his job seriously. If he does not take it seriously and if he choose to sham, he can do so and for a long stretch of time.<sup>8</sup>

A state has been reached where it is hardly possible to mobilise teachers in any sustained or meaningful way. On their own, teachers seldom show any evidence of academic initiative. In a very large number of places, the conditions of work are unfavourable to them, and even emoluments, in comparative terms, are not at all satisfactory.

Interest in trade union activities prevails among the teachers. Quite often teachers are aligned to certain groups, social as well as political. As a result, they act as definite pressure groups and the principal does not have a free hand in taking the right decision at the right moment. If the teacher uses his party connexions to further his own ends or the ends of his party by influencing students, he becomes a source of trouble.<sup>9</sup>

The principal's task becomes more onerous when the role of the teacher is counter productive. Same is true when he is confronted with the non-involvement or total apathy of the teaching staff. The ethos of the profession has got fouled up as there is lack of training for the profession and commitment to the profession. With a large number of ill-prepared and unsuitable persons getting into the teaching profession, this is bound to happen. Apathy or indifference of the teachers, including the principals, have reached such a stage that they are no longer prepared to take up leadership load. They have also developed internal absenteeism. Their responsibility does not end with having delivered a few lectures in the class-room. Their responsibility is also to shape the eager and enthusiastic students into healthy wholesome persons. Since teachers have a great social responsibility and are accountable to both themselves and to the society, it is imperative that they do not inject their pessimism and frustrations into the student community. The inaugural address of Shri M. Hidayatullah, former Vice-President of India at the centenary celebrations of the Khallikote College is pertinent in this context. In his words, "Teachers should not allow their personal problems to come in the way of discharging their moral responsibility to train students, to respond to a 'world larger than themselves' and to recognise 'worthwhile causes'. The students' minds have to be developed in such a manner as to help them integrate their beliefs, their citizenship concepts, their social responsibilities and their future avocations".<sup>10</sup>

Analysis of the responses reveals, as seen in Tables 2 and 3, that 66.6 per cent of the respondents are under stress on account of pressure from colleagues, principals of government colleges undergo less stress (62.5 per cent) than their counterparts in the non-government colleges (71.4 per cent). It may be due to greater autonomy and trade unionism in non-government colleges. This pressure is more in case of principals of women's colleges (85.7 per cent) than principals of co-educational colleges (50 per cent). This may be a reaction to the attempt of women principals to maintain greater discipline. From Tables 4 and 5 lack of residential accommodation for the teachers seems to be the main cause for this type of pressure.

As shown in Table 4 the principals of government colleges have given highest weightage to lack of residential accommodation (62.5 per cent) and inadequate research facilities (62.5 per cent) for teachers as the cause or source of pressure from colleagues. Principals of government colleges are subjected to this pressure because the quarters for the staff are inadequate. For instance, there are no adequate number of quarters in Ravenshaw College, Cuttack for teachers. Moreover, the quarters are allotted on the basis of seniority. Therefore, the junior teachers, who get less salary do not get quarters and are unable to find suitable rented houses due to high rate of rent. So they may cause stress to the principal. In case of women's colleges, lady teachers, specially spinsters, face the problem for finding a suitable rented house. Teachers can provide pressure for inadequacy of research facilities, because research work is a necessary academic achievement and is also a criterion for promotion and increment in the service. As seen in Table 4, inadequate salary of teachers has been pointed out as the cause of colleagues' pressure in non-government colleges, (71.4 per cent). But in case of government colleges, it has drawn a blank. This discrepancy may be due to inadequate financial resources of the management of non-government colleges.

The above mentioned findings corroborate our second hypothesis, "Stress and strain on Principals is caused by pressure from teachers".

### Students' Pressure

The interaction between principal and the student community is of vital importance for identifying the factors responsible for stress. In this context, the environment, i.e., the social and political milieu and the economic condition of the student population has a key role. These are the major external influences on the student community and they shape their attitude, responses, behaviour pattern and expectations. On the other hand, students are not immune to the prevailing situations, such as physical deficiencies in the colleges, poor and indifferent teaching, communication gap between teachers and students, defects and deficiencies in the curriculum and the examination system.

In a democratic country like India, the student community is rapidly emerging as an elite pressure group.<sup>11</sup> In such a country, students are among the few modern and politically conscious citizens. When interpolated with the characteristically backward community and low literacy, they constitute a vocal section which has a high bargaining strength. "In a rapidly changing society, they have come to spearhead the changes that is required to be made to meet new situa-

tions.<sup>12</sup> However, university students, as a group, as Lipset observes, "live on the boundary between the last stage of adolescence with its freedom from the burdens of adult responsibility, and the first stages of adulthood with its complex of pressing tasks and difficult decision. Relieved from adult responsibility coupled with the leniency, indulgence and liberality with which society treats them, they are in a more advantageous position to take risks".<sup>13</sup> The privileged position and the adolescence sets the stage for a behaviour pattern of high enthusiasm alternating with idealism. They evaluate things in extreme terms and when they react--they react strongly. Thus the corruption, inefficiency and any unjust governmental action precipitate student opposition to established regime.<sup>14</sup>

As has been discussed, the students entering the college are fired with enthusiasm and high aspirations. Their expectations of infrastructure facilities in college campuses, curricula and teaching standards are also quite high. Deficiencies in any or all of these generates a sense of deprivation and disillusionment. In many cases, the atmosphere in the college and callousness on the part of the teachers and educational administrators is a source of strain for the students. The internal sources of strain can be broken up into: (1) physical deficiency in the college, i.e., lack of hostel accommodation, poor quality of food and sanitation; lack of proper accommodation in the class-rooms; inadequate library and laboratory facilities, etc.; (2) poor and indifferent teaching, non-completion of courses, insincerity, incompetence of teachers; (3) lack of communication between teachers and students; (4) defects and deficiencies in the curriculum and examination system; and (5) student unionism, i.e., use of the student union as a trade union.

In response to the questionnaire, as seen in Tables 2 and 3, 66.66 per cent of the principals subscribe to the view that they are under stress on account of students' pressure. The break-up of the response pattern between government and non-government colleges is significant. The principals of government colleges are under lesser stress (62.5 per cent) than their counterparts in the non-government colleges (71.4 per cent). As seen in Table 4, principals of non-government colleges have given maximum weightage to physical deficiencies to be the main cause of students' pressure on them (100 per cent). They are unable to provide adequate facilities to the students due to financial inadequacy. As seen from Table 2, principals of these colleges suffer more from financial inadequacy (71.4 per cent) than their counterparts in the government colleges (50 per cent). Stress from students' pressure is more on principals of women's colleges (85.7 per cent) than on principals of co-educational colleges (62.5 per cent). The cause of this pressure may be attri-

buted to the fact that girls need security inside the campus and prefer to have hostel accommodation. They normally stay with their parents or in the hostel and do not like to stay with relations. Moreover, the day-scholars also need conveyance facilities. So principal of a women's college finds it difficult to provide these facilities to the students due to financial constraints. To be specific about the causes of students' pressure, as seen in Tables 4 and 5, the respondents have attached maximum importance to the physical deficiencies in the college (73.3 per cent). Second important cause is the defects and deficiencies in curriculum and examination system (40 per cent). Political interference, poor and indifferent teaching, lack of communication between the teachers and students and student unionism are given least importance (20 per cent each).

Our first hypothesis, "Stresses and Strain on principals are not a product of government unawareness or apathy to the problem of higher education, but is a result of interaction of increasing enrolment, physical deficiency in the colleges and financial inadequacy", is corroborated in the foregoing analysis.

#### **Pressure from Ministerial Staff**

Principal of a college is basically an educational administrator. Apart from providing academic leadership, principals are entrusted with administrative responsibility. The administrative responsibilities are varied in nature which necessitates dependence on non-teaching or ministerial staff. Since the principal is at the apex of administrative hierarchy of a college, the ministerial staff are expected to function under his administrative control and directions.

An analysis of the responses, as seen in Tables 2 and 3, indicates that though the ministerial staff as a group were not a factor for direct stress on the principals, but their inaction, lethargy, incompetence and, at times, rude behaviour vis-a-vis the teaching staff and the students were the causes of stress (60 per cent). This stress is more in case of the government colleges (75 per cent) and in women's colleges (85.7 per cent). The cause for this type of stress can be attributed to the fact that they continue in the same institution whereas principals are transferred. As a consequence, they become insubordinate, stubborn, apathetic, insincere and corrupt. They have the tendency to dilute authority of the principal in the administrative sphere. The principals often face difficulties because of inefficiency, callousness and delay on the part of the ministerial staff, in case of disbursement of scholarships to students, preparation and presentation of bills relating to arrears of pay, increment, GPF advance to teachers, adds to students' pressure and pressure from colleagues. As seen from Tables 4 and 5, ineffi-



ciency and delay on the part of the ministerial staff and inadequate living conditions of these staff are the main causes of this stress (26.6 per cent).

#### **Pressure Due to Financial Inadequacy**

The rapid expansion of higher education, unplanned proliferation of colleges, explosion of numbers has strained the resources of the educational institutions. One of the factors which has the crippling effect on educational institutions is the paucity of funds placed at the disposal of the principals for improvement of physical and academic facilities in the college. Tables 2 and 3 indicate that 60 per cent of the respondent have stated that they undergo pressure due to financial inadequacy.

#### **Pressure form Guardians**

The guardians and parents act as distinct pressure groups on the principal of a college. The principal often gets undue requests from the guardians for admission and hostel accommodation. Sometimes the guardians also complain that either the principal does not give them a patient hearing or has scant regard for their legitimate demands. Principal finds himself under stress because of this mistrust and communication gap. As shown in Tables 2 and 3, 13.3 per cent of the respondents are of the view that they are under stress on account of pressure from guardians. Table 2 indicates that there is no pressure from guardians on principals of government colleges. Table 3 shows that principals of co-educational colleges do not get pressure from guardians.

### **CONCLUSION**

Principal of a college as an educational administrator is involved with the totality of the education enterprise. He is a leader of the college community. He has to strive constantly to build goodwill all around and to maintain effective interrelationship with the community and external agencies. He has to carry out his responsibilities in consultation with the governing body and in collaboration with the staff, the students, the guardians, the government, the university and the public. As his job is mostly interpersonal, he has to interact with individuals of different age-groups, conflicting interests, vociferous pressure groups and a highly complex and articulate section of the society. His basic skill in ensuring pleasant and fruitful human relations will be the acid test in becoming an effective college administrator.

It is principal of a college who has the maximum exposure to the

pulls and pressures of different social and political groups and is required to function effectively under acute financial constraints. As a consequence, he functions under stress and strain. The stress factors keep on increasing due to the changing nature of the job, increasing susceptibility of the decision-makers to pressure groups and economic sanctions.

The present study is undertaken to expose and explain the stresses and strains under which principals of colleges have to work. According to the findings, most of the principals feel that they are under stress on account of students' pressure. The student community occupies a privileged position and in an under-developed country like India, they constitute an elite pressure group. The students are a highly politically conscious and articulate social group. Student involvement in sporadic demonstrations, unrest and indiscipline related to local, collegiate or academic matters has the highest incidence of stress on the principal. Educational problems and physical deficiencies in the educational institutions directly influence student behaviour.

The study reveals that prominent cause of stress is the physical deficiencies in the educational institutions. The students involve themselves in demonstrations and unrests due to lack of physical amenities in colleges. Such deficiencies have been identified as lack of proper accommodation in the class-rooms, inadequate library and laboratory facilities, lack of hostel accommodation, poor quality of food and sanitation in the hostels and irregular water supply and electricity. But one of the factors which has a crippling effect on educational institutions is the paucity of funds placed at the disposal of principals for improvement of infrastructural and academic facilities. With the growth of colleges and explosion of numbers, the scant resources available for higher education is dissipated by providing some form of education. Emphasis is more on maintaining the educational system rather than promotion of educational facilities.

If steps are taken to remove physical deficiencies in a phased manner, even within the available resources, this will to a large extent reduce the stress on the principals. Even a token gesture in this direction will convince the students that the authorities are not apathetic and there is a positive attitude towards improvement of facilities. To facilitate the task, every college has to draw up a plan for the college indicating the priorities.

The study also indicates that another major factor of stress on the principals is the pressure from colleagues. The principal is the head of the team of teachers. It is the team-spirit and cooperative efforts of the teachers which provides success to the academic en-

deavour. But principals are often confronted with problems because of non-involvement or apathy of the teachers. According to the findings, pressure from colleagues is caused mainly due to lack of residential accommodation for the teachers. Therefore, it is necessary that the acute problems and general grievances of the teachers are considered by the government and managing committees on priority. The task is immense but some beginning has to be made. If the situation is allowed to go unattended, the dream of quality-education is bound to suffer.

Majority of the principals are of the view that the inaction, inefficiency, rude behaviour and delaying tactics of ministerial staff often generate discontent among teachers and students.

Political interventions are common in a democratic country. Undue and motivated political interference is a source of stress for the principals. Apart from stress, it causes embarrassments to the principal and he loses his self-esteem and consequently his image suffers. His will to work and improve matters gets a jolt.

The inherent defects and deficiencies in the curriculum and examination system is closely connected with the apathy of the students and teachers. It has an adverse impact upon the educational system and often gives rise to disturbances and malpractices in the examinations. Prevention of these malpractices often leads to violent reaction and student unrest and causes stress on principals.

Principals are also besieged with requests and pressure from outsiders for admission and hostel accommodation. The stress of the principals is also accentuated by callousness of administrative officials in the education department, transfer of teachers and pressure from guardians.

With the rapid spread of education, enrolment in large numbers and politicisation of the educational system, the role of educational administrators has acquired great significance. The growing number of students, inadequate finance, physical deficiencies in the college and apathy of teachers have made the job of a principal onerous and complex. However, it is important that the principal should play an active role in identifying the source of pressures and take effective steps in curbing or minimising the pressures. Though under perpetual stress, the principal's major role is in absorbing the stress rather than transmitting it either above or below.

A significant finding of the study is that stresses and strains on principals are not a product of government unawareness or apathy to the problem of higher education, but is a result of interaction of increasing enrolment, physical deficiencies in the colleges and financial inadequacy. Therefore, government, voluntary agencies, educational organisations, parents and guardians, and the public have

to take necessary measures to reduce the strain.

Contrary to the general belief that the principals of educational institutions are passive spectators of a disintegrating educational system, the study highlights the intricate political, social and economic constraints under which principal of a college functions. It is not by choice that a principal is relegated to a situation of a spectator, but social pressures and unsympathetic postures of policy-makers give him the garb of a non-performer. The ethos of work in most educational institutions is such that the best that any administrator or principal hopes for is to survive with dignity.

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# Job Aspirations of Students in Institutions of Higher Learning in Nigeria

A.K. SAHA AND DEEPAK CHAWLA

IN NIGERIA, most adults spend 40 years or more of their life working eight hours a day, five days a week, with a few weeks' vacation and a few holidays. No other aspect of a person's life provides as much social continuity as does work. Work is important in the lives of individuals for several reasons. Firstly, it gives material comfort and economic security in exchange for his services. Secondly, it provides opportunities for interaction with other employees. Thirdly, it determines the social milieu in which he lives and consequently, his status in society at large. Fourthly, it can be an important source of identity, self-esteem and self-actualisation. Conversely, it may be a source of boredom, frustration and feelings of meaninglessness, depending on the nature of job and characteristics of the individual.

Men and women react differently to different job factors in a work situation.<sup>1</sup> Herzberg, et al.<sup>2</sup> suggest that the job attitude of the sexes depend essentially on the same determinants but the determinants vary in the intensity of their effects. Hullin and Smith<sup>3</sup> maintain that if variables, such as pay, job level, promotional opportunities, societal norms, etc., are held constant or partialled out, sex differences in job satisfaction will disappear. Weaver<sup>4</sup> also suggests that a number of factors which affect job satisfaction may have highly similar effects on male and female workers when the influence of several other variables are held constant. There is a widespread agreement that the determinants of job satisfaction vary in intensity according to sex, but studies on the subject fail to provide a cumulative body of evidence. Most studies are based on unrepresentative and small samples and report only zero-order associations or, at best, investigate sex differences in only one or two determinants.

In addition to the variables of wages, job level, etc., there is the issue of societal norms concerning appropriate roles for men and women. Norms governing the approved masculine or feminine images are

clearly defined and consensually endorsed<sup>5</sup> Broverman, et al.<sup>6</sup> report a high degree of agreement regarding the differing characteristics of males and females in a large sample comprised of subjects of both sexes, various ages, religious affiliations, educational levels and marital status.

#### OBJECTIVES, METHOD AND SAMPLE

The present investigation stems from our belief that in spite of the large number of women that enter the labour force and compete for jobs which previously had been reserved primarily for men, still women react differently to different job factors from men.

The objectives of this study are: (1) to identify the reasons for students to take up a job before joining the institutions of higher learning; (2) to examine the factors they would consider while taking up a job after attending the institutions of higher learning and also to test empirically the dominance of each of these factors by males and females; (3) to identify the factors which students perceive as necessary to increase workers' productivity in an organisation and further to test the dominance of these factors by males and females; and (4) to examine the influence of biographical variables like age, marital status and the number of dependents in the family on the students' choice of a particular job.

The data for this study were randomly collected from a sample of 280 male and female students attending different courses at the University of Calabar. The questions used in this study were taken from the general areas of job itself, the organisation's personnel policies, wages and promotions, supervision and the work group. The answers of the female students were compared with those of male students by subtracting the per cent female responses for each answer from the per cent male responses. A positive difference suggests a male dominated response while a negative difference indicates a female dominated response. The statistical significance test of dominance was carried out at 5 per cent level and indicated by one asterisk.

The total sample comprises 64.64 per cent of male students and 35.36 per cent of female students. The majority of the students were in the age group of 20-25 (see Table 1). It is surprising to know that 40.40 per cent of the female students are below 20 years while, only 7.18 per cent of the male students are in the same age group (for detailed explanation see results and discussion). There are only 17.68 per cent of male and 16.16 per cent of female married students in this sample. The majority of married students are above 26 years of age. Regarding the dependents of the family, it is clear

from the Table 1 that the Nigerian family system is extended in pattern. The family income was initially considered as one of the variables but the students' lack of knowledge of their family income forced us to exclude that factor in the final analysis.

Table 1 BIOGRAPHICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENT

		Male (N=181) per cent	Female (N=99) per cent
Marital Status	Single	82.32	83.84
	Married	17.68	16.16
Age	Under 20	7.18	40.40
	20-25	60.22	40.40
	26-30	27.07	9.10
	Over 30	5.53	10.10
Number of dependents in the family	4 and below	29.28	52.53
	5-8	32.60	27.27
	9-12	22.10	8.08
	Over 13	16.02	12.12

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Reasons for Working

It is found that 78.45 per cent of male students and 50.50 per cent of the female students worked prior to joining the university. The reasons for working are quite different in the two cases (see Table 2). Financial problems as the main reason for working before joining the institutions of higher learning was indicated by 54.23 per cent of male students and 26 per cent of female students. So, they stayed a while for clerical and other low paid jobs to earn some money to pursue their higher studies.<sup>7</sup> It is quite surprising that approximately 46 per cent of the total sample did not get admission in the university. So, they worked and appeared for qualifying examinations (O'level and Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board), again either as school or private candidates.

Table 2 REASONS FOR WORKING

Reasons	Male Per cent	Female Per cent
Financial problems	54.23	26.00
Didn't get admission	41.55	58.00
Not interested to join the institute so early	4.22	16.00

### Choosing a Job as a Career

The attraction of a job varies from person to person. But it is one of the basic elements in building an individual's sense of satisfaction. The students were asked to choose one factor out of the list of 12 (see Table 3) which they consider most appealing to them in choosing a job as a career after attending the institutions of higher learning. There were 54.10 per cent of male and 27.30 per cent of female students who indicated that 'opportunity to learn, grow and develop' was the most important factor in choosing a particular job. The positive sign indicated that a greater percentage of males gave this response. Pay was considered as an important factor in choosing a job by 10.50 per cent of male and 18.20 per cent of female students. Here the negative sign indicate that the factor was female dominated. To the question, 'why do you work?', 'for money' was the overwhelming response given by women.<sup>8</sup> In another study<sup>9</sup>, a group of undergraduate students at a major university in America, were asked to rank ten items hoped to obtain through the first full-time job they would have following graduation.

A good monetary income was number one item in ranking of importance of the ten factors. The reason may be that younger workers find money to be an attractive incentive because it offers the means to purchase important items which they could not afford to buy when they were students as well as dependent on parents. The female students (10.10 per cent) mentioned that they would take up a job as a career where status and recognition could be achieved, whereas only 5.50 per cent male student indicated the same. Patton<sup>10</sup> has identified 'status' as a motivator in the case of executives. Crowley<sup>11</sup> states that 'good working conditions are slightly more important to women than they are to men'. The present study supports the above statement empirically. Convenient travel to and from work is stated to be liked also by 14.10 per cent female students. Among the twelve factors, only 'pay', 'opportunity to learn, grow and develop', 'opportunity to work with others', 'variety' and 'travel' have statistically significant dominance.<sup>12</sup>



Table 3 FACTORS INFLUENCING THE CHOICE OF A JOB

Factors	Overall Ranking	Male per cent	Female per cent	Dominance (+) Male (-) Female
Status and recognition	3	5.50	10.10	-
Pay	2	10.50	18.20	-*
Opportunity to learn, grow and Develop	1	54.10	27.30	++
Opportunity to work with others	8	5.00	1.00	++
Job security	5.5	6.60	6.10	+
Working conditions	5.5	5.00	9.10	-
Autonomy	11.0	1.70	-	+
Variety	10.0	-	4.00	-*
Challenge	4.0	7.70	5.10	+
Travel	7.0	1.70	14.10	-*
Accomplish socially important work	9	2.20	5.00	-
Location	-	0	0	

\* Significance of dominance at 5 per cent level.

#### Students' Perception About Productivity

To understand the students' perception of productivity, a question 'what should an organization do to increase workers' productivity' was asked; the answer 'promote them', 'pay them more', 'give them more respect', 'not threaten them with lay-offs' and 'tell them what is going on' are female dominated while 'close supervision', 'train them', 'creat job more challenging' and 'improve working conditions', are male dominated (see Table 4).

Table 4 FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE WORKERS' PRODUCTIVITY

Factors	Male per cent	Female per cent	Dominance (+) Male (-) Female
Promote them	3.90	5.05	-
Pay them more	3.90	6.05	-
Give them more respect	1.10	4.00	-
Not threaten them with lay-offs	0.60	7.10	-*
Tell them what is going on	7.70	8.10	-
Close supervision	11.05	10.10	+
Train them	20.40	15.20	+
Create job more challenging	11.05	7.10	+
Improve working conditions	40.30	37.40	+

\* Significance of dominance at 5 per cent level.

The response 'working conditions' was initially dominated by female students while here it was dominated by the male students. The reason may be that it is important to both men and women in the developing countries where 'working conditions' are most of the time below standard when compared to developed countries. Moreover, working conditions (good working hours, pleasant physical surroundings, etc.) act as a dissatisfier<sup>13</sup>, i.e., it serves primarily to prevent job dissatisfaction. The factor 'not threaten them with lay-offs' was only dominant statistically at 5 per cent level of significance.

The relationship between various biographical variables and the factors (see Table 3) which influence choosing of a particular job was tested by chi-square analysis.<sup>14</sup>

It is evident from Table 5 that for each of the variables, the computed value of  $\chi^2$  is less than the tabulated value at 5 per cent level of significance. This indicates that there is no significant relationship between various biographical variables and the students' considerations of various factors while taking up a job.

Table 5 RESULTS OF  $\chi^2$  TESTS

Variables	$\chi^2$ Computed	r	s	Degree of Freedom (r-1)(s-1)	Level of Signifi- cance	$\chi^2$ Tabulated
Age Group	26.21	4	11'	30	0.05	43.773
Number of dependents	33.99	4	11''	30	0.05	43.773
Marital Status of Male Students	10.55	2	10"	9	0.05	16.919
Marital Status of Female Students	8.81	2	10 <sup>#</sup>	9	0.05	16.919

## NOTE:

r = Number of categories of the relevant biographical variable.

s = Number of categories of other variable.

' = means that there was no observation corresponding to the variable geographical location.

" = means that there was no observation corresponding to the variables, geographical location, and variety.

# = means that there was no observation corresponding to the variables, geographical location, and autonomy.

## CONCLUSION

Every year, more men and women come out from institutions of higher learning to the job market with different hopes and aspirations. The present study indicates that there is distinct pattern of attitudinal differences between male and female students in the institutions of higher learning when they take up a job as a career. The factors which may influence productivity are also viewed differently by the male and female students. Biographical variables have no influence on a students' choosing a particular job as a career.

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# New Management System in Indian University Departments : A Study of Rotation System

SHAMIM ALEEM

ROTATION OF headship of a university department, except in some IIT's (where it was introduced in early seventies--IIT Bombay, 1971; Kharagpur 1972; and Madras 1973) is a post-1975 phenomena. Between late seventies and early eighties, a strong wave of rotation of headship seemed to have blown (see Appendix 1).

The issue of headship acquired a new dimension during the past decade due to enormous expansion in university education which has many-fold consequences. For instance, this has resulted in a tremendous increase in number of students, research scholars, teaching staff (Tables 1 and 2), research projects, seminars, conferences, workshops and funding agencies.

Until four/five years ago, the number of professors in universities was limited, particularly in Faculties of Humanities and Social Sciences there was just one and some times no professor in a department. But during the past few years, more so with the implementation of Merit Promotion Scheme, each department is having a number of professors. This has drastically changed the complexion of the departments. In every department, now there are a number of teachers having the same designation, but one of them by virtue of seniority occupies the key position of head and wields all authority and power.

In order to understand the factors which led to rotation of headship, it is necessary to have a clear picture of the functions performed by a university department.

University department is a basic academic and administrative unit in a university. Its main objective is attaining academic excellence. The department provides physical infrastructure and the human environment within which the functions are carried out. While the department is a part of the university, it has another dimension to its existence. It is also a part of a larger world of the discipline it represents and builds up its image therein. It occupies a place vis-a-vis similar departments of other universities. Its status in the world of discipline has an important bearing on the opportunities

Table 1 STUDENTS ENROLLED IN UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT/COLLEGES  
(1963-64 - 1976-77)

Year	Graduate	PG Course	Research	Diploma Course	Total
1963-64	95,361	41,399	5,081	10,019	1,51,800
1970-71	1,87,834	84,270	11,744	14,392	2,98,240
1976-77	2,21,410	1,01,377	19,468	20,635	3,62,890

SOURCE: University Developments in India: Basic Facts and Figures  
1972-73 to 1976-77.

Table 2 TEACHING STAFF (ALL FACULTIES) IN UNIVERSITY TEACHING  
DEPARTMENTS/UNIVERSITY COLLEGES: DESIGNATION-WISE BREAK-UP  
(1963-64 to 1976-77)

Year	Professors	Readers	Others	Total
1963-64	1,000	1,675	--	11,522
1970-71	2,139	3,324	--	21,619
1976-77	3,055	5,707	--	32,142

SOURCE: University Developments in India: Basic Facts and Figures  
-1972-73 to 1976-77.

for academic advancement, both for the teachers and the department as a whole. Further the Department will have to maintain relationships with a number of outside agencies, such as UGC, ICSSR, ICAR, CISR, etc. The status of the department and its relationship with these agencies help in building up its resources for equipment, laboratory, library, research schemes and even securing special assistance establishing advanced centres for study. There are other means also through which members of departments of different universities come into contact with each other, such as examinerships of different universities, seminars, conferences and workshops. While it is true that teachers get these opportunities depending on their personal contribution to the discipline, but the importance of the status of a department also cannot be denied. And, hence, a university department has the responsibility of generating and attracting opportunities for academic and professional growth of its members.

This description of the functions of a department only highlights the significant role that the head of department will have to play in

the growth of the discipline. In most of the universities until late seventies, the responsibility for leadership was entrusted to the senior-most person on permanent basis. The whole department revolved around one person. As long as this authority was combined with moral and social responsibilities, the results were good, but where they lacked the responsibilities the results were disastrous. In many cases, either the power and authority was misused or there was only routine exercise of authority, completely neglecting development aspects. This proved disastrous not only for the individual teachers but also for the future of the department as such.

In many cases, the system of permanent headship lead to many evils, such as concentration of powers, arbitrariness, suppression of individuals, unfair practices and misuse of power which should have no place in an academic institution.<sup>1</sup>

It is in this background that rotation of headship took its roots. The main objective was to democratise the institution of headship and to introduce the principle of participative management so as to overcome the drawbacks of permanent headship. Many universities which have introduced rotation system, have laid down detailed rules and regulations for reasons of uniformity.

Regarding eligibility for headship, minor differences exist between one university and another. The rules are bound to be flexible and comprehensive in nature in order to accommodate the requirements of different departments which differ greatly in size and strength. There are some departments having more than a dozen professors, whereas some small departments have one or no professor at all. In still smaller departments, there may be one or no reader. In these small departments, the reader or the senior lecturer is head of the department.

In many universities, like Osmania, Maharishi Dayanand University, Rohtak, Punjab and Visva Bharati, the rotation of headship, is among professors only. But if there is only one professor or no professor, it is extended to readers. Some universities insist on minimum teaching experience in order to be eligible for headship. The University of Roorkee (U.P.) laid down a minimum of 12 years of teaching experience for readers in order to be eligible for headship, whereas Osmania extends headship only to those readers who are eligible to be professors or have at least 10 years of teaching experience. Kurukshetra University permits rotation among professors, readers and such lecturers who have at least 10 years of teaching experience in the department. The M.S. University (Baroda) extends the headship to readers with five years of experience or lecturers with 10 years of teaching experience. Rules of Rajasthan University, as amended in 1982, provide that where the number of professors in a department is

two or less, the headship be rotated among the four senior-most persons (professors and readers). Earlier the rotation was among professors only even if there were only two in a department.

In most of the universities, headship goes by seniority though it is not mentioned generally but it can be by-passed depending on circumstances.

In most of the universities, the head is appointed by the Syndicate/Executive Council, on the advice of the Vice-Chancellor. But M.S. University of Baroda is the only one where appointment is based on the recommendations of a Standing Committee of the University, consisting of Vice-Chancellor, Pro-Vice Chancellor, Dean of the Faculty or head of the institution concerned and one expert appointed by the syndicate.

The term of headship is either two or three years (see Appendix 1). Most of the universities do not favour another term. But some universities, like Hyderabad, Osmania, M.S. University of Baroda, Rajasthan and IIT, Bombay permit another term. The term of headship of M.S. University of Baroda is an exception. First appointment of the Head is for a period of five years, extendable by another three years, on the basis of recommendations of a Standing Committee which will review the working.

#### EVALUATION OF THE SYSTEM

Any generalisation with regard to functioning of the university departments is a difficult task. Success of a new system has varied not only from university to university, but also within the same university from department to department.

In most of the technical institutions, rotation of headship has proved quite successful. In universities, like JNU and Delhi, rotation of headship has not posed any serious problem. In fact, in these universities, teachers are generally not willing to take up this extra administrative burden. Success of the rotation system might be attributed to the developed stages of these universities. But the experience in many other universities is not the same. This is more true with regard to developing universities or where the rules have not either been properly laid down or implemented effectively. Further, within the same institution, it is found that the rotation has been successful in some departments, while it has failed in some others. For example, in Osmania University, while some departments have not posed any serious problem after introduction of rotation of headship, in others, there were continuous conflicts and frictions on silly questions. Though it is a well-known fact that in rotation system, one has to leave the office after



completion of the term, many heads of the departments were not psychologically prepared to leave the seal and work under their junior colleagues and adopted a hostile attitude towards the new head of the department. These unfortunate events damaged the academic interest of the discipline.

In many universities, in their zeal to introduce the rotation system, sufficient care was not taken to work out the details properly to take care of both big and small departments, whose requirements differ greatly. In departments having three or more professors, the rotation system did not give rise to serious problems. But in departments having only one professor, where rotation of headship was extended to readers and even lecturers, smooth running of the department became difficult. Apart from getting cooperation from the seniors and maintaining discipline in the department, building a proper image of the department in relation to outside agencies was another serious problem. It was pointed out that a lecturer head found it very difficult to assert his position. Such a problem is bound to be there in a status conscious society.

In universities, where headship was rotated between two professors in a department, it amounted to mere exchange of positions, defeating the very purpose of rotation. Perhaps to overcome this defect, the amended rules of Rajasthan University (1982) provided that rotation should take place among four seniors.

It was observed that in universities where the rules were implemented strictly, such as Andhra, the system functioned quite effectively. In Andhra University, the rotation is based on seniority. The term is fixed for three years. The incumbent of the office knows the date on which he has to leave the office, as generally no extension is given. The next person is prepared to take up the responsibility. Another reason for success of the rotation system is effective functioning of the departmental committee.

In Osmania University, rotation of headship, on the whole, did not earn a good name as in JNU or Delhi University. Osmania, which was established by H.E.H. the Nizam in 1918, had developed its own traditions. It could not remain uninfluenced by the feudal characteristics of the State. Hence, it took time for the old guards to adjust to the new system.

The Osmania University decided to introduce rotation of headship in 1978 itself, laying down details of the scheme.<sup>2</sup> It is commendable that the university authorities were imaginative enough to use the word selection rather than making it purely on the basis of seniority. But, in a practice, it was found that even though the word selection was used, the authorities mostly went by consideration of seniority. The rules, as laid down, give scope for discriminatory

treatment. For example, in some departments, newly appointed readers became heads. While in many other departments, where there was one professor, the senior readers also could not get headship as they did not fulfil the qualifications laid down for professorship.

It was observed that the scheme was not implemented effectively, specially in the early period. For example, the term of office of the head of the department was two years, with eligibility for another term. In many departments, the rotation of headship was introduced in May 1979. As per the rules, the term expired in May 1981. It was expected that either a new head of the department would have been appointed at the expiry of the term or the orders for the extension for the same person should have been issued immediately. It was most unfortunate that university authorities did not take any action in some cases for one and a half-years. The orders for the second term were issued with retrospective effect.<sup>3</sup> This serious lapse on the part of the university was partly responsible for creating an unhealthy atmosphere as at the end of two years, while the outgoing head was not in a mood to take any important decision, the person next to him was restless to occupy the position. This created a lot of heart burning and tension in the department, which could have been avoided, had the orders been issued on time. The academic interest of the department suffered badly due to this serious lapse. In the last two years, orders have generally been issued at the expiry of the term.

#### DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEES

The rotation system was introduced with the intention of democratisation of the system. One of the important aspects of the new scheme was sharing of the power of decision making with a larger number of people in the department. This was to be achieved mainly through constitution of departmental committees.

On the basis of the opinion survey made, it was found that effectiveness of departmental committees differ from university to university and sometimes from department to department within the same university.

In Jawaharlal Nehru University, in most of the departments, the departmental committee meets every week. The effectiveness with which the committees function have contributed to the success of the rotation system.

In Andhra University also, functioning of the departmental committee is quite effective. In most of the departments, the meetings of the committee take place once in a month.

In Hyderabad University, the departmental committee meets quarter-

ly, which means that it is more or less a policy-making body, while day to day administration is left to the head of the department.

Punjabi University, Patiala, has an academic and administrative committee for each of its social science departments, and two committees (academic and administrative, and technical) for science departments.

It was found that in some departments, in Osmania University, functioning of the committees was quite effective. But in many other departments, the committees remained only on paper. They either never met or met just for the sake of formality but never took any major decisions. All the decisions were taken only by the head. This is the negation of the very spirit of democratisation. Further, the rules provided that the head of the department should send a copy of the proceedings to the Vice-Chancellor. But many heads simply ignored this provision. No action was taken against these heads for violation of the rules. With the result, some heads of the departments functioned despotically, exploiting the situation to the maximum extent possible.

#### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

In conclusion, it might be observed that the rotation system has challenged the social order which prevailed in universities since inception. Hence, there is bound to be resistance, specially from those who were affected or were likely to be affected by it. But then this is a feature of any social transition and it takes sometime for a new order to find an acceptable place in the social set-up. However, what is required is that the new system should be flexible enough to permit necessary modifications in the light of the experience.

Our discussion clearly indicates that the system of rotation has become a necessary evil. The very fact that out of 51 universities (which responded to the questionnaire), 24 have adopted rotation of headship, is a clear indication of the fact that the new management system has come to stay.

With the rapid expansion of higher education, there has been a many-fold expansion in the number of teachers, including professors in every university. With the growing emphasis on research, a number of funding agencies have come forward with financial assistance. A head of the institution will not only have to administer his department but must also be dynamic enough to take advantage of the facilities available, to develop his institution and to find a respectable place for his discipline at the national and international levels.

The headship of any institution cannot go merely by seniority

unless accompanied by other necessary qualities. While one is conscious of the shortcomings of the rotation system, the evils of the permanent headship, resulting in empire building, groupism and damaging the larger interests of the discipline, cannot be denied. Therefore, there is an immediate need to work out a plan, incorporating the merits of the two systems.

The academic bureaucracy needs to be streamlined. For this purpose, there is an urgent need to lay down uniform principles and procedures so as to make it more democratic. In order to make the rotation system effective, there is a need to introduce drastic changes in the university administration as follows.

#### **Rotation of all Posts which are Academic-cum-Administrative**

As pointed out earlier, with the expansion of developmental activities on the university campus, the number of positions either full time or part time, carrying extra allowance, or power and authority has increased very much. Along with the posts, the number of aspirants to these posts have also increased. Hence rotation of these posts has become an integral part of the new management system. But the concept of rotation will have to be understood in its proper context. Rotation simply does not mean standing in the queue and waiting for the turn. Nothing will be more disastrous for any institution than to have an automatic rotation of posts, allowing each and every one to occupy a particular position irrespective of the fact whether he really deserves it or not. Rotation should mean a tenure system, where the incumbent occupies the post for a fixed period, which normally should range between 2 to 5 years.

#### **Standing Appointment Committee of the University**

The academic bureaucracy enjoys greater power and authority in the field of decision-making. These decisions are of far-reaching consequences, affecting aspirations of younger generations. Hence proper care should be taken in selection of these persons.

In view of the facts mentioned above, there is a need of a permanent appointment committee on the lines of Appointment Committee of the Cabinet. The committee should continuously evaluate the needs and requirements of various positions in the university and recommend suitable candidates. This will enable the authorities not only to take a comprehensive picture of the position as a whole, but also to minimize the scope of favouritism, casteism and regionalism which have become dominant factors in the process of selection of the candidates.

### Head of the Department

As discussed earlier, head of department plays a very significant role in the development of a department and advancement of a discipline. The post requires, both academic and administrative qualities. If it is rotated mechanically, on the basis of seniority, the academic interest of the department might suffer. Hence headship must be a tenure post based on proper selection. It must go to a person who has proved himself competent, both academically and pedagogically, and not to one who has merely lived longer enjoying a dubious brand of seniority.

Since the term of two years is too short to implement any programme or new scheme, the minimum period should be between three to five years.

### Departmental Committee

The main idea of rotation of headship is to democratise functioning of the department and to avoid concentration of powers and authority in the hands of one individual. The departmental committees are constituted to share decision-making power with the head. But in most of the universities, the departmental committees failed to achieve the desired results. Unless they are made strong enough, the concept of democratisation cannot be implemented effectively.

In the light of the data collected through the survey, one is forced to disagree with the views of Iqbal Narain and P.C. Mathur that "the movement seems to be dying out...".<sup>4</sup> In fact, the subject has been in the limelight since the past few years. Rotation of headship of the university department was one of the items for discussion in the annual meeting of the Association of Indian Universities in 1982. The Rajasthan Committee on Rotation, which submitted its report on April 10, 1982 observed, "keeping in view the present circumstances the rotation of Head of the Department in University be not dispensed with but the existing system of rotation of Heads, needs substantial improvement".

What is needed today is not abolition of rotation system, but making it more meaningful and effective, so as to serve the purpose of democratisation of the administration without prejudicing the academic interest. The academic leadership is as important as the administrative ability. The need is to strike a judicious balance between the two.

## Appendix 1

## ROTATION OF HEADSHIP IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

Name of the Institution	Date of Intro- ducing Rotation	Maximum Period (in Years)	Minimum Period (in Years)	Rules Govern- ing the Rota- tion System	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Andhra Univer- sity, Waltair	1981	3	3	As per senio- rity	
Dayalbagh Edu- cational Insti- tute, Agra					
Delhi University, Delhi		3	3	On the basis of seniority	
Gujarat Agricul- tural Univer- sity		2	2		
Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay	1971	3	6	Appointed by the Director on the basis of recommend- ations of a standing com- mittee which are based on an assessment of the con- sensus of the Faculty on that day	
Indian Institute of Technology, Calcutta		2	2		

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur	1982	3	3	No specific rules. Senior most professor/ Asstt. professor willing to be appointed	
Indian Institute of Technology, Madras	1973	3	3	No specific rules govern- ing the rota- tion.	
Indian Agricul- tural Research Institute, New Delhi	1975	3	6		
Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi		3	3		
Karnatak Univer- sity, Dharwad	July 1983	2	2	Every profes- sor by rota- tion accord- ing to senio- rity if there is no profes- sor then every reader.	
Kurukshetra Uni- versity, Haryana	1982	2	2	Amongst pro- fessors, read- ers and such lecturers who have at least 10 years, teach- ing experience in the depart- ment of univer- sity by rota- tion according	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
				to seniority	
Maharishi Dayanand University, Rohtak	1983	3	3	In the absence of more than one professor in any depart- ment Head will be appointed by rotation from amongst professors and readers.	
Maharaja Sayaji Rao University of Baroda	1983	5	8	Among Profes- sors, where there are 3 or more--where professors are l e s s than it extends to Readers with minimum 5 years, experience in the department. The committee recommends the name.	
Osmania Univer- sity, Hyderabad	1979	2	4	Among the pro- fessor, where they are more than one. In case of only only one pro- fessor, Head- ship may extend to reader quali-	



(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
					fied to be a professor. Where there is no professor, reader may be appointed by the syndicate on the recommendation of the V.C. who in turn consults Dean and Principal.
P. G. School, Indian Research Institute, New Delhi		3	6		Selection made on the basis of performance, professional ability and annual assessment reports made by council.
Punjabi University, Patiala	1978	3	3		Among the professors where there are 2 or more. In case of only one professor, among professor and senior-most reader on the basis of seniority.
Punjab Agricultural University 1979		4	8		
Rajasthan University, Jaipur	1974	3	4		Headship may be rotated among

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
				the professors only, where	
			earlier	there are 4. If	
			it was 2	less than 4,	
			years	among senior-most persons.	
				The system was modified in 1982.	
Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati	1982	2	-		
Tamil University, Tanjavur	1981	3	6	Each department shall have a Head who shall be a professor. In case of more than one professor, the Head will be appointed in the manner prescribed. Where there is no professor, a reader will be appointed as Head.	
University of Hyderabad	1978-79	2	2	No clear-cut provision in the statute for appointment of Heads on rotation basis. But rotation on the basis of seniority is generally followed.	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
University of Roorkee, U.P.	1975	3	3		On the basis of seniority among professors. In case of only one professor, the senior-most reader will be included. Every person should have minimum of 12 years, teaching and research and minimum of 4 years, service in the university.
Viswabharati University, Shanti Niketan	1976	3	According to need.		If there is a professor in the department, he shall be the Head. In case of more than one professor, the Headship will rotate among professors in order of seniority. In case of one professor, reader will also be the Head.

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# Delivery System for Agricultural Credit, Farm Inputs and Services and Small and Marginal Farmers

M.L. SUDAN

AN EFFECTIVE delivery system for agricultural credit, farm inputs and services is a necessary condition and a crucial requirement for increasing agricultural production and farm incomes. However, the delivery system, as it operates in India today, is not as effective as it should be, particularly with reference to the disadvantaged group of small and marginal farmers who predominate the Indian agricultural scene.

## **Small and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Economy**

Land distribution in India is very skewed. According to the Agricultural Census 1980-81, out of a total of 89.4 million operational holdings, 66.6 million or 74.5 per cent are less than two hectares in size covering nearly one fourth of the area.

An overwhelming majority of small and marginal farmers in India is poor and suffers from following major constraints: (a) insecurity of tenure, (b) lack of funds for investment (even for essential consumption) and low risk-taking capacity due to poor resource base, (c) non-involvement in the implementation of programmes meant for them as they are scattered, unorganised and weak, and (d) lack of responsiveness of bureaucracy and development institutions to their problems and needs due to a variety of reasons. "The Small farmers in the region (Asia and Pacific) experience considerable difficulties in obtaining access to government services such as extension and subsidies; this combined with their lack of self-confidence, possibly arising out of bad experiences in dealing with government functionaries and banks, is perhaps the most common serious and intractable difficulty in improving access. This weakness, even where there is no deliberate oppression against the rural poor, exists as a cultural factor permeating most Asian societies, embedded in a hierarchical tradition and in widespread lack of education. This feature causes special problems in the choice of institutions for serving the needs

of the small farmer. The poor find it extremely difficult to know of the various programmes of subsidies, and to fulfil the necessary procedures to obtain them. The studies confirm that even where the average extension officer knows about the small and marginal farmers in his or her area, he has neither the time nor the incentive to visit them.<sup>1</sup> As per the basic objectives of planning in India, that is achieving growth with social justice, these small and marginal farmers, therefore, need to be helped to increase their farm production and incomes to improve their condition. This objective, in the field of agricultural development, could only be realised by improving access of small and marginal farmers to agricultural credit along with interlinked and interdependent farm inputs and services.

### Some Allied Aspects of Agricultural Credit Delivery System

In the delivery system, among other things, credit plays a very significant role in agricultural development through providing necessary financial support to farmers for obtaining modern inputs and other important means of production. However, besides supply of farm inputs, there are also some other basic requirements having a vital bearing on effective utilisation of credit facilities by the farmers. These requirements include the crucial need for security of tenure, and access to economically viable technology; the latter being a function of agricultural research its propagation and transfer among the farmers is done through agricultural extension. Some important steps required to improve agricultural research and extension are briefly discussed in the following paras.

### Agricultural Research

It is through agricultural research that scientific knowledge is created and developed into agricultural technology for increasing production. Agricultural research in India is being conducted by 36 Research Institutes, directly controlled by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR), and 23 Agricultural Universities with integrated functioning of teaching, research and extension.

Agricultural research is concerned with evolving new crop varieties, suitable combination of inputs and agronomic practices for increasing production of various crops under different conditions. It is this thrust of agricultural research which has already brought about commendable break-throughs in crops, like wheat, leading to Green Revolution. But farming conditions and requirements vary a great deal in a large country, like India, from area to area and from farmer to farmer. There is consequently a need for change in the orientation of agricultural research in terms of making it: (a) area

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specific, and (b) farm specific to suit the needs of different categories of farmers with the objective of increasing the total farm production and incomes of farmers in different areas having a sharp focus on small and marginal farmers.

In the context of Green Revolution, it is often said that new agricultural technology is neutral to scale. This is not entirely correct. It is so only in a limited technical sense. In fact, mustering of required resources for reaping benefits of new agricultural technology by small and marginal farmers is almost impossible. It is, thus, not neutral to scale of resources of the poor farmers who have low resource base and low risk taking capacity. Consequently, there is a need for another orientation in agricultural research in terms of evolving low risk and low cost technology with high profitability. It is well known that small and marginal farmers are very responsive to low risk and profitable agricultural technology.

Therefore, adoption of such an approach and reorientation in agricultural research and integrated agricultural and rural development planning alone could ensure better standards of living to small and marginal farmers. Besides, it will also ensure attaining of sustained growth and, especially, realisation of objective of social justice in the field of agricultural development.

### **Agricultural Extension**

Agricultural extension staff of Development Block Agencies have played an important role in spreading use of modern agricultural inputs and technology under the strategy of intensive agriculture. But in spite of this achievement, some problems have persisted. "Various factors have affected the performance of block organisation in matters of transfer of farm technology. These include the emphasis in the performance more on target-oriented approach than on farmer-oriented one; lack of educational approach; ineffective use of extension methods; lack of coordination among various development departments; and lack of organisational dedication in their profession. These problems affect the farming community in general, irrespective of the size of their holdings. The small farmers who constitute the bulk in the rural areas, are further affected by the fact that the field staff of the Block does not properly attend to them.... This was the case not only in the agricultural sector, but also in other sectors of development as well."<sup>2</sup>

An important method of agricultural extension is holding of agricultural demonstrations on the fields of farmers. As brought out by a study on Delivery Systems in Tamil Nadu, small farmers are often ignored in this regard. "For selecting the farms for these demonstrations, generally plots of more enlightened and better off farmers

are selected by the extension staff. This happens because it is easy of achievement as the better off farmers have greater capacity to bear the cost and take the risks involved and they are also more easily persuaded to accept this responsibility. Being enterprising, they generally manage these plots well and consequently, the chances of success of demonstrations on their plots are also greater. However, under the earlier SFDA (Small Farmers Development Agency) programme, some demonstrations were required to be laid in the fields of small/ marginal farmers. Otherwise, it is only in limited cases that the small or marginal farmers are selected and persuaded to undertake agricultural demonstrations on their farms. They are mostly expected to learn about and adopt new technology through the percolation of the 'demonstration effect'.<sup>3</sup> Further, extension personnel also seem to prefer working with richer farmers on account of: (a) the capacity of the affluent farmers to provide them hospitality, and (b) feeling on the part of VLWs (Village Level Workers) that the lower strata of farmers had no resources to adopt improved practices. In the process, small and marginal farmers generally feel neglected.<sup>4</sup> Thus, particular attention needs to be paid to small and marginal farmers in respect of agricultural extension.

In the states/areas of the country where Training and Visit (T&V) System of agricultural extension has been introduced, agricultural extension functionaries have been taken out of the Block set-up and placed directly under the Agriculture Department under a single line of command. In the rest of the country, the old system of agricultural extension under the Block set-up is continuing.

To help the small and marginal farmers, the system of agricultural extension needs to be improved in terms of: (a) holding at least 50 per cent of agricultural demonstrations in the fields of small and marginal farmers; (b) laying down specific targets for contacting small and marginal farmers by the extension functionaries (number of such farmers should be fixed in proportion to their number in the farming community in their area); (c) introducing the concept of total farm demonstration for increasing farm production and income for these farmers in reasonable numbers, (d) passing on problems of these farmers to agricultural research stations for prompt supply of their solutions to them; and (e) visiting of their farms and demonstrations by supervisory and senior level officers during their field visits. The need for conscious and visible efforts in this regard on the part of senior officers is very crucial. It is through such an approach and conscious efforts alone that it will be possible to improve the access of small and marginal farmers to what the agricultural extension has to offer to the farming community.

Agricultural extension, to be effective, must be backed by econo-



micably profitable agricultural technology referred to earlier and support of timely input supply. Along with these, financial support, in the form of agricultural credit for the purchase of farm inputs, becomes very crucial, particularly for small and marginal farmers. Some important steps required to improve the delivery system for agricultural credit are briefly discussed in the following section.

#### AGRICULTURAL CREDIT DELIVERY SYSTEM

For institutional credit support to agriculture and rural development, there is a multi-agency credit supply system in India, consisting of three elements: (a) Cooperatives, (b) Commercial Banks, and (c) Regional Rural Banks (RRBs). The RRBs were launched in 1975 for financing exclusively the primary sector (including agriculture) and weaker sections (including small and marginal farmers).

In the cooperative sector, there are 94,089 Primary Agricultural Credit Cooperative Societies at the village level providing short and medium term loans; and 1,833 Primary Land Development Banks/Branches for long-term investment credit.<sup>5</sup> The Commercial Banks also provide both short-term and term loans for agriculture as also for other sectors of the economy. "As a result of the systematic efforts made by the Government and Reserve Bank, institutional credit for agriculture which accounted for barely 7 per cent of the total credit requirements of the agriculture sector in 1951-52 rose to 19 per cent in 1961-62 and further to 29 per cent in 1971-72 and to 40 per cent in 1981-82."<sup>6</sup>

The existing agricultural credit system serves all categories of farmers, including small and marginal farmers. The low resource base of small and marginal farmers and consequently their restricted scope to raise institutional credit for productive purposes has been one of the main reasons for their low productivity and poor income levels. To tackle this problem, there has been a major policy thrust in the field of institutional credit from early 70s to help this group of farmers and other weaker sections. As per this policy, cooperatives are expected to lend not less than 20 per cent of their short-term credit (for purchase of farm inputs) to small and marginal farmers. In the case of commercial banking credit, the weaker sections, including small and marginal farmers, are covered under the Priority Sector Lending Scheme. Under this scheme, 40 per cent of total commercial banking credit has to go to priority sectors out of which at least 40 per cent (or 16 per cent of the total advances) should be extended to agriculture sector. Out of the total lending to agriculture sector, 50 per cent should go to weaker sections, including small and marginal farmers. For small and marginal farmers, the

concessional rate of interest is 11.5 per cent on short-term loans and 10 per cent on term loans.

As a further step, "With a view to ensuring that the thrust of priority sector lending is towards financing agriculture and weaker sections, the Reserve Bank of India instructed the Commercial Banks that direct finance for agriculture alone should reach a level of at least 16 per cent of their total credit by March, 1987. It has also been stipulated that advances to weaker sections, including small and marginal farmers, should be at a level of 25 per cent of the priority sector advances or 10 per cent of the total credit from Commercial Banks.

"Procedural formalities for the disbursement of credit for priority sector have been simplified and security conditions have been liberalized. At the instance of the Government of India, the Reserve Bank issued detailed guidelines in this regard. According to these guidelines, no bank should ask for a security except the hypothecation of the assets acquired with the help of loan in those cases where the loan amount does not exceed Rs. 5,000. It is made clear that in cases where mortgage of land or third party guarantee has not been prescribed, bank should not take such security. The application for loan has also been simplified and standardized."<sup>7</sup>

At the end of the Sixth Five Year Plan (1984-85), the disbursement of institutional credit for agriculture is estimated at Rs.5,810 crore--Cooperatives: Rs. 3,250 crore, including Rs.2,500 crore as short-term credit; and Commercial Banks and RRBs: Rs.2,560 crore, including Rs.1,110 crore as short-term credit.<sup>8</sup> The Seventh Plan target for supply of institutional credit to agriculture by 1989-90 is placed at Rs.12,570 crore.<sup>9</sup>

It will be seen from the figures given above for the Sixth Five Year Plan that short-term loans which are for purchase of modern farm inputs (improved seeds, fertilizers and pesticides) forms a substantial part of institutional agricultural credit and this is particularly pronounced in the case of cooperatives. Thus, the cooperatives continue to play a very important role in supply of credit for purchase of farm inputs.

As on June 30, 1978, 43 per cent of small and marginal farmers (holdings up to 5 acres) in the country were members of the Primary Agricultural Credit Cooperative Societies as against 68 per cent of other farmers. Out of these, 36.3 per cent of small and marginal farmers were borrowers as compared to 51.3 per cent of other farmers. Over a large part of the country, a considerable segment of weaker sections (including small and marginal farmers) was still outside the cooperative fold.<sup>10</sup>

The poor access of the weaker sections of rural community (includ-

ing small and marginal farmers) to cooperative finance was (among other things) due to prevalence of restrictive practices despite the stipulation of the Reserve Bank of India that not less than 20 per cent of the short-term agricultural loans by the cooperatives should go to finance small and marginal farmers. These restrictive practices in lending were on account of economic groups or caste or faction, etc., and due to interplay of these forces, the small and marginal farmers, being the weaker sections, were adversely affected. These restrictive practices were also referred to earlier by the All India Rural Credit Review Committee (1969) and these still hold good in actual practice though on paper these are supposed to have ceased to exist long ago.<sup>11</sup>

The Reserve Bank of India has recommended inclusion of a clause in the bye-laws of cooperative societies by which the weaker sections are entitled to elect at least 50 per cent of the members of the managing committees.<sup>12</sup> In all probability, this is also not happening.

In order to improve the access of small and marginal farmers to Cooperative Credit, there is a need to take action in the following directions:

- (i) Each cooperative society at the village level should have the same proportion of small and marginal farmers and other weaker sections as its members as per their proportion in the rural community in the concerned Development Block. For all existing cooperative societies, where the present proportion of small and marginal farmers and other weaker section members is less than stipulated above, a membership enrolment campaign should be launched to increase the membership of these weaker sections to the required extent. These campaigns should also serve the development objective of educating the members about the development role of cooperatives and their rights and responsibilities, including importance of and need to save. The campaigns should be organised according to a suitable time schedule avoiding busy periods of agricultural seasons. Block Agencies should be fully involved in these campaigns as a part of their development and educational programmes. This educational process was also likely to increase the consciousness of small and marginal farmers and other weaker sections about their rights and responsibilities which may, in turn, lead to development of their organisations to protect their interests.

In the case of new cooperative societies, enrolment of the required proportion of small and marginal farmers and other

weaker sections as members should be made an essential condition for their registration. The members of these cooperative societies will also need to be educated about the development role of cooperatives and the rights and responsibilities of the members.

- (ii) At least 50 per cent of the members of the managing committees of cooperative societies should be elected by and from the weaker sections (including small and marginal farmers) as recommended by the Reserve Bank of India. To start with, this recommendation should be strictly enforced and subsequently the proportion of weaker sections in the managing committees should be suitably increased after a review of the situation.
- (iii) The cooperative societies at the village level, which are weak and not functioning, will have to be revived. It is a difficult task and will need support from all quarters. It should, therefore, be made compulsory for various institutions, like Cooperative Banks, Commercial Banks, Regional Rural Banks and even State Governments and other agencies to adopt some societies for rehabilitation through financial assistance and managerial support, including training of their staff.
- (iv) Some incentives should also be provided to the staff of cooperative societies for bringing about improvements in their working.
- (v) As per existing policy, cooperatives are expected to lend not less than 20 per cent of their short-term credit (for purchase of farm inputs) to small and marginal farmers. The extent of this earmarking of credit appears to be arbitrary. The position in this regard needs to be reviewed by the Reserve Bank of India for suitably increasing the share of small and marginal farmers in short-term cooperative credit in proportion to their number and requirements.
- (vi) Small and marginal farmers are poor and as such they need loans not only for production and investment but also for consumption and other emergency needs for which they depend on and are exploited by the money lenders. They also need credit even for redemption of old loans. While they do get some income when they harvest their crops (if there are no floods and droughts) but for the rest of the time, they have to borrow to survive and take care of their other pressing needs. As they are not given institutional credit for any of their so called non-productive requirements, there is bound to be some diversion of investment and production credit made

available to them towards their more pressing survival and other needs. This, in turn, has an adverse effect on increasing their production and incomes. This also leads to overdues. Consequently, small and marginal farmers should also be provided institutional credit for their various consumption needs as per some prescribed scales. Similar policy needs to be adopted for other weaker sections. This will lead to proper utilisation of production and investment credit, increased production and incomes and to lower non-wilful overdues.

- (vii) "At the same time, some of the deficiencies in the lending policies, like low scales of finance, delays in sanction and disbursement and arbitrary cuts in sanction had acted as deterrents to maximising production. Adoption and vigorous pursuit of appropriate lending policies are desirable for checking the upward trend in overdues."<sup>13</sup> Adequacy and timely supply of production and investment credit is thus equally important for its proper utilisation for increasing production and incomes, particularly of small and marginal farmers and other weaker sections.
- (viii) For supply of production and investment credit, there are separate cooperative institutions--village level cooperative societies for production credit and Primary Land Development Banks for investment credit. However, due to institutional rigidities and lack of coordination between these agencies, many farmers who get investment credit do not get production credit at the required time or *vice versa*. This adversely affects maximisation of production, particularly in the case of small and marginal farmers. It is, therefore, necessary that both production and investment credit should be made available to the farmers together and by a single cooperative institution as is the case with Commercial Banks. It will be more convenient for farmers if both production and investment credit is made available to them through the village level cooperative societies.

These suggestions relating to improvements required in the basic aspects of cooperative credit delivery system need to be attended to urgently, particularly for improving access of small and marginal farmers and other weaker sections to cooperative credit for increasing their production and incomes.

Under the Priority Lending Scheme of the Commercial Banks referred to earlier, small and marginal farmers have been clubbed with other weaker sections for earmarking of credit. This does not appear to be

a correct approach. It will be better to classify the weaker sections at least in two categories of: (a) small and marginal farmers, and (b) other weaker sections with separate earmarking of Commercial Banking credit for them. The proportion of credit earmarked for these categories also needs to be reviewed by the Reserve Bank of India for suitably increasing their share in the Commercial Banking credit in proportion to their numbers and requirements. Further, the Commercial Banks should also follow a total credit concept as suggested earlier in the case of cooperative credit in terms of providing consumption credit in addition to production and investment credit to small and marginal farmers and other weaker sections for their various consumption needs.

#### NEED FOR SINGLE WINDOW AND INTEGRATED APPROACH

As in the case of Cooperative Credit, small and marginal farmers are also at a disadvantage in the supply of farm inputs (improved seeds, fertilizers and pesticides) to them in spite of the policy stipulation that Cooperatives are expected to lend not less than 20 per cent of their short-term credit (for purchase of farm inputs) to them. In his study, conducted in the context of the implementation of Green Revolution policies in Karnal district of Haryana, Kuldeep Mathur has made following observation in this regard: "Among respondents who are cultivators, there is a mention of an important feature of the administrative system that does not find a place among the perceptions of either administrators or the political leaders. This relates to the ability of the government to perform in the sphere of distribution of inputs necessary for increased production. It is this group that feels that rich are more favoured among them and the government and its administration should be judged on the criteria of their capability to help the poor. Their criticism within this broad theme is quite strong in some cases. As is to be expected, such a dimension of thinking emerges more strongly among those farmers who own land up to 2 hectares (i.e., small and marginal farmers). It is this group that also tends to associate corruption with cornering of benefits by the rich."<sup>14</sup>

Both in the supply of agricultural credit and farm inputs, there is a multiplicity of agencies at the field level, including village level cooperative societies. But quite often, coordination among these agencies is lacking. On the other hand, a crucial requirement of an effective delivery system is the adequacy and timely supply of agricultural credit and farm inputs. This is all the more important for small and marginal farmers when there is no earmarking of farm inputs for them. Further, the small and marginal farmers, who are

poor, are not in a position to run to various agencies for obtaining credit and farm inputs as they can hardly afford to lose any working day for this job in their struggle for survival. Therefore, to avoid uncertainties and running from pillar to post, particularly by the small and marginal farmers, it is necessary to have a single window approach at the village level for supply of cooperative credit and farm inputs through the agency of village level cooperative societies. The distribution of improved agricultural implements should also be handled by these societies. To avoid distress sale of produce by the small and marginal farmers, funds may also be provided to these societies for purchase of their produce. For stocking farm inputs etc., the storage facilities with these societies will also have to be improved.

Other suggestions for policy changes and revitalisation of village level cooperative societies have already been given in the earlier section. Alongwith these, a single-window approach is a crucial requirement, particularly for improving access of small and marginal farmers to agricultural credit and farm inputs and realisation of the objective of growth with social justice in agricultural development.

The objective of increasing production and income levels of small and marginal farmers and other weaker sections will be better achieved by following family approach as against project approach for this group in terms of integration of agricultural development programme with other rural development programmes, like Integrated Rural Development Programme, both at the planning and implementation stages, for providing a package of assistance to these families.

Finally, it is also necessary to bring about changes in the attitudes of bureaucracy concerned with implementation of the programmes for weaker sections. The bureaucracy must become more responsive and sensitive to the needs and requirements of weaker sections. This could be done through: (a) proper training arrangements, (b) effective monitoring of their performance with reference to weaker sections, and (c) conscious, serious and visible efforts on the part of senior officers for ensuring effective implementation of these programmes. Administrative leadership at various levels has a very vital role to play in this regard.

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# Performance and Accountability in Public Services

ARVIND G. RISBUD

I don't greatly care whether I have been right or wrong on any point, but I care a good deal about knowing which of the two I have been.

--SAMUEL BUTLER

WITH SUCH diverse activities as banking and wildlife preservation, international diplomacy and rural development, maintenance of law and order and tourism promotion, etc., it is not possible to prescribe one universal performance standard for various public service agencies supposed to render these services. In case of granting relief to refugees from flood or famine, speed and coverage of relief may be important. In case of commercial enterprises under government management, efficient use of resources leading to profits may be stressed as the motivating objective. Non-occurrence of communal violence may be the yardstick to judge performance of law and order machinery during periods of social, political and economic disturbances. Further, the performance required at any given moment of time depends on the situation which is likely to vary even for a given organisation over a period of time. For example, the performance of the Defence Forces during peace and during war time is to be measured on an entirely different footing. Given such a situation, it is unrealistic to club all public services under one umbrella and to expect a ready measurement of their various performances as either possible or meaningful.

It must also be remembered that the performance of any public service is an outcome of the combined efforts of the bureaucratic machinery and the direction which is given to the bureaucracy by the political decision makers. Generally, these political directions are evolved with the assistance of top level bureaucracy. Thus, the

framing of performance goals and actual pursuit of these goals is possible only with the bureaucracy understanding the performance goals set for it and attempting to reach these goals with the resources kept at its disposal for the purpose.

The aspect of political accountability, both for goal setting in public service agencies and for their perceived achievement, really covers the entire ambit of political accountability. Decisions taken by those at the helm of affairs for the time being may be open for being questioned through legal means. Generally, however, the acceptability of these decisions is thought to be settled through the process of elections. Given the prevailing nature of election process, no single performance or lack of performance on the part of the political decision makers can be identified as solely causing electoral defeat or electoral victory. By their very nature, elections represent an infrequent, inexact assessment of the combined net effect of a plethora of decisions taken over a period of time and it will be foolhardy to ascribe success in election to successful achievement of a single task or failure in election to the failure in achieving a particular specified goal.

Even in societies where change in the political setup is brought through means other than periodic elections, such as popular revolutions, palace coups, etc., the perceived failure in performance will be generally not limited to one field alone but embraces a large area of political decision making.

It is, therefore, necessary to identify the framework within which a discussion on aspects of performance and accountability in public services can be meaningful. This pertains to role of bureaucracy in any system of government as regards goals setting, actual performance, and performance review.

For the purpose of this article, the term 'Public Service' will include those organisations for which government accepts full or a degree of responsibility for their performance and over which it exercises some measure of control. The 'government' in question may be central, regional or local. The organisation is usually non-profit making.

The accountability can be moral as well as legal. The accountability of an organisation happens to fall largely in the legal sphere probably because any public service organisation is a pattern of hierarchy of persons, positions and responsibilities. Any change of persons in the organisation specially at the decision-making level will inhibit any sense of moral obligation on the part of the individuals within the organisation along with the sense of continuity in goal definitions and methods adopted for their achievement. On the other hand, the accountability of the individual, if viewed merely in

legalistic perspective, will probably absolve all individuals unless, of course, it can be proved that they had criminal or mischievous intentions in performing as they did. Appealing to the individuals moral sense of obligation is really not a satisfactory state of affairs either. As a result, it may be seen on many occasions that a large number of individuals within the organisation are wholly disassociated from the organisation's responsibilities of the legal kind while the organisation itself is more or less unconcerned with issues other than legal ones in the performance of its assigned task.

The first half of Samuel Butler's quip quoted above seems to describe the attitude of a public service organisation employee. It must be remembered, however, that the basis for either the system or the individual 'caring' hardly exists unless it is possible to know whether a management decision has been right or wrong with the help and wisdom of hind-sight. In this context, performance review becomes vital. The quality of the performance review depends much on the quality of thought which has been bestowed by the bureaucracy of the organisation in framing sensible questions for making a meaningful performance review.

#### GENERAL FEATURES RELEVANT FOR PERFORMANCE REVIEW

Before discussing aspects of goal setting and performance review, it is necessary to appreciate certain fundamental factors which operate in all organisations, whether in the public service or not, irrespective of their size, area of operation, nature of product or services which they produce and the methodology employed by them in goal setting, performance and performance review.

Firstly, the actual needs of an organisation may not necessarily coincide with the perceived needs—even as perceived by the top-most level of management. Though the top management makes use of all the available information, makes reasonable assumptions for future based on past performance, and generally takes all precautions to prevent either over-emphasis or neglect of organisational requirements, many lacunae, omissions and blind-spots may come to light in the management approved plans after a period of time.

Secondly, there is likelihood that the divergence between actual organisational needs and perceived needs may widen during the process of translating the perceived needs into executive action.

Thirdly, the success or failure of a plan, scheme or programme is usually measured after a considerable lapse of time. Parameter changes, which were not anticipated at the time of formulating the plan, programme or scheme, usually cause the invalidation, either partial or full, of the assumptions made in the beginning. While it

is true that during the implementation of a programme, modifications are indeed made if changed parameters so require, the fact remains that the original set of goals, objectives and targets have undergone changes of quantitative and qualitative nature.

Fourthly, absolute standards of performance neither exist nor are likely to exist, however desirable these may be. Conceptually, it may be possible to envisage the level of efficiency, in which all staff are as competent as the present level of the best; the organisation is effective in resource utilisation; the best strategies are being pursued by incorporating all the most relevant techniques with as much and as accurate information as is available. When even a single element in these assumptions is considered in detail, it leads to vagueness and imprecision. As a basis of quantitative assessment of actual performance, the standard becomes totally unsuitable. Just as second best solutions have to be used at the time of resource allocation, second best measures of performance will have to be applied for a meaningful evaluation of performance.

Lastly, a perception of success will usually invite claims of responsibility from many, both within and outside the organisation. A perceived failure, on the other hand, will generate either search for a scapegoat or a defensive rationalisation and justification of such acts of commission and omission as are perceived to have contributed to the failure while simultaneously generating uninformed criticism by the outside world. In many cases, there is an element of both success and failure in the final analysis of performance and even in this case, the tendency will be to claim credit for the successful component of the result and to disclaim individual responsibility for the failures.

#### **What should be Reviewed?**

It is possible, with great diligence, to measure performance of an organisation against the tasks assigned to it or against the objectives which it is required to aim at. A further probe with the intention of identifying individuals who contributed to either the success or the failure of meeting the objectives becomes relatively much more complicated, even assuming that there is complete identity and coincidence of the planned activity and the actual implementation of the same and such an assumption is unrealistic.

While it is easier to measure performance of an individual in respect of a small piece of responsibility or task entrusted to him, it becomes progressively difficult to assess the responsibility for either success or failure of a given programme completed by an organisation as the size of the task increases and the number of persons involved in fulfilment of the task also increases. On the other

hand, the relative success or failure of an individual's assigned task may have only minimal or limited significance while the relative success or failure of a big organisation entrusted with a large, complex and resources consuming task has a great impact which is felt not merely within the organisation but outside also.

A system of prioritisation, therefore, becomes essential for examining the relative performances of individuals within an organisation or of various individual organisations working in a particular economic-political set-up, if the objective of the exercise is not merely appraisal of the individual but appraisal of the various systems which are called into play for implementation of various assigned tasks and the significance of their success or failure.

✓ PERFORMANCE REVIEW IS LIKELY TO BE INEXACT, INCOMPLETE  
AND SUBJECTIVE

The end results may or may not match the planned end results. In fact, it is a truism that nothing succeeds as planned. The question then becomes one of apportioning praise or blame between the planners and the executors. In most organisations, both planners and executors may be the same group of people or may at least be answerable to the same level of management. By and large, if the actual end results are deemed satisfactory enough, the top management's tendency is not to worry too much about the relative failures and to gloat about the successful aspects. Everyone involved would like to take credit for the successes which have come out of the execution, be it in planning, financing, personnel, public relations or the administrative spheres.

Much, of course, depends on who is examining the results and against what standards of expectations. The same job can be perceived as being either a success or a flop by differing view points each of which seems to be quite logical to its adherents.

This is specially true of large scale activities involving huge amounts of money and large gestation period, such as major irrigation projects, heavy engineering projects in the core sector, etc. If the planned objectives at the time of deciding on such objectives seem to be incapable of attainment, due to variety of factors, the assessment of the end results is bound to be very favourable to the implementing agency and even if the final end result is much below the planned figure, no attempt is made to either fix organisational responsibility for this failure or, if such responsibility is identified, to only sympathise with the individuals who are at the helm of affairs of the organisation.

A good example of this may be in the planned objective of eradica-

tion of illiteracy or removal of poverty by a specified date. If the number of illiterates or those below the poverty line remains large at the end of the planned programme or scheme meant for implementation of these objectives, the question will not be raised about the actual performance and whether it could have been better. If 'X' million families remain below the poverty line by the end of a programme which was meant to lift them above the poverty line, any evaluation of the programme completed will be given up in favour of finding out other means or other programmes. The question will not be seriously posed whether, within its constraints, the implementing of the completed programme could not have uplifted 'Y' instead of 'Z' millions above the poverty line.

Sometimes self-defeating logic is resorted to, such as changing the standards of performance. This has again been witnessed in respect of the programme for uplifting a targeted number above the poverty line. If the number could not be so covered during programme implementation, the measure of the poverty line itself is depressed arbitrarily and by this simple expedient, a larger portion of target can be shown to have been achieved. The performance of the implementing agency has nothing to do with this kind of evaluation.

It must be realised that the unsatisfactory state of affairs is, in a large measure, due to the fact that the traditional authority entrusted with the task of performance review has viewed the entire process in a conceptually narrow sense in carrying out evaluation of performance of public services.

Traditional evaluation of performance in resource use in public service has been based on the search for mistakes--failure to obtain required legislative authority or failure of budgetary control system, etc. What is routinely described as efficiency audit is more accurately inefficiency audit because the tendency is to direct the available audit resource to areas where it may seem, *prima facie*, that something is wrong rather than to areas where efficiency seems to be high and there could be lessons of more general applications to be learnt. The 'Checks and Balances' which are found in business are missing in the public service. In business, the hunt for inefficiency could be conducted against the background knowledge that good management will usually reflect itself in good, measurable and attributable results. But owing to problems of assessing, measuring or evaluating outcome or even output in many public service activities, concentration on a search for failure or error creates an environment in which avoiding mistakes is as good as achieving success.

Though it would be more appropriate if the management evaluation in public service expends equal effort to establishing and learning from efficiency as well as inefficiency, yet such directional thrust

is generally found missing. What suffers consequently is the highlighting of causal relationship between efficiency in management and satisfactory end results, whenever and in whatever quantity do they occur.

Such an emphasis will also be useful due to the admitted fact that many decisions on resources in public service are made in terms of the game theory. Their actions and reactions cannot be known but can only be forecast subject to varying degrees of risk and uncertainty. Good management will produce some bad outcomes and bad management may produce some good outcomes. The objective of better management is to achieve an increase in the proportion of the good outcomes to the bad ones. In evaluation, what is being compared is the likely outcome which would have resulted from an alternative strategy with the actual outcome.

#### COMPARISON OF PRIVATE SECTOR AND PUBLIC SERVICES--FREEDOM OF ACTION Vs. CONSTRAINTS

In industry, even when ownership and management are separate, accountability to the shareholders rarely has any great force. Most of the Board of Directors like to distribute sufficient dividends to maintain a healthy share price but may not consider themselves accountable to the body of shareholders for anything more. In such a situation, the delegation of authority from the central power group within the organisation can be almost complete. The manager can be given a wide degree of freedom over the disposition and exploitation of the resources he has been allocated, and can influence and manipulate external factors as well. Even in a highly competitive trade, the manager can do something to regulate the inflow of business so as to employ his resources most efficiently. He can use pricing, buying, advertising, promotion, manufacturing, selling and service policies to ensure an even flow of activity throughout the year to attract profitable business or to discourage unattractive business. He can use resource in the way which gives him the most favourable return in the long run.

In industry, the tendency is to reinforce the accountability with incentives for high level of unit performance. This is possible because of readily identifiable linkage between performance levels and monetary profit.

The incentives may be in cash or kind. They generally include accelerated promotion, increased perks, entry to higher levels of decision making, assignment of independent and interesting responsibilities, etc., in addition to job specific incentives, such as

commissions, bonus, etc.

Public service agencies cannot fully control the demands made upon them. New tasks and activities are given to them with the minimum of preparation. Sudden and unforeseeable demands may be made upon them not only by the political masters but by developments in the national and international environment. There can be no discrimination between customers in the interest of efficiency as they can in industry. The agency has to answer to the Public Accounts Committee for proper authorisation of expenditure and for the avoidance of waste and extravagant expenditure. This detailed, if random, scrutiny of the top management of a department only encourages the reference of cases and expenditure decisions upwards rather than delegation to lower levels of management. The Minister's nominal responsibilities, not just for strategic policies but for every operation of his department, results in complete lack of systematic responsibility. This leads to insistence on the part of officials to pass on decisions to levels far higher than merit warrants. Thus, practical application of the theory of ministerial responsibility to the point where delegation of authority is actively opposed, brings about managerial inefficiency without any compensating benefit in terms of greater accountability.

As precise qualitative measurement of the output of public service agency is very difficult through the existing arrangement, substitute indicators will have to be employed for measuring performance of the agency, which is most unsatisfactory. Any incentive scheme, which is measured on the basis of these unsatisfactory measures, is bound to promote false reporting and exaggeration of end results. As an instance, one can think of the possible misuse to which an incentive payment scheme for promoting adult literacy in the rural area will be put to. It is only in those agencies which have one particular type of performance standard, i.e., the Profit and Loss statement in the case of public sector enterprises, an incentive for higher levels of performance for the organisation as a whole as well as for the sub-systems of the organisation can be put to meaningful use.

We have so far examined general features of measuring performance and accountability applicable to all organisations. However, difficulties are faced in this regard in public service agency in carrying our meaningful performance review, which is not limited to identifying individuals' successes or failures, but also successes or failures of systems and sub-systems of management. We have also examined some of the constraints peculiar to public service agencies which make their work environment much less conducive for achieving a reasonable degree of success in their activities. We will now turn



to examine how the public service agencies face this problem. In particular, the public sector industries--which employ large amount of resources and which are truly comparable in their operational philosophy with the commercial enterprise in the private sector--are chosen because they do have greater degree of autonomy than government departments in choosing their methods for achieving their objectives.

#### PUBLIC SECTOR INDUSTRY--RATIONALISING OF POOR PERFORMANCE

Dilution of standards of performance over a period of time appears to be almost inescapable specially in manufacturing and processing industries which are under government control. In private enterprises, a fall in performance standards has a better chance of being quickly identified and remedied, because the entire economic viability of the operation may be dependent on achieving or exceeding the standard performance. In the public sector environment, however, the identification of fall in standard itself may take unduly long time. But with change in work culture, when fall in standards is identified, rationalisation may be done on the following lines:

The equipment or process we are using has become older over a period of time. The stage of obsolescence is being reached rapidly. It is all we can do to slow down the fall in standards by struggling hard. We have no control over factors like quality and quantity of input as also their availability at the required time. Under these constraints when our machinery has become older, our processes have become inefficient and the quality of raw material inputs has deteriorated, it is in fact commendable that we have been able to achieve performance which is nearly 95 per cent (or 90%) of the past year. Unless there is injection of fresh equipment (or new processes, or stringent quality checks of raw material purchase) it seems inevitable that our performance cannot be improved or even stabilised at the current levels.

The logic of the above argument is irrefutable, at least for those who advance it. The danger, of course, is that over a period of time this has a cumulative impact and the original performance standards envisaged at the time of setting up or operations will bear no relationship whatsoever with the actual performance. The tendency to feel satisfied if the current year's performance is "somewhere near" the past year's performance will develop. Even a resolute top level management, under these circumstances, will be unable to enforce

accepted standards of performance because of the simple fact that the accepted standards of performance arrived at long back in the past, have not been achieved in subsequent years, and bear no relationship with the actual performance in the immediate past. If the trend is one of declining performance over a number of years, it is impossible to even theoretically posit that it is possible to go back and achieve the performance standards as fixed in the past. If, for a variety of reasons, there is a slight but perceptible improvement in the standards of performance in a given year, the easiest way out is chosen by trying to identify the exceptional set of circumstances which gave rise, in the opinion of those in charge, to a reversal of the declining trend.

A situation, therefore, arises wherein accepted standards of performance of a current technology of production process has no chance of being achieved except by accident. In addition, it is quite possible that outside the constraints of technology, process, quality of inputs, non-availability of inputs at the right time, etc., may be the calculated attitude of not willing to test the assumptions made regarding non-achievability of performance standards for a variety of reasons. If, for instance, the market conditions for the product being produced are not at a satisfactory level, the quantum of production may be deliberately depressed which will cause difficulty in assessing the true performance standards on account of non-continuous production, ad hoc mode of production planning schedule, quality control or product distribution.

In all cases, however, if a somewhat deep analysis is attempted to identify the specific causes for the fall in performance standards, either in terms of efficiency of material utilisation or efficiency in labour productivity or efficiency of process technology, the picture is not likely to be clear cut at all. The confusion is due to the fact that there are a large number of variables and most of these are outside the control of the organisation. Consequently, it is possible to find a new set of justifications for the fall in performance standards every year without having to repeat any of the arguments. In such a situation, accountability towards performance standards becomes largely irrelevant at the level of production management.

One factor contributing to this state of affairs may be the lack of incentives as perceived by a person or group of persons who are in a position to identify the fall in standards, their causes and their possible remedies. Unlike in the private sector, where an outstanding individual performance will reasonably result in appropriate recognition by the management, in public sector agencies recognition of meritorious performance may come too late and may be too little.

There are, of course, other valid reasons for maintaining the personnel policy of public sector agencies more or less on the principle of seniority for the purpose of recognition. But this may constitute a definite stumbling block for generation of workable alternatives for maintenance of performance standards.

Another reason may perhaps be the fact that a majority of public sector agencies are seen to be carrying on their business in inefficient ways without being pulled up effectively. Even if there are exceptional organisations doing well, the vast majority of public sector enterprises, who are not doing well, can rationalise the relative lack of success in their organisations in a number of ways. The ever present background fear in the private sector that continued inefficiency would mean loss of jobs, if not worse, is notably lacking throughout the hierarchy of the organisation. While there are instances of private businesses folding up on account of a variety of reasons, there are hardly any examples in the public sector which are likely to act as a deterrent against the attitude of indifference on the part of those who are the employees of the organisation but whose job security is not related to the economic health of the organisation.

#### SOME POSSIBILITIES

It appears that merely refining the techniques of evaluation of a purely accounting nature (as viewed, perhaps, by an auditor) is inadequate and unsatisfactory because there are too many loopholes through which specific responsibility can be evaded by individuals within the organisation. A rigorous performance review is possible only within the organisation and even that is subject to certain minimum environmental requirements, such as proper allocation of responsibilities, a clear understanding amongst those to be held responsible regarding the division of their powers and responsibilities and a sense of clarity and continuity in the goals specified for achievement. At such a level of review, it may be possible to keep a reasonable account of check on the budgetary aspect of the task as well as on the time schedule. It is even possible that an enlightened top level functionary may ask and obtain answers for future use in areas, such as method study, problem solving exercises, systems evaluation, etc. However, the problem of a comprehensive review of the organisation, as a whole, to identify the direction in which it is moving remains untouched. Towards this end, it may be interesting to examine the possibility of applying what is termed as Sunset Legislation.

### Sun-Set Legislation

Conceptually, it is a procedure designed to force legislative review of executive agencies and/or programmes. The forcing mechanism is the automatic legal termination of the agencies or programmes unless there is re-establishment through a positive act of the legislature and only after review of the agencies or the programmes. Although it is designed as a legislative review in the United State of America where, in the past decade, sun-set legislation is being increasingly resorted to, part of the attraction of the concept is that the burden of justification for re-establishment is placed on the agencies.

There are three major rationales for placing the responsibility of justification on the executive agencies:

1. They spend the money;
2. It is easier for them to gather evaluative data since they must collect much of it for administration of the programme anyway; and
3. It is in the interest of the agencies to defend their existence with the best available evidence of their effectiveness.

The ultimate goal of sun-set is not merely termination of programmes but rather the serious legislative review of agencies and programmes. The growth of sun-set concept in the United States of America is generally contributed to the considerable increase in the scope of government agencies and programmes and regulatory actions accompanied by growing public disenchantment with their responsiveness, administrative efficiency, and sheer expense at all levels.

Though it is too early to tell whether the concept of sun-set legislation is relevant in the Indian context, there appears to be a distinct possibility that this could indeed be an improvement over the existing system in many ways provided certain principles necessary for a workable sun-set law are understood. Some of the major principles involved can be identified as follows:

1. Programmes and agencies should automatically be terminated at a certain date unless affirmatively recreated by law;
2. Termination should be periodic, i.e., once every five or six years, etc., in order to institutionalise the programme review process;
3. Programmes and agencies in the same policy area should be reviewed simultaneously in order to facilitate coordination, consultation and responsible purging;
4. In order to facilitate meaningful review, sun-set proposal

should establish general criteria to guide the programme evaluation process;

5. Existing review entities, such as budget planning offices, and legislative committees, should undertake preliminary programme evaluation work only if their evaluation capacities are considerably enhanced;
6. Safeguards must be built into sun-set mechanism to guard against arbitrary termination and to provide for outstanding obligations;
7. Public participation in the form of public access to information and public hearings will be an essential part of the sun-set process; and
8. Like all significant innovations, introduction of sun-set mechanism will be a learning process and should be phased in gradually.

The objectives of sun-set are to be identified as:

1. Curtailing proliferation of new agencies and programmes;
2. Making agencies perform better because they must justify themselves periodically;
3. Identifying and eliminating agencies which have overlapping functions;
4. Consolidating agencies with similar functions;
5. Saving public funds by removing unnecessary agencies, discovering and preventing inefficiency; and
6. Conducting a closer review of agencies or programmes than possible in the appropriation process.

It may be seen that the terminal review method of sun-set is aimed at improving legislative overview methods. Legislative overview is generally regarded as a key feature of legislative powers. What the sun-set concept emphasises is institutionalisation of scheduled periodic legislative overview as opposed to review during times of crisis. This has become necessary in view of the increasing transfer of power from legislature to executive, especially to executive bureaucracies. Because programme evaluation and review are difficult and time-consuming tasks, it is easy to put them aside. Because of their complexities, it is easier to do something else though their very complexity makes legislative overview more necessary. Serious attempts to exercise legislative overview through sun-set mechanism may present opportunity to improve the public image of politicians and government, and this purpose may be readily acceptable on the part of politicians. If the legislators are attracted sufficiently

in this regard, government officials will tend to be more disposed to take immediate steps to improve their public image. The rationale for proliferating bureaucracies ought to be a matter of increasing public debate. At least conceptually, sun-set can be effectively used to address this issue, place limits on the growth of government, and eliminate unnecessary agencies and programmes. In essence, sun-set is increased accountability of the executive branch through increased evaluation. The test whether sun-set is working is not merely how many agencies are terminated but whether agencies are made more responsive and accountable.

#### SUMMING UP

It is not always easy to evaluate performance of an organisation and determine whether it is performing satisfactorily or not. Much depends on who does the review and against what yardstick of performance. In case of public service agencies, the situation becomes much more complicated because the yardstick, not confined to monetary profits, has evolved as a synthesis of political direction, bureaucratic actions and changing environmental set-up which may have altered the parameters of performance significantly. The low correlation between organisation's success or failure and the individual's success or failure in his/her career in the public service makes it difficult if not impossible to apportion either the blame or praise for organisational failures or successes to individuals within the organisation. This is further complicated by the fact that perceived organisational success invites claims of responsibility from all those who were involved in its implementation while perceived failures of the organisation do not readily throw out an identifiable individual or group of individuals responsible for the failure.

In any case, in public service agencies, the question of holding an individual responsible is not really significant. What is really needed is a critical review of the systems and sub-systems that are called upon to implement a programme, the objectives of which have been identified by political directions, and for the methodology of its implementing the bureaucracy of the public service agencies is responsible. A larger proportion of successfully implemented programmes by the bureaucracy in the public service agency is to be aimed at. While there are many difficulties in attempting even this task of a holistic measure of performance, the concept of sun-set legislation as a new and rigorous method of legislative overview has the potential of being better than all the available methods for performance review. But even a rigorous legislative overview will not

1006 ARVIND G. RISBUD

be sufficient in promoting acceptable performance. This will come only through commitment of all individuals within the organisation, and clarity of objectives and methodology at the top of the organisation.

## Public Sector Performance : Perception Versus Reality \*

PRAJAPATI TRIVEDI

PUBLIC SECTOR performance has acquired an unprecedented importance both in academic journals and in the press. It is alleged that it has prevented many less developed countries (LDCs) from 'taking off' and has forced a 'crash landing' for others, including several more developed countries (MDCs).<sup>1</sup> Almost invariably, the proof for this alleged inefficiency consists of mounting deficits of public enterprises. It is indeed remarkable that so many authors continue to use the traditional accounting concepts of profit and loss to measure public sector performance. They do this without qualifications, in spite of the widely acknowledged conceptual problems with this approach. Amartya Sen (1983) offers the following explanation in this regard:

In terms of the usual profit criterion, public enterprises very often do very badly indeed, but it is not obvious precisely how to read this fact. It is fair to agree that public enterprises are not meant to maximize profits, and the very rationale of state ownership militates against the single minded pursuit of private profits...(However,) in the absence of any well formulated alternative criterion, the public tends to judge the

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\* I am grateful to Leroy P. Jones of Boston University for helpful discussions on this topic. Thanks to Rajen Mookerjee of Northeastern University and Tom Princen at the Kennedy School of Government for their comments. Thanks are also due to members of the Boston Area Public Enterprise Group (BAPEG) and participants of workshop on "Policy for Public Enterprise in Developing Countries" held at the Harvard Institute for International Development (HIID) in 1985, for their comments. However, all errors remain my sole responsibility. Part of the research for this paper was supported by a grant from the International Development Research Center, Ottawa.



success or failure of public enterprises by profits, and this has led...to much cynicism about the abilities of public enterprises. This might be at least partly unjustified, but it is fairly inescapable in the absence of a different system of performance evaluation.

One of the objectives of this article is to suggest an alternative system of performance evaluation. Hopefully, this exercise will caution observers and commentators against making 'quick' judgements on the performance of public enterprises purely on the basis of the conventional financial rate of return.

Data on Indian cement industry has been used to illustrate this point. However, the methodology utilised is general and can be used for measuring 'true deficits' of public enterprises in other countries as well.

#### **Data for the Case Study**

The analysis in this article is based on detailed plant level financial data for six public enterprises in Indian cement industry. The cement factories at Kurkunta, Mandhar and Bokajan belong to the Central Government. The other three--Churk, Dalla and Tamil Nadu--belong to state governments. The sample covers approximately 70 per cent of the public sector in the Indian cement industry.

The public sector cement factories excluded from this set consist mainly of those enterprises that have been in operation for less than three years. Their performance cannot be expected to be representative and, hence, their exclusion is of no great significance.

#### **The Perception**

The following quotation<sup>2</sup> summarises the widespread perception regarding comparative performance of public and private enterprises in cement industry of India.

...the performance of the public sector units has been poorer on the whole compared to that of the private sector,...it can not be due to any objective factor but is perhaps to be traced to the differing ethos of the two sectors. A private sector unit will not be able to raise equity funds in the capital market if the outlook for dividends from its ventures does not compare favourably with returns on other avenues for investment, yet as we have seen, there has been large scale infusion of equity funds in the public sector units in spite of the fact that, what to speak of returns, there has been an erosion of capital due to continuing losses. Again, a capital-intensive industry like cement can not

do without substantial loan finance. Here, private sector units have no recourse but to the banks and public financial institutions and any venture seeking financial assistance has to pass stringent tests of viability and availability of cash flow to sustain debt-servicing before loans can be tied up. In contrast, ample loans have been poured into public sector ventures on an unsecured basis, regardless of the outlook for replacement....

Now that a serious situation of cement shortage has developed and the country faces the mammoth task of doubling the capacity for cement production in the next five years, no one will grudge the public sector doing its bit to share in the effort to achieve the objective. The question is, will a managerially and financially weak public sector operation, with capital resources getting eroded through losses and no internal generation of funds be capable of the sustained effort necessary to build a viable and socially relevant position in the cement industry? The public sector will have to be performance-oriented, which would mean also profit-orientation....

This quotation raises following issues:

- (a) What is the basis for this perception? That is, what is the criterion for making this judgement?
- (b) Has it been applied correctly? That is, have the facts relating to this criterion been reported and evaluated accurately?
- (c) Is the criterion sound? Does it answer the questions we are interested in?
- (d) If not, what are the alternatives?

Let us attempt to answer these questions.

#### **Conceptual Basis for the Perception: Implicit Criterion**

There is nothing implicit about the criterion used by the authors of the above mentioned quotation. Rather, they have quite explicitly stated that 'profit' is synonymous with 'performance'. This conceptualisation is not unusual. Indeed, what is rare, almost non-existent in the literature, is a discussion of the performance of the cement industry where the bottom line is not 'profits' but something else.<sup>3</sup> To be sure, there is always a mention, and even an occasional discussion, of other criteria, such as the rate of growth of inventories, amount of working capital, cost structure, etc. However, these criteria do not represent the stuff of which the headlines are made.

The following headlines and the leading paragraphs from two typical articles that appeared in one of the better known financial newspapers of India are presented to illustrate universal use of 'profit' and 'profitability' as criteria for performance evaluation, as well as their tendency to dominate the headlines:

#### CEMENT INDUSTRY FINANCES: 1980-81 MOUNTING LOSSES

The financial performance of the sixteen cement companies in 1980-81 is lamentably poor. Gross profits have halved, net losses have resulted and profitability ratios have fallen sharply during the year.<sup>4</sup>

#### CEMENT COS.--GROWTH SLACKENED BY LOW RETURN

The cement manufacturing companies...have been passing through a rough weather during the past one decade as judged by the major profitability indicators of this industry....

The net profit as a percentage of net worth is an important indicator to assess the performance of the cement industry....<sup>5</sup>

The deceptively simple concept of profit has a strong hold on the minds of concerned people. Even the high-level committee, set up by the government in 1978 to review functioning of the cement industry, could not escape it. After an intensive study of the cement industry, the Lav Raj Kumar Committee recommended a 12 per cent profit on net worth in place of 14 per cent on the capital employed which had been adopted earlier by the Tariff Commission.

From the foregoing discussion, it is reasonable to conclude that all varieties of opinion and decision makers--scholars, journalists and government commissions--seem to be concerned primarily with 'profit' and 'profitability' as the criteria for measuring performance in the cement industry.

A recent study suggests that this conclusion is not peculiar to the cement industry but is true for the entire public enterprise sector in India as well. After careful econometric analysis of the questionnaire data on state-owned enterprises (SOEs), it concludes:

...that external evaluators of Indian SOEs (senior bureaucrats and select journalists) espouse one set of standards for judging performance but use a different set of standards (in which profitability plays a very important role) for **actually** judging performance.<sup>6</sup>

The next step, then, is to confirm the validity of the conclusion that public enterprises in the cement industry are inefficient (and a burden on the economy) on the basis of the criteria of 'profit' and 'profitability'. The idea is simply to replicate the results achieved by traditional analysis using our data set.

#### **Factual Basis for the Perception—Validating Traditional Analysis: Private Profit (After Tax)**

This section attempts to discover what a person looking at the profits of the public sector would conclude about its performance.

In the literature, one can find several different concepts of profit. Conceptually, profit simply means 'benefits minus costs' (or 'revenue minus expenses'). Different measures of profits are possible depending upon: (1) which benefits and which costs are taken into consideration (e.g., benefits after taxes, net or gross of depreciation); and (2) which prices are used in the calculation (i.e., current or constant prices, and market or shadow prices).

This section will utilize the most common definition of profit for measuring performance of private enterprises, which is most influential in moulding the perception of the public at large. To underscore this fact, we shall add the qualifier 'private' to the term 'profit'. It considers 'benefits' and 'costs' from the viewpoint of the owners of a private enterprise or the shareholders in a private enterprise.

Specifically, Private Profit

(after tax) = Net Sales

- Cost of Sales
- Administrative, Selling and  
Distribution Expenses
- Financial Expenses
- Other Operating Expenses
- + Other Income
- + Subsidies
- Non-Operating Expenses
- Provisions for Taxes

Table 1 gives the total private profit, defined as above, for the public sector. Fig. 1 shows the same information graphically. The facts are quite dramatic and seem to confirm the popular perception. For each of the five years from 1977-78 to 1981-82, public enterprises taken as a whole have incurred losses.

Table 1 PUBLIC ENTERPRISES: TOTAL PRIVATE PROFIT (AFTER TAX)

(Millions of Rupees)					
Year	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82
Profit	-8.41	-31.44	-38.21	-34.72	-5.86

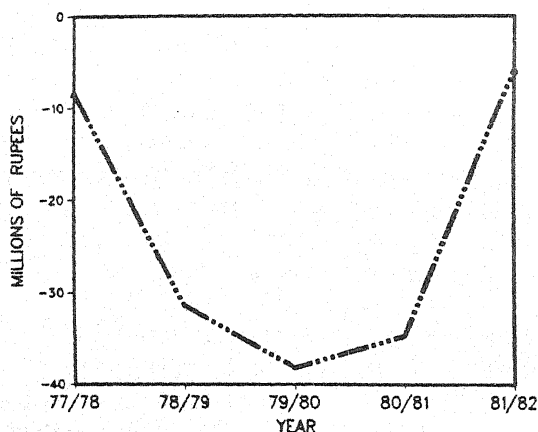


Fig. 1 Public Enterprises: Total Private Profits (After Tax)

#### Private Profitability (After Tax)

Does the conclusion change if we use private profitability rather than profits as the criterion?

Private profitability (after tax) is defined as the ratio of private profits (after tax) to total assets. Whereas private profits (after tax) are derived from the profit and loss accounts in the financial statements, total assets are derived from the balance sheet side of the financial statements. Total assets, as the term implies, represents the sum total of all the assets mentioned in the accountant's balance sheet.

Table 2 and Fig. 2 present the means of the private profitability ratios for the public sector. Again, the facts seem to confirm the popular perception. Private profit (after tax) and private profitability (after tax) lead to the same conclusion regarding the performance of the public sector as a whole.

#### Appropriateness of Private Profitability for Evaluating Performance of Public Enterprises

While it is reasonable to assume that most people are aware of the problems in using private profitability as a criterion for evaluating

Table 2 PUBLIC ENTERPRISES: PRIVATE PROFITABILITY (AFTER TAX)

					(Percent)
Year	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82
Profit	-0.45	-4.16	-2.37	-1.85	2.29

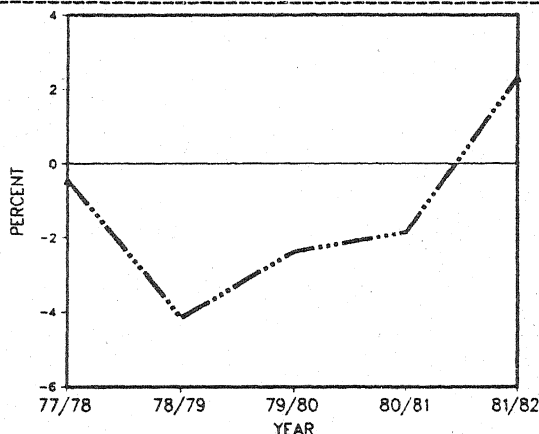


Fig. 2 Public Enterprises: Private Profitability (After Tax)

public enterprise performance, the evidence from the printed and spoken word is quite clear--private profitability is the basis for the popular judgement on the performance of public enterprises. We can only hazard a guess as to why this is so. Perhaps one of the reasons could be that the data for analysing anything other than the simple aggregate concepts, such as private profitability, are not readily available. In addition, in a primarily free-enterprise economy, such as India, the concept of profit is readily understood. Anything else is suspect and is usually considered a subterfuge if it comes from the proponents of this criterion and a rhetorical ruse if it is suggested by the opponents.

Finally, there are those who pay lip service to the problems associated with the concept of private profitability but end up using it regardless. The bulk of scholars probably fall under this category. The following quotation portrays vividly their intellectual tug of war:

Although profit maximization (or in the case of public enterprises, the generation of surplus) may not be the sole criterion to judge their performance, yet it cannot be denied that it would

be a folly to ignore it altogether. It may be aptly pointed out that profit maximization may not be treated as a positive virtue but it may well be a 'good whip' to prevent the public enterprises from misbehaving. Thus, the principle of profit maximization has a negative virtue that it impels enterprises to reduce wastes of resources and inefficiency arising therefrom.<sup>7</sup>

Incidentally, this dilemma is not solely an Indian phenomenon. During 1960s, in France and the UK, profit and profitability as well as a few other financial indices were adopted as major efficiency criteria in the public sector.<sup>8</sup> They went into remission for some time while the search for alternatives continued. Finally, these criteria re-emerged as the most important criteria of efficiency for the British public enterprises through the 1978 White Paper on nationalised industries. It explicitly stated that:

...each nationalized industry will be given public guidance on the overall financial performance expected of it for a period of years ahead, and it will be held accountable for its performance by that target.<sup>9</sup>

This flip-flop is a symptom of genuine confusion over the merits of private profit as a criteria for performance evaluation.

Further, it is interesting to note that private profit has been criticised by experts concerned with performance in both sectors. As far back as 1970, A.K. Sen was vehemently advocating against the use of private profit as a criterion in the public sector:

To create a public sector and then to ask it to do what the private sector would have done is like going to the cinema to try to sleep rather than to see the movie.<sup>10</sup>

Joel Dean, on the other hand, was raising doubts about the usefulness of the concept of private profit even in the private sector way back in 1951:

Profits must be measured differently for different purposes, and the kind of measurement that is needed for many executive decisions is not provided by the conventional income statements.<sup>11</sup>

What was a trickle then has since become a deluge of criticism, aimed at private profit as a criterion for public enterprise performance. These doubts notwithstanding, the fact is that private profit

continues to enjoy a great deal of popularity as a criterion for performance evaluation in both sectors.

The objective of following discussion, therefore, is to examine the precise problems with private profitability as a criterion for public enterprise performance evaluation. But before we can show the failure of private profitability, we must know what we expect private profitability to do. In other words, we must be clear about the meaning of 'performance' before we can make a case that private profitability fails to measure it.

### **Private Profitability and Social Welfare**

If an enterprise or a group of enterprises has a higher private profitability ratio compared to another enterprise or group of enterprises, does it imply that the former are contributing more to the 'social welfare' and, hence, 'performing' better than the latter group? The answer to this question is an unequivocal 'No'.

The following are the reasons why private profitability is an inadequate and inappropriate criterion for performance evaluation: (1) It fails to reflect 'true benefits' and 'true costs' of the enterprise operations; and (2) It fails to recognise several important constraints.

### **FAILURE TO REFLECT 'TRUE BENEFITS' AND 'TRUE COSTS'**

This failure results from three sources: (a) inappropriate categories of costs and benefits, (b) wrong prices, and (c) omission of certain costs and benefits.

### **Inappropriate Categories of Costs and Benefits or Accounting Problems**

One of the major problems with private profit is that what it categorises as costs and benefits are not always so from the point of view of society.<sup>12</sup> If private profit decreases due to an increase in a particular cost component, it does not imply *ipso facto* that social welfare will also decrease. Examples of such costs are: (1) direct taxes, (2) interest payments, (3) transfers (e.g., donations), and (4) depreciation. For instance, if direct tax is collected from a private enterprise, it unquestionably represents a cost to the shareholders or owners because they have lost money which would have gone into their pockets. Hence, they are justified in treating it as a cost because they are 'worse off'; that is, their personal welfare decreases. But what about social welfare? From society's point of view, direct taxes imply taking money from one pocket and putting it into another. Ignoring distributional consequences, such a transfer



neither increases nor decreases the total welfare of society. It simply redistributes the welfare. This reasoning is also true for interest payments, transfers and depreciation.<sup>13</sup>

Similarly, some items that are categorised as benefits are really not so from society's point of view. Examples of such benefits are: (1) Interest and dividends received and capital gains and losses on the sale of financial instruments; and (2) Transfers received. For instance, if an enterprise receives interests and dividends from its investments, its shareholders or owners are 'better off'. Their personal welfare increases because they are richer by that amount. Therefore, they are justified in treating it as a benefit. Is society's welfare any higher? Of course, not. This money, or welfare, was not generated by this enterprise. Rather, it was generated elsewhere and simply transferred to this enterprise, leaving the total welfare of society unchanged.

In short, many benefits and costs included in the private profit calculus do not correspond to benefits and costs from the point of view of society. Therefore, it follows that an increase or decrease in private profits does not correspond to an increase or decrease in the welfare of society.

### **Wrong Prices**

Private profit calculates benefits and costs using market prices. Even if we rearranged the categories (as per our discussion in the previous section), private profit would correspond to social welfare only if the market prices of outputs and inputs were the same as their shadow prices. Further, changes in prices may result in changes in private profit, which do not correspond to changes in the performance of the enterprise.

### **Omission of Certain Costs and Benefits**

Not only does private enterprise misclassify costs and benefits from the social perspective, it also ignores some of them. For example, it ignores costs and benefits associated with certain actions which are initiated in one year but produce results in another. Maintenance costs are a good example. They enter private profit as a cost, but the benefits which accrue in future years are not taken into account.

The problem this causes for performance evaluation of public enterprises is obvious. If two firms are identical in all respects, one firm can look 'good' in terms of private profit for a period of time by postponing its repairs and maintenance. However, from society's point of view, this firm is actually not performing any better. Eventually, these costs will have to be paid in terms of

more frequent breakdowns.

Some other costs that are ignored are as follows: (1) opportunity cost of working capital, (2) cost of non-commercial objectives, and (3) externalities (this may also be viewed as a problem of wrong prices).

#### FAILURE TO RECOGNISE IMPORTANT CONSTRAINTS

There are two more problems with private profitability, in addition to those associated with private profit.

First, the way assets are measured, i.e., at book value, is not appropriate for performance evaluation. For instance, suppose an enterprise reports no change in private profits from one year to the next. Even then, in terms of private profitability, the firm will look better since the denominator will be reduced by the amount of the current depreciation in that year.<sup>14</sup>

Second, this normalising procedure, i.e., the division by the book value of the assets, ignores other considerations, such as differences in technology and condition of the plant.

Where does all this leave us? We began by confirming that the popular perception regarding the inefficiency of the public sector as a whole was indeed correct. However, this conclusion was based on the criterion of private profitability (after tax). In this section, we examined the soundness of this criterion before we could accept this conclusion as the final judgement. It is clear from the foregoing discussion that private profitability does not measure up to the job. This throws open, once again, the question regarding the performance of the public sector. We, therefore, need to find an alternative criterion or criteria to answer that question.

#### The Reality

In this section, we examine other approaches used for evaluating public enterprise performance to see if they hold any promise since the criterion commonly used for evaluating private enterprise performance has proven to be inadequate for our purpose.

A review of the literature reveals that there has been a sizable population explosion in models and methodologies to evaluate performance of public enterprises.<sup>15</sup> Unlike private enterprises, where profit is the accepted yardstick<sup>16</sup> for measuring enterprise performance, there is very little consensus on a similar gauge for public enterprise performance. It is this lack of consensus that has provided a fertile ground for individuals to propound their own models and methodologies. Approaches with high sounding and awe inspiring names like 'Omega', 'Sigma' and 'Total Performance Measurement

System' are burgeoning in various conference papers and journal articles.<sup>17</sup> Keeping pace with the growing lexicon in this area is difficult enough, but the confusion it engenders is worse. Writers on performance evaluation are caught in a vicious circle of sorts. As they try to offer a new approach, synthesising and encompassing some of the older ones, they seem to be attempting to reduce proliferation through greater proliferation.

It is not possible to summarise the various approaches in this article.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, we will simply point out the strengths and weaknesses of the more prominent ones. At the broadest level of generalisation, these alternative approaches can be classified into three categories:

#### **Partial Indicators**

These indicators<sup>19</sup> are characterised by their emphasis on one aspect of enterprise performance to the exclusion of all others. Some common examples of this class of indicators are:

- (a) **Productivity of Individual Factors:** An example would be labour productivity ( $=Q/L$ ). It says nothing about the productivity of other factors of production, the overall productivity, overall cost or desirability of capital-labour ratio.
- (b) **Cost-Effectiveness:** It emphasises attainment of a goal at the minimum possible cost. The quantity or quality of the goal is never questioned.
- (c) **Partial Business Ratios:** For example, (inventory/states) ratio emphasises the importance of optimum level of inventories to the exclusion of all other objectives.

The problem with such indicators is obvious. They do not include all costs and benefits associated with the enterprise operation and, hence, fail to meet our basic requirement.<sup>20</sup>

#### **Multiple Indicators**

These consist of a weighted average of a number of separate criteria. These indicators are perhaps more common than partial indicators. By taking a weighted average of a number of partial indicators, evaluators feel that they have covered all aspects of operation of an enterprise and, therefore, rectified the deficiency associated with partial indicators. While it is true that multiple indicators do not, in general, suffer from the problem of lack of coverage, it is equally true (and common) that if reasonable care is not exercised, they may suffer from the problem of uneven coverage. Let us

illustrate this point in the context of following examples:

(a) **Korean Development Bank Indicator:** Basically, the KDB indicator consists of a weighted average of 10 individual criteria. The indicators and a hypothetical set of weights are given in Table 3.

All one has to do to test the robustness of this measure is to put it through a very simple test. Suppose a public enterprise, which is being evaluated under this system, increases its output by \$ 100 and intermediate inputs consumed go up by \$100 as well, the net effect of this change is nil as far as society is concerned. However, if one looks at the net effect column in Table 3, chances are that the enterprise will be rewarded for its efforts because it would appear to have improved its performance.<sup>21</sup>

Table 3 KDB EVALUATION METHOD

Sl. No.	Criterion	Specification	Weight (Per cent)
1.	Ratio of net profit to liability and equity	Net profit/Liability and equity	15
2.	Ratio of gross profit to net sales	Gross profit/ Net sales	5
3.	Turnover rate of liability and equity	Net sales/ Liability & equity	5
4.	Ratio of production record to its goal	Production record/ Production goal	10
5.	Ratio of sales record to its goal	Sales record/ Sales goal	5
6.	Ratio of production to its capacity	Production record/ Production capacity	15
7.	Labour productivity	Production record/ Number of Employees	5
8.	Unit cost	Manufacturing cost/ Quantity of manufactured goods	15
9.	Ratio of liability to equity	Total liabilities/ Quantity of manufactured goods	15
10.	Others		10

The problem lies in uneven coverage of benefits and costs. The enterprise gets credited for increased output more times than it gets debited for increased inputs. In general, whenever these multiple indicators involve asymmetric counting of benefits and costs, they become unreliable measures of enterprise performance.<sup>22</sup>

(b) **Total Performance Measurement System (TMPS):** In the TMPS approach,<sup>23</sup> the criterion for performance evaluation is a weighted index of the following three types of indicators: (i) Financial performance indicators, such as return on economic assets and other financial ratios; (ii) Social performance indicators that can be measured in monetary terms, e.g., medical expenditure, educational expenditure on employee dependents, etc.; and (iii) Social performance indicators that can only be measured in natural units. For instance, employee safety record, air quality in the plant, etc.

This approach is much more broad based than the KDB approach insofar as it defines performance in a more comprehensive manner. However, it too suffers from asymmetric counting of benefits and costs.

This does not mean that all multiple indicators suffer from this defect. If one is careful, one can design a multiple indicator which counts each benefit and cost only once. An indicator of this sort has been suggested for Pakistan by Prof. L.P. Jones.<sup>24</sup>

### **Composite Indicators**

These approaches try to capture all aspects of enterprise performance in one single indicator. They can be divided into two broad categories: 'Duality Based Approaches', and 'Accounting Approaches'.

### **Duality Approaches**

Under this category,<sup>25</sup> we will discuss three approaches that can and have been used to evaluate the relative efficiency of firms. These are the production function approach, the cost function approach and the profit function approach. The essence of the duality approach is that, given the assumption of profit maximisation, it can be shown that there exists a fundamental relationship between the production function, the cost function and the profit function. The existence of any one of the three implies (for well behaved functions) the unique existence of the other two.

The term 'duality' is derived from the notion that a problem of maximisation or minimisation can be dealt with either in its 'original' (or 'primal') form or in its 'corresponding' (or 'dual') form. Both forms will give an identical solution. For instance, the equilibrium behaviour of a firm may be analysed by looking at the primal problem of maximising output subject to a cost-constraint or by

looking at the dual of the specified primal problem, that of minimising cost subject to an output constraint. This captures the duality relationship between production function and cost function.

Establishing duality relationships is not simply an exercise in elegant mathematical manipulation. It has great practical significance. The interest in this area of the so-called "production theory" emanates from the desire to be able ultimately to study cost behaviour, factor usage, various elasticities, etc., of firms and industries. The traditional starting point of production theory is the specification of physical technological possibilities, described by a production or transformation function. It is then estimated econometrically. This estimated production function is then used to calculate factor demand curves, cost-function, etc., by inverting the implied first-order conditions. This, however, is an extremely cumbersome and arduous procedure. First reliable data for estimating production functions is hard to collect or simply unobservable. Second, there are conceptual problems with econometric estimation<sup>26</sup> of a production function. Finally, except for the most simple specifications of production functions, the intervening constructive steps required to get to the cost-function can be computationally intractable.

It is for these reasons that it makes more sense to start estimating cost functions, profit functions and factor demand functions directly from the more readily observable economic data. However, this approach will always be suspect because one would always wonder whether the estimated profit functions, cost functions, etc., were actually based on some realistic production functions or were, indeed, "beasts without parents". This is where the duality relationships come in. They assert that if the estimated cost or profit functions satisfy some elementary properties, then they do in fact correspond to a real and unique production function.

To summarise the discussion thus far, the simpler approach of estimating cost or profit functions from the more readily observable economic data on prices is likely to be more useful than the more complicated, and somewhat suspect, procedure of estimating production functions. The duality relationships assure us that the former approach is, in fact, theoretically sound.<sup>27</sup>

On purely theoretical grounds, the profit function approach is the more appropriate one. It captures the two components of efficiency--allocative and technical. Cost function, on the other hand, cannot measure allocative efficiency because of its maintained hypothesis of a given level of output. True allocative efficiency implies that the level of output is also changed to the optimum level with changes in relative prices.

On practical grounds, we also have to drop the profit function approach for this case study, the reason being that once a cement plant is set up, there is very little room for factor substitution in response to changing prices.<sup>28</sup> In other words, the only thing that matters is technical efficiency. This is adequately captured by the concept of 'public profitability' at constant prices.<sup>29</sup>

#### Accounting Approaches

##### Public Profitability (at Constant Prices)

This criterion according to Jones can be defined as (Output - Intermediate Inputs - Wages - Rent - opportunity cost of Working Capital)/Fixed Capital. Symbolically,

$$\Pi = \{ Q - II - W - R - r(Kw) \} / K$$

Where:

$\Pi$  = Public profitability or quasi rents per unit of capital,

Q = Output,

II = Intermediate inputs,

W = Wage bill,

R = Rent,

r = Opportunity cost of capital,

Kw = Stock of working capital, and

K = Stock of fixed operating capital.

This criterion has the same structure as private profitability, i.e., (Variable benefits - Variable costs) fixed factor. However, the meaning of the terms 'benefit', 'cost' and 'fixed factor' are different in both cases.<sup>30</sup> Let us summarise major differences between these two concepts:

- (i) In case of private profitability, benefits and costs refer to the accountants' concept of costs and benefits; whereas, in public profit, it is the economists' notion of costs and benefits that is considered, i.e., true opportunity costs and true benefits. Thus, direct taxes, interest payments, and transfers (e.g., donations) are treated as costs by the accountant and subtracted before arriving at private profit. Public profit, however, is calculated before these are deducted.<sup>31</sup>
- (ii) The treatment of non-operating income is different in both cases. Non-operating income, such as interest and dividends, rents, etc., are included in private profit but excluded from public profit. The logic for exclusion is that they do not

reflect the contribution to the national welfare made by the enterprise. Rather, such income is a distribution of surplus generated by some other enterprise.

- (iii) Another difference between these concepts relates to the treatment of depreciation. In private profit calculation, this is treated as a cost and subtracted before arriving at the profit figure. In public profit, depreciation is not deducted since it is considered to have no correspondence with the actual rate of physical deterioration. The latter is a function of use and is, therefore, taken account of by public profit.
- (iv) Public profit explicitly recognises the opportunity cost of working capital, whereas private profit does not.
- (v) Public profitability is taken here in terms of constant market prices, whereas private profitability is usually in current prices.
- (vi) The concept of 'fixed factor' is quite different in both cases. In private profitability, the fixed factor is taken as book value of the total assets. In public profit, the replacement value of fixed operating assets is calculated after making adjustments for inflation and deterioration. What is the point of putting the fixed factor in the denominator? Is it not done to normalise performance of various enterprises for different sizes of productive capacities at their disposal? It is reasonable to assume that two managers of equal ability will generate different amounts of public profit if they have different amounts of productive capacities or 'stuff' to work with. If this is so, then, it is clear that the book value of an asset is a far less satisfactory proxy of this productive capacity than the concept of fixed capital used in the case of public profitability.<sup>32</sup>

Table 4 and Fig. 3 give the mean public profitability for the public sector. The following points emerge from these facts:

- (a) Unlike private profitability, public profitability is positive in all years. A person looking at Table 4 would tend to draw a very favourable impression regarding public sector performance in this industry.
- (b) Not only is the level of public profitability different from that of private profitability, but there are significant differences in the trend of the two criteria as well. For instance, between 1977-78 and 1978-79, private profitability



declined sharply, whereas public profitability showed a sustained increase. Similarly, between 1978-79 and 1979-80, private profitability improved significantly, whereas public profitability showed a mild deterioration. It is, therefore, clear that perceptions based on private profitability may not always be accurate.<sup>33</sup>

To see the relationship between private profit and public profit, it is important to understand that the latter represents the 'true' surplus generated by the enterprises. The level of private profit, on the other hand, represents one of the ways in which this surplus is distributed. Therefore, *ceteris paribus*, the higher the level of public profit, the higher private profits will be. However, for a given level of public profit, the higher other kinds of distributions--such as interest payments, taxes and accounting depreciation-- are, the lower the level of private profits will be.

Table 4 PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:PUBLIC PROFITABILITY (ATCONSTANT PRICES)

Year	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82
Per cent	5.61	6.66	6.43	12.94	15.14

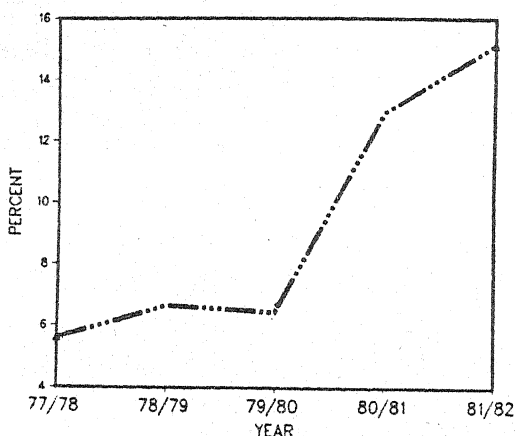


Fig.3 Public Enterprises:PublicProfitability  
(at Constant Prises)

This argument suggests that in order to understand the relationship between public and private profits, we have to examine both the generation and the distribution of the 'true' surplus.

### Generation of Surplus

Table 5 and Fig 4 show generation of public profit at constant prices.<sup>34</sup> Fig.4 (a) shows generation of public profit in absolute terms. Throughout the time period under consideration, public profitability at constant prices increased. In other words, the public sector was generating increasing levels of 'real' or 'true' surplus.

Table 5 PUBLIC SECTOR: GENERATION OF PUBLIC PROFIT  
AT CONSTANT PRICES (1980-81)

(Rs. in Million)							
Year	Output	Inter mediat Inputs	Value Added	Wages	Rental	Oppor- tunity Cost of Working Capital	Pub- lic Pro- fit
1977-78	610.07	416.13	187.94	74.46	0.05	58.37	55.06
1978-79	680.81	453.25	227.56	82.95	0.11	67.55	76.96
1979-80	840.24	602.57	237.66	86.83	0.12	67.56	83.16
1980-81	1045.24	723.37	321.87	80.35	0.17	68.20	173.15
1981-82	1043.67	686.93	356.74	82.57	0.20	75.10	198.87

Fig. 4(b) on the other hand, shows data normalised with respect to the total output produced. This is a convenient way to see the efficiency of the public sector in terms of various input-output ratios. The facts are very revealing. Public enterprises achieve a higher ratio of public profit per unit of output by decreasing the use of all inputs (labour, working capital and intermediate inputs) per unit of output produced--a dramatic turn around compared to the impression created in terms of private profit.

FIGURE 4(a)  
PERFORMANCE OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR: PUBLIC PROFIT (at constant 80/81 market price)

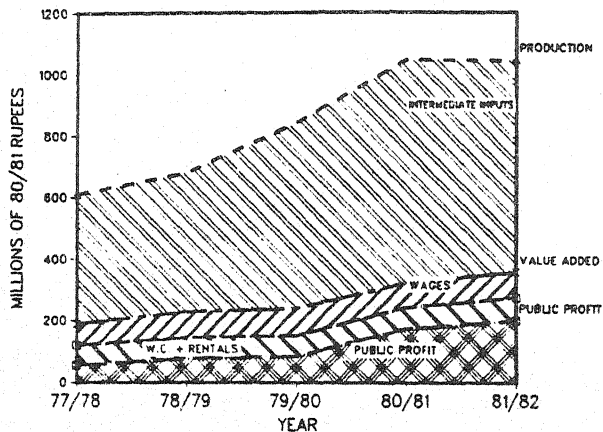


FIGURE 4(b)  
PERFORMANCE OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR: PUBLIC PROFIT/OUTPUT

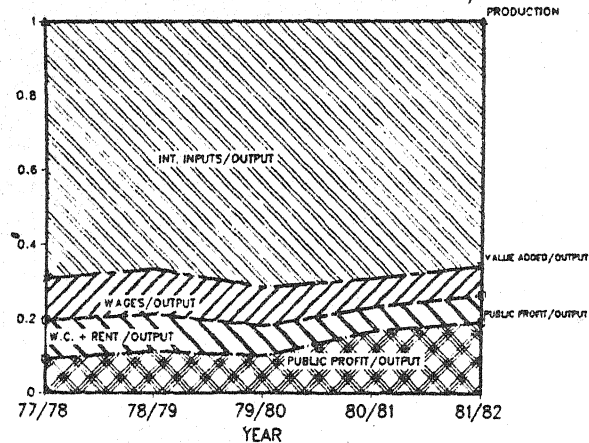


Fig. 4 Public Sector: Generation of Public Profit at Constant Prices

#### Distribution of Surplus

It is natural to wonder what happens to the positive 'real' surplus. How does it end up being negative? A clue to answering this question is provided by Table 6 and Fig. 5. However, to examine this table and figure, it is necessary to begin by defining certain

relationships. In a previous section, we have already discussed the differences between private profit and public profit. Here, we present the exact relationship between the two:<sup>35</sup>

private profit (after taxes)

+returns to non-shareholders

direct taxes

interest payments

other distributions

dividends in kind

--non-operational returns

financial income and rent

capital gains and transfer

+depreciation (and amortization)

--opportunity cost of working capital

--adjustments for future periods

--subsidies (less indirect tax)

=public profit (at market cost)

Let us start by looking at the aggregate picture for the two sectors as presented in Table 6. It is clear from the table that, in general, there are four major factors responsible for divergence between public and private profits for this particular industry. They are: (1) Other distributions, (2) Depreciation, (3) Interest payments, and (4) Opportunity cost of working capital. The first three tend to make public profit larger than private profit. The reason, as mentioned earlier, is that these categories are treated as costs in the conventional accounting framework. Public profit does not treat them so. The opposite is true for the opportunity costs of working capital. It is treated as a cost in calculating public profit but is ignored in a conventional profit and loss statement.

The meanings of the terms 'depreciation' and 'interest payment' are the same as that in the conventional accounting framework and, hence, need no elaboration. We will, very briefly, describe the other two.

#### (a) Other Distributions

This category contains: (1) all taxes and dues, and (2) charitable and other donations.<sup>36</sup>

#### (b) Opportunity Cost of Working Capital

To calculate this category of cost, we multiplied the total value of the working capital by its opportunity cost.

Table 6 PUBLIC SECTOR: RECONCILIATION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PROFITS (AGGREGATE)

(Millions of Current Rupees)

Years	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82
Private profit (after taxes)	-8.41	-31.44	-38.21	-34.72	-5.86
+Returns to non-shareholders					
Direct taxes	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil
Interest payments	6.66	17.17	39.46	49.57	56.58
Other distributions	110.84	142.93	149.08	168.12	199.38
-non-operational returns					
(net) financial income					
& rent	2.70	1.61	1.47	1.79	1.63
capital gains and transfers	9.91	7.63	3.39	6.30	4.45
+depreciation (& amortization)	20.85	31.58	45.97	52.85	54.02
-opportunity cost of working capital	33.54	43.28	59.63	68.20	80.27
-adjustments from future periods	4.85	6.35	5.38	-13.62	1.74
=public profit (at factory cost)	78.95	101.38	126.71	173.15	216.02
-subsidies (less indirect taxes)	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil
=public profit (at market cost)	78.95	101.38	126.71	173.15	216.02

The former is obtained by adding up the following: (1) Stock of output inventories, (2) Stock of input inventories, (3) Stock of traded goods inventories, and (4) Financial working capital (such as cash in hand, demand deposits, pre-paid taxes, advances and pre-payments accounts receivables, etc.)

This stock of the working capital represents the scarce resources locked up in the enterprise. Therefore, so goes the economic logic,

we need to charge a price for using them as we would for any other resource, i.e., penalise the enterprise for denying the society the benefit of using these resources.

At what rate do we penalise? We used the interest rate on short term deposit (as reported in the **Reserve Bank of India Bulletins**) as the opportunity cost for the working capital. This represents what one could get by converting the working capital into liquid cash and putting it into the bank.<sup>37</sup>

Having dispensed with definitional issues, we can now return to the central questions raised earlier. First, why is public profit greater than private profit? It is clear from Table 6 that this is primarily due to the 'other distributions' category. In general, one can say that the factors that tend to make public profit greater than private profit (e.g., other distributions, interest, depreciation) dominate the ones that tend to make it smaller (e.g., the opportunity cost of working capital).

The most important item included in the 'other distributions' category is the 'excise duty' collected by the government. This has interesting implications. The reason that the public sector, as a whole, makes losses is because the government chooses to collect the surplus generated by the public enterprises as excise duty and not as profit. In absolute terms, the public sector is far from being a net burden to society, and is, as a matter of fact, a valuable source of revenue to the government.

Let us look at the graphic representation of Table 6 in Fig. 5 (see p.1030) to analyze the differences in the trend of public and private profits for the public sector.

These graphs show how the 'total return' or total surplus generated at current prices was distributed. We note from Fig. 5 that the ratio of public profit to total returns remains remarkably constant at about 0.6. It is clear from the diagram that this was due to two countervailing forces--increase in the share of interest payment and depreciation was matched by a decrease in the share of other distributions.

#### CONCLUSION

It is difficult to dispute the fact that often public enterprises appear to perform poorly in terms of the traditional notion of profit. However, this may be an unreliable criterion for public enterprise performance. To measure the 'true' performance of public enterprises, we need to consider the publicly relevant costs and benefits as captured in the concept of "public profitability at constant prices". We tried to show that this approach is not only

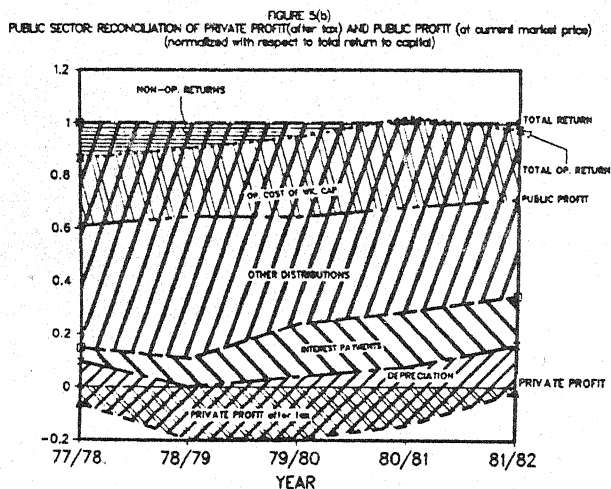
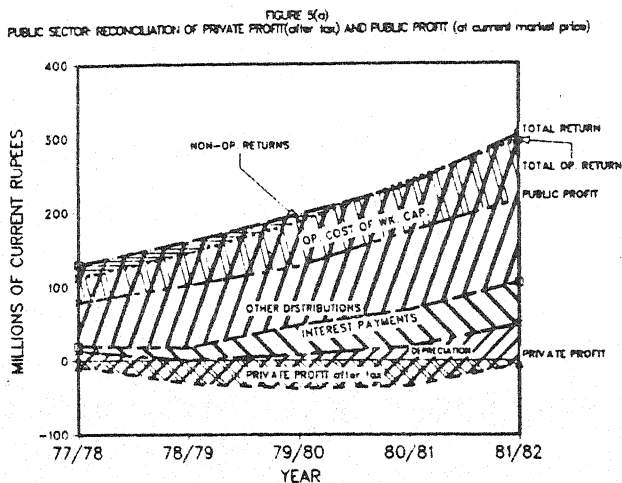


Fig. 5 Public Sector: Reconciliation of Public and Private Profits

conceptually sound and revealing, but empirically feasible as well. Therefore, similar work at the macro level for the entire public enterprise sector would be very useful.

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20. The problems associated with the use of partial indicators for performance evaluation are similar to those with the three blind men in the classic 'elephant' story, each expressing "what's an elephant like," but, in fact was merely observing one aspect of the whole without comprehension of the totality. Similarly, in performance evaluation, inferences drawn on such partial indicators are likely to be misleading.  
One may extend this story to see the dangers of policy formulation arising out of performance evaluation based on partial indicators. The three blind men were further asked to find out what makes an elephant move. The man holding the tail pulled it and the elephant moved from side to side. The one touching the stomach pinched it causing it to move up. Each succeeded in moving only the part they were touching but each thought they had found a way to make the entire elephant move. Similarly, a policy prescription based on partial indicators may improve some aspect of enterprise performance but not necessarily the overall performance.
21. The effect of these changes is increase in criteria 3 to 7; decrease in 2; no effect on 1 and 9; and unpredictability for criteria 8 and 10. On balance, it would appear that the positive effects dominate.
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  36. Every variable we list in our discussion has been adjusted, as far as possible, for the values which were recorded in a parti-

cular year but were actually attributable to another year.

37. Notice that the definition of the working capital used by the financial analysts is different from the one used here. They define working capital as the difference between current assets and current liabilities. They do so because their main objective in studying working capital is to ascertain the net liquidity of the enterprise.

## Note

# Police-People Relationship in Contemporary India

RANJIT DAS GUPTA

RECENT YEARS have witnessed 'law and order' problems assuming rapidly increasing importance in the socio-political life of the nation. These years have also seen growing involvement of police in public affairs and extension of police power. In the process, many serious problems have arisen which have come in for considerable public attention.

### ORIENTATION

In discussing the relationship between police and people in today's India, attention needs to be focused, amongst other things, on the following four aspects.

1. The police-public relationship, in the words of the National Police Commission (NPC), "at present are in a very unsatisfactory state".
2. Even a cursory perusal of the NPC Reports, available academic writings, findings of civil liberties associations and journalistic write-ups in various newspapers unmistakably indicate that police-public relationship is not based on consent and mutual respect. On the contrary, it is characterised by mistrust and deep hostility. Common people, particularly the

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Presented to All India Seminar on the "Role of the Police in a Changing Society in India", sponsored by Law Research Institute, Calcutta and Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta. The seminar was held at IIMC Campus on November 2 and 3, 1985. The author wishes to thank Shri A.P. Mukherjee for giving various types of help in the preparation of this note. However, the responsibility for the opinion expressed in the note is exclusively that of the author.

working masses view police as a symbol of state repression and protector of vested interests and powerful persons in the society.

3. There is no popular check and control on the power and authority of the police from below.
4. The police is accountable for its activities and performance to the democratically elected government, to the law of the land and to the superiors in the administrative and police hierarchy. But there is no accountability to the people in any direct and intimate sense.

The prevailing popular perception of police and absence of any involvement of the people in the affairs of police, particularly in what may be termed as 'policing the police' is not all surprising. Firstly, in any class-divided society, however democratically organised the polity may be, police system is essentially an instrument of coercion wielded in the interests of the propertied and dominant classes and groups. In India too, the role of police is basically the same.

Secondly, the fundamental orientation, structure and functioning of Indian Police have remained unchanged for over a century. The three basic statutes pertaining to police work, viz., the Indian Penal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Indian Evidence Act were enacted in the years immediately following the Great Rebellion of 1857. They reflected the concern of the Raj to contain popular discontent, anger and urge for driving out the alien rulers.

During freedom struggle, police was treated as an active agent. It was deployed to protect and promote interest of the Raj and its Indian underlings and to suppress indigenous classes, and groups exhibiting any form of patriotic aspiration opposed to the Raj. Any movement and struggle for ending the Raj, even the non-violent ones, were viewed as threat to 'law and order' whose breakdown or breach of peace was considered as crime and criminality.

But even after more than three decades of Independence and introduction of democratic political institutions, the colonial philosophy indicated above reigns supreme at least as far as the police administration and police functioning are concerned. Despite the perspective of social justice-oriented socio-economic change put forward in the Directive Principles of our Constitution and a host of legislations for bringing about such change, the police system and in a sense the administrative apparatus too remain wedded to the philosophy of stability of existing social order *sans* change. It is this essentially *status quo*-ist outlook of the police system which lies behind the tension and even hostility in the police-public

relationship.

Relevantly, it needs to be noted that any effort, particularly organised popular intervention and political struggle, for bringing socio-economic changes in the interest of the exploited, oppressed and downtrodden classes and social groups (such as the peasants, rural poor, agricultural labourers, industrial workers, unemployed, scheduled castes and tribals) cannot but be 'destabilising'. And all such struggles are viewed by both the dominant classes and groups and the police committed to the preservation and perpetuation of *status quo* as disruption of law and order which in its turn is equated with criminal acts.

It is true that a major function of police is enforcement of 'law'. It is also true that another major function is maintenance of 'order'. But in a political democracy, in the midst of a process of change, it is imperative to bear in mind that an important lesson of history is that the boundaries of what is considered as illegal or criminal are elastic and the limits of law have been repeatedly altered by intensive popular intervention and struggle. History is replete with instances of such changes.

The relation of politics and popular struggles to 'crime' is thus a complex one and it is vital on the part of the police authority and police force to have a proper understanding of this complexity. This implies a change in basic approach towards people at large and organised collective movement. The police must be in a position to reorient itself in a way that it can respond positively to popular discontent and anger generated by the deepening socio-economic crisis and deep-seated urge for radical socio economic change. Such a fundamental reorientation is one of the preconditions for a new kind of police-community relationship based on mutual respect and cooperation. Without such a change, 'human relations' training and similar other programme, though certainly of some use, will eventually turn out to be essentially fruitless.

Before concluding this section, it is imperative to add that the leadership within the police system is not solely responsible for continuance of colonial legacy and philosophy and persistence of *status quo*-ist orientation. The major responsibility lies with the political leadership in power. The Congress Party in its various incarnations has never been interested in bringing about any fundamental change in police outlook and functioning. The Janata Party which ruled at the Centre for a brief period and also most of the non-Congress parties coming to power at different states have not shown any significant interest in police reforms. In a sense, it is only the Left parties and groups allied with them which have taken some moves for reorientation of the police force. But even these

have been of very limited nature and have not been associated with any initiative for involving the people in a non-partisan fashion.

It follows that it is primarily for the political leadership to rise to the challenge of the situation and initiate a process of reorientation and restructuring of the police system and functioning. This default on the part of the political leadership must, however, not be construed to mean that the police authority can be absolved of its own responsibility.

#### POPULAR CONTROL

Proceeding from what has been discussed above, it may be stated that the police is to function as 'responsible agents of society', and not 'superior to society'. But how the society is to ensure that the police will remain 'responsible' and not 'superior' to it? The issue is a complex and difficult one. Because of the nature of police's function, police has to be given considerable discretion in decision-making and operations. But if discretion is to be allowed in the system, popular control needs also to be placed on its exercise. Proceeding from such a position, it is necessary to make a continuous search for a proper relationship between a police system subject to popular control and also accountable to the society and people aware of their rights and obligations.

In the light of many instances of gross misuse of power by the police and also of manipulations to which the police are subjected by ruling political parties or leaders belonging to such parties, it is necessary to devise measures and institutions to prevent all these. Rule of law, civil liberties and checks on arbitrary power provided in our Constitution put certain limits to the power of police. Under the Constitution, the state government too has the power of superintendence over the police. Yet the present position is not satisfactory.

Keeping in mind the need for proper discharge of this superintending responsibility with due regard to healthy norms, the National Police Commission, in their Second Report, recommended the setting up of a statutory State Security Commission (SCC) in each state composed of the Minister-in-Charge of Police as *ex officio* Chairman, two MLAs—one from the ruling party and another from the opposition parties—and four other members to be appointed by the Chief Minister, subject to approval by the State Legislature, from retired High Court Judges, retired senior government servants and social scientists or academicians of public standing with the State Police Chief as the *ex-officio* Secretary of the Commission. The functions of the Commission would include, among other things, laying down of broad policy guide-



lines and direction for the performance of police functions and also monitoring the performance of the State Police and submission of annual appraisal report to the State Legislature. With some modifications, the constitution of the State Security Commission can certainly be an important innovation, not only to put restraint on misuse of power by the police but also to prevent the narrow partisan use to which they themselves are subjected by a ruling party or a clique within the party and check the growth of an unholy police-politician nexus. Alternatively, the desirability and feasibility of a new state/range/district/circle/thana level police authority composed of representatives from appropriate elected bodies--Legislative Assembly/Zilla Parishad/ Panchayats--as well as the Home Ministry and executive authority can also be considered.

But howsoever representative or broad-based character may be given to the SSC or any similar organisation, the SSC will remain essentially an organ sanctioned and controlled by the executive from above. This must not be construed as underplaying of the role that a SSC-type organisation can play. But what is also needed is active involvement of public in policy-making by the police, in general, and securing their cooperation in law-enforcement and police work in particular. Stress needs to be given on ongoing efforts, mechanisms and institutions which will make possible participation of and control by the people, particularly of the subordinate classes and groups. But while this principle is usually admitted in principle, precious little has been done to give concrete shape in the form of institutions. But is it not possible to conceive of a network of associations, councils, committees, etc., at the grassroots level operating alongside a SSC-type organisation?

Proceeding from such an approach, accent needs to be given on consultation with the public at various levels. One institutional mechanism may be statutory liaison committee between local community groups and the police, that is, some mechanism similar to the one recommended by Lord Scarman in his Report on Brixton disorder in April 1981. Another recommendation of Scarman that statutory obligation be imposed on chief police officers and authorities to set up local consultative committee also deserve notice. At least, the appropriateness and practicability of having these types of innovations need to be seriously examined and debated. The important point is to ensure contacts and consultation between the police and public on a regular and institutional basis.

#### ACCOUNTABILITY

Any organised system involves the concept of accountability of its

performance to a higher authority. The Indian police force too is accountable not only to the executive but also to the legislature, that is, elected popular representatives through the executive, to the judiciary and to the law of the country. Within the hierarchically organised police system itself, there is an arrangement for accountability. But what is totally absent is some kind of accountability to the public at different levels. But for building up a healthy police-public relationship, it is essential to have in-built arrangements and statutory procedure to satisfy the people about their impartiality and fairness.

At present, there is the practice of paying visit to the police stations by senior police officers and supervision of their functioning. It is certainly a good practice and needs to be retained and strengthened. But, in addition to this, why not appoint lay visitors to visit randomly police stations and to look into their functioning?

Complaints against the police range from refusal to make case diary to torture or rape in police custody and death in 'encounters'. There is a well-laid down procedure for dealing with such complaints and their redressal. But often these lack credibility and there are solid reasons for this lack of credibility. In view of this, cannot an independent element be introduced in the complaint procedure? In this connection, one may draw attention to a special statutory remedy provided in Britain to deal with complaints against the police. The Police and Criminal Evidence Act of 1984 has established the Police Complaints Authority (PCA). It is composed of a chairman and not less than eight other members. It can set up regional offices as well. Ordinarily, complaints against the police are investigated by the appropriate police authority. But they are bound to refer to the PCA any complaint regarding death or serious injury due to the police conduct. This is in addition to PCA's power to direct the police authority to submit to them any complaint not sent to the PCA. Further, the PCA supervises the investigation of the complaint and submits an annual report to the Home Secretary which is placed before the Parliament.

These institutions need not be copied but can be studied for suitable adaptation in Indian conditions. In the light of the Bhagalpur blindings, rapes by policemen in many places, torture in police custody and numerous 'encounters' resulting in killings, what is needed is an independent examination of complaints against the police. Is it not possible to set up a panel of independent persons with retired Inspector General of Police also as a member which will receive the complaints and supervise investigation? Such a panel may be given the power to initiate action immediately if there is a death in an 'encounter' or a firing. It is possible to conceive of other

mechanisms too to ensure public accountability.

#### CONCLUSION

This is not a comprehensive note. Some suggestions are put forward here in order to provoke discussion. A point that needs to be reiterated is that fundamental reorientation and restructuring of the police system in India involving active participation of the people are urgently called for. Here, marginal changes in the existing system cannot meet the needs of a rapidly changing socio-economic situation. Further, to be effective, the initiative must come from the political leadership committed to protection and deepening of political democracy in India. Such an initiative cannot brook any further delay.

# An Overview of Educational Policy and Administration in India : States and Union Territories

## State

### ASSAM

THE LAISSEZ FAIRE creed which aims to promote the unlimited competition has not outlived its utility at least in the context of a democracy fostering the ideas and ideals of welfare state. The state, the members of a society, are really a partnership—a partnership in all science, in all art, in every virtue, and in all perfection. In point of fact the true function of a state is, by positive as well as by negative, means to make the most and the best of the individuals, or rather to aid him in making the most and the best of himself.<sup>1</sup> The involvement of government be it central or state, as such, in the selective arena of activities, particularly in the educational syndrome is, undoubtedly, an imperative necessity. Keeping an eye on it, the Government of India, under the constitutional obligation, put the educational activity in the state list, albeit, by way of constitutional amendment it has been enlisted in the concurrent list ever since 1976, ensuring a new sharing of responsibility between the state and the Union Government insofar as financial and administrative and other academic policies are concerned.

The education of India which was in embryonic stage of development in the pre-Independence era failed to embody any tangible change even in free India till the beginning of 50th decade. Only after the adoption of constitution for the nation this subject had a square deal under the zealous ministries of provincial Governments. The situation in Assam, against this backdrop does not provide us a different reading, although, the pace of development in the field of education has been slowed down in this outback and was not in conformity with the rest of India. In the national scenario of education the changes have been accepted and incorporated and policies formulated in the light of the purports of the national commissions and committees, right from Dr. Radha Krishnan (1948-49) Commission to Kothari Commission (1964-66) and other committees instituted ever since Independence. The education in Assam also developed synchro-

nising the transcripts of the commissions and committees of national level.

The State Government of Assam, unlike the Union Government had nothing to mark an epoch in the history of education. Yet to bring the state at par with others the Government made many ventures for bringing some reforms in the educational sphere by accepting the recommendations of committees and also by working in the true spirits of the Acts, Rules passed and enacted time to time in the field of education of the state. A brief overview of the changes of educational policies and administration hitherto made in the State of Assam from Elementary to the higher education level is underscored and incorporated in this write-up as under.

#### ELEMENTARY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

##### **The Primary Education Act 1947**

In the Pre-Independence era the primary education of the state as was elsewhere run in the light of recommendations of S.H. Woods Educational Despatch (1854) and Hunter Commission (1882) instituted by the British rule. The Commission which *inter alia*, suggested the administration of the primary schools by the Local Board, imparting education through the mother tongue, framing curriculum based on local environment and the needs, continued to dictate the terms even after Independence. The free and universal primary education aimed at under the Act 1926 did not have any impact in Assam as the Local Board, the authority on which the sole power of management and administration of primary education of the state vested upon under the provision of the "Assam Primary Education Act-1947" of Assam legislature failed to come forward for its implementation with required zeal. The net result of it was that the literacy rate of Assam stood palpably low (18 per cent ) in the census 1951.

##### **Assam Basic Education Act 1954**

To make the primary education universal and meaningful to all a policy of effective nature deemed necessary by the Government. With this idea in view the "Assam Basic Education Act, 1954" was enacted for the expansion, management and control of basic education in the state. This idea of basic education, of course, came off in the state belatedly. The other parts of India set for this type of education much earlier. Among other things this Act aimed at introducing gradually, universal, free and compulsory basic education in Assam. This Act set aside the earlier Act of 1947.

The Government of Assam, under this Act constituted a State level Education Board with Education Minister as Chairman and the Director

of Public Instruction as its Vice-Chairman. For the rapid expansion and better management of primary/basic education in the State, further, as per decision of this State Advisory Education Board a few Regional Basic Education Boards with Deputy Inspector of Schools at the apex were instituted.

Notwithstanding this administrative network the basic education in Assam did not have a promising look, rather it suffered for want of public cooperation, people's understanding of the basic tenets of 'Nai Talim' or Basic Education of Mahatma Gandhi's dream. This also got set back in absence of trained up teachers, and the required infrastructural facilities at the school level.

The most gratifying picture of the basic education in Assam during 54-60 was, however, that the number of basic schools of different categories went up (5 folds) along with the increase of learners at the lower level of education. The number of students (Sr. and Jr. Basic School) was nearly six times more in 1960. But against the avowed policy of Government for universalisation of primary as well as basic education in the State this was proved to be quite inadequate.

#### **Assam Elementary Education Act 1962**

In the wake of the decentralisation of political power in Assam, consequent upon the enforcement of Assam panchayat Act 1959 the state Government, further, enacted a new act in 1968 whereby the administrative set-up for the primary education overhauled by reconstituting the Boards at the state and regional levels. The Act empowered the state level board for giving grants to local authorities, for appointing the teachers and paying their salaries, etc. The Act put off the idea of compulsory education beyond 8th standard. It left the primary education at the disposal of district council insofar as the hill areas are concerned. This Act repealed the earlier Act of 1954. Before the provincialisation of Elementary Education in 1974, in between another Act was passed in 1968 which provided for free compulsory education in Assam and a change in the management and control of elementary education.

#### **The Assam Elementary Education (Provincialisation) Act 1974**

The most striking event that has ever emerged out in the field of elementary education in the state was the provincialisation of elementary education. The management and control of the elementary education, hitherto vested in the authorities as per Act 1962, 68 have been taken over by the state government. The Act made it expedient to provincialise the services of teachers of elementary schools including pre-primary schools and employees of the respective

boards. Under Article 25 of the Constitution of India, the state government were required to endeavour to provide for free and compulsory education to all Children up to the age of 14 years, and in implementation thereof the repealed Act was enacted and the Act in question has basically been in the same spirit. The hill areas of the state were, however, left outside its coverage. The Act, herein after empowered the D.P.I., Assam to act as administrative head of elementary education and authorised him to exercise such powers and perform such duties as may be required for carrying out the purposes of this Act.

#### **The Assam Elementary Education Rules, 1977 and the Assam Elementary Education Service and Conduct Rules 1981**

These further, provided for the method of recruitment of teachers, payment of liabilities of the Board and management of elementary schools, etc. These rules further, provided for creation of Directorate of Elementary Education in the state.

#### **Report on the Study of Administration of Elementary Education, Assam (1979)**

A project under the caption "Administration of Elementary Education in relation to the programme of universalisation" has been carried out in the state in 1979 (Das)<sup>2</sup> with the necessary guidelines and financial help from NIEPA, New Delhi. The study, in addition to making a dent on the programmes of universalisation of elementary education had a square deal on the existing pattern of educational administration at the elementary level in Assam. Dealing with a wide range of problems, academic and non academic inhibiting the working of the elementary education in the state a volley of recommendations, based on the findings have been forwarded in the study.

The recommendations in main, among others, were the census of children in the age group of 6-14 years at each village for a proper educational planning, increase in enrolment, bringing back dropout and traunts to the schools by giving appeal through the voluntary agencies, definite procedure for awarding incentives to the needy and poor children, introduction of periodical internal assesment of all aspects of pupils' achievement needed for promotion, selection and appointment of teachers based on personality and attitude tests, establishment of village education committee involving the educational authority, the school and the local society, slashing down the coverage of schools (98 to 50) per Inspecting officer, development of scientific inspecting proforma, etc.

The study, further, catching a glimpse on the existing administrative pattern of elementary education aptly recommended a thorough

reorganisation of Educational Directorate, streamlining the entire machinery to cope with the programme of universalisation of primary education. Most of these recommendations put forward in the report have received Governments' agile attention and found place in the present policy of Government of Assam insofar as elementary education is concerned.

#### THE SECONDARY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

The secondary level of education in Assam is the legacy of colonial rule. The system of education that has been found in the pre-Independence era prevailed in this state at least till the implementation of the report of Mudaliar Commission (1953) for the secondary level of education in India.

The Mudaliar Commission's recommendation suggesting the reorganisation of the secondary education in the country has equally been accepted by the state as per directives of Central Government. The State Government taking part in this reorganisation task on experimental basis established 15 nos of secondary and multipurpose schools with different disciplines and faculties in Assam. Amongst them 4 schools were converted to higher secondary level.

The conspicuous development in the field of Secondary education during the period of 1953-54 to 1964-65 was that the number of high English schools was trebled and the number of students also went up by more than 3 times. The number of Middle English school was doubled whereas the increase in the number of Middle vernacular schools in Assam was very nominal. Government had to strive much to ameliorate the conditions of the schools of secondary level and on this account a number of measures such as enhancement of salaries of teachers, scholarship to increase number of students, opening of Teachers' Training College, Change in the school Inspectorate by creating 7 Circles for the State, etc., were taken up.

#### The Assam Secondary Education Act 1961

The Assam Secondary Education Act 1961 was to provide for the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education to regulate, supervise and develop secondary education in the State of Assam. The Act, however, came into force w.e.f. 1966. This Act in the spirit of the purports of the Mudaliar Commission empowered the Board to take over the control of examination and the management of the schools from the Guwahati University and the Department of Education respectively. The Board named as "Secondary Education Board of Assam" thereafter, headed by a Chairman nominated by the Government. The Board with 21 other members, *ex officio*, nominated and co-opted is at the helm of



affairs insofar as the control, management of the secondary education is concerned. In academic matters such as the preparation of curriculum up to 10th standard of secondary education, the conduct of examination, viz., the HSLC has been the responsibilities of the Board.

#### **Assam Secondary Education (Provincialisation) Act 1977**

In the 28th year of the Republic of India the "Assam Secondary Education (Provincialisation) Act 1977" was enacted for the improvement of Secondary education in the state. The Act empowered the Government to provincialise the secondary education covered by the deficit scheme of the Government of Assam for its improvement and for better control and management in the state.

The "Assam Non-Government School and College Employees P.F. Scheme Act 1969" and the "Assam Secondary Education (provincialisation) Service and conduct Rule 1979" coupled with the Assam Secondary Education (provincialised) Service Rules, 1982, have, further, been enacted by the State wherein it has been provided for a change in the inspection of the school alongwith the regularisation of services of the provincialised schools raising a required cadre for the purpose.

### **HIGHER EDUCATION**

The light of higher education which illuminated India under the colonial rule took much time to traverse and illumine Assam, an outback of India. This situation was, perhaps, the attribution of the geographical isolation on the one hand and the late rule of British over Assam (since 1826) on the other hand. In the pre-Independence era the development of higher education in the state was in nonentity. In the name of higher education in the entire state till 1930 there were only two Colleges. The number of colleges, however, went up to 18 with 5535 students under them in 1947-48.

The existing system of education with the dawn of freedom in India proved to be misfit and unwieldy in view of the new socio-political and economic urges. An attempt was, therefore, made to make education planned for meeting the new urges of the country. The institution of Radhakrishnan Commission of 1948-49 for higher education was the outcome of this necessity.

In Assam, after Independence, a new era has emerged out in the field of higher education. "The Guwahati University Act 1947" provided for the establishment of a university in Assam to meet the long felt necessity for Collegiate and University level of education in this region. The establishment of the Guwahati University in 1948 expedited the pace of development of higher education in the north-

eastern region the mushroom growth of colleges imparting education in different disciplines and faculties was notable feature of higher education immediately after the establishment of the university. The higher education as such preponderated with the liberal type of Arts and science education till the beginning of the 2nd 5 year plan. The position, of course, broke in with the establishment of two engineering Colleges in 1955-56 and 1960-61, one medical College in 1960 and a few more technical schools including a college of Agriculture in addition to the existing college of Veterinary Science and a medical College established with the dawn of freedom.

The establishment of two more universities--one under the Dibrugarh University Act 1965 and the other under the Assam Agricultural University Act 1968 along with a regional College of engineering has further accelerated the pace of development in higher education, technical and non-technical in the State of Assam.

#### THE PATTERN OF EDUCATION FROM ELEMENTARY TO HIGHER EDUCATION AS ON TODAY--A REVIEW

In the wake of manifold changes in the socio-political and economic scenario of India the recommendation of the erstwhile commissions headed by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and Dr. L.S. Mudaliar proved to be more or less out of date. The reorganisation and reorientation of education as such, at all stages elementary, secondary, university and technical level was the pressing need of the last sixty. To cope with this changing circumstances and derive the national objectives underscored in the constitution the Kothari Commission was instituted in 1964. The Kothari Commission's report on being accepted and implemented by Government ever since 1966 gave a new look to the education in India. In Assam a change in the pattern of education was brought with effect from 1973. This was in the light of Kothari Commission *mutandis*. Twelve year education prior to the university education has been accepted. At lower primary level 4 years duration has been envisaged (the admission age in the 1st year at the lowest level being 6 years) and at upper primary 3 years have been considered. Taken together the seven years education have been placed under the elementary education. The Secondary education starts with 8th standard of education covering a period of 3 years up to 10th standard is in vogue. The higher secondary education spreaded over two years duration. For the proper management, control, supervision and regulation of the working of 2 years higher secondary education in the state the Government established one Higher Secondary Council as provided for in the "Assam Higher Secondary Council Act 1984". In the policy for reformation of education in Assam in 1973 many changes

insofar as the adoption of curriculum and the teaching of languages at the three stages of 10 years education are concerned have been incorporated as under.

At the lower primary level instruction is carried on either through mother tongue or through regional language. At upper primary stage of education the 1st language which is a compulsory one is either mother tongue or regional language.

The 2nd language is English and the third language is either Assamese or Hindi per convenience. An optional language from amongst the prevailing modern Indian languages has been allowed. The third and the optional language are considered for 6th and 7th standard only. For Secondary level of education 1st language is any modern Indian language. Second language is English and the two more optional languages are taught at that stage of education.

For the better and effective implementation of the programmes as per educational planning and policies of the state as well as Central Governments, the education department has been attuned and re-organised. In keeping up with the exigency of time the education department at the Apex as well as Directorate level has been revamped in the following manner. At the apex level there are three branches --Education (General), Education (C.T.M.) and Education (Personnel). At the Directorate level, the erstwhile Directorate of Public Instruction has been bifurcated into 3 Directorates--Directorate of Higher Education, Directorate of Secondary Education and Directorate of SCERT.

The creation of State Council for Educational Research and Training, an apex academic organisation at the State level is a striking event in the history of education in Assam. The question of establishment of this pedagogic organisation which obsessed the mind of a few academicians<sup>3</sup> for sometime in the past has been materialised only in the year 1985 March. This Directorate, *inter alia*, is aiming at streamlining, coordinating, integrating the academic running as well as improving the qualitative aspect of education up to 10+2 stage of education in the state.

In addition to these, the other Directorates working under the Education Department are Directorate of Elementary Education, Adult Education, Technical Education, Cultural Affairs, Library Services, Sports and Youth Welfare, Archaeology, Historical and Antiquarian studies, District Gazetters, etc.

At present the State with 21,729 primary and Junior Basic schools having 17,51,000 enrolment, Middle and Senior Basic school numbering 4,390 with 601,000 students, high and higher secondary schools numbering 2,227 with 6,38,000 students, 145 Degree Colleges (General) with 1.3 lakh students, 3 universities with 4,770 students, 3 Engineering

Colleges with 1,849 students one veterinary college, 7 law colleges, one Ayurvedic College, 7 Polytechnic with 2,478 students, Teacher's Training Colleges and 10 I.T.I. with 2,276 students under them<sup>4</sup> has faced problems insofar as the educational planning, implementation and administration are concerned.

The wastage and stagnation which rates high (wastage at the rate of 75 per cent --R. Devi<sup>5</sup>--1958-59, and wastage-nation 76.27 per cent - Das 1970<sup>6</sup> in the State against 58 per cent in 1960-61 for the nation<sup>7</sup>) is a number one problem of the primary level. Coupled with this, the problem of frequent change of policies, indifferent attitude of local bodies, absence of public cooperation, unsuitable curriculum, shortage of trained and untrained teachers, defective administration, too much politicking in educational sphere, lack of seriousness and sincerity of teachers, absence of school complex, lack of proper inspection, lack of infrastructures and other social evils, etc., have made the primary education more problematic. The identical problems and a few concomitant problems such as aimlessness, absence of harmonization, language, absence of guidance, vocationalisation, finance, etc., defective system of examination and unscientific evaluation and assessment have further aggravated the situation at secondary level of education.

Despite various educational inputs, the State achievement profile over the decades seem less encouraging. The stigma of an educationally backward state alongwith 8 others is a challenge that needs to be urgently faced. And to top it all is the urgency of implementing the parametres of the New Education Policy. The task ahead is, therefore, stupendous and a battle royal is to be fought by the State Government with support from all conceivable agencies to tame the multi-faceted problems that have bedevilled the educational system so long. With the installation of the new Government it is hoped that the educational outlook of the future would be quite impressive.

--S.K. CHOUDHURY

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**HIMACHAL PRADESH**

HIMACHAL PRADESH came into existence on April 15, 1948. Until November, 1956, it was a part 'C' State in the Indian Union under a Chief Commissioner. The Education Department was established soon thereafter. It was then headed by a Deputy Director of Education, assisted by two inspectors of schools.

Marked by a general apathy of people towards education, progress of education in the various constituent units of the Pradesh then had been far from uniform. The teachers were mostly untrained, with meagre and varying pay scales. The educational institutions functioned in dilapidated buildings with ill-equipped and meagre staff. The education of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and women had been sadly neglected.

Table 1 shows level of educational development in 1948.

Table 1 EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN HIMACHAL PRADESH, 1948

Type of Educational Institution	Number of Schools for		Enrolment		Teachers	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Men	Women
Primary	235	2	8551	329	271	7
Middle	42	4	5542	484	208	23
High	7	2	4218	1002	148	39
College	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	284	8	18,311	1,815	627	69

With the formation of a popular ministry in 1952, control of the State Education Department was vested in the Education Minister, though a Deputy Director continued to head the education department. He was now assisted by five district inspectors of schools (one in each district) in respect of boys' schools, and a lady supervisor for the girls schools. The headmasters of high schools and training schools were directly under the control of the Deputy Director of Education, except for purposes of annual inspection by the district inspectors of schools and the lady supervisor.

In 1952-53, the post of Deputy Director was upgraded to that of Director of Education. The Director of Education was assisted by a Deputy Director of Education and an Education Officer at the directorate level.

In 1956, as a result of the report of the States Reorganisation

Commission, the Pradesh became a Union Territory under a Lt. Governor. In 1957, a Territorial Council was formed in place of the Assembly in order to administer certain transferred subjects. Accordingly, the post of Director of Education was re-designated as Principal Education Officer, who was assisted by two Education Officers and one Education Officer (Woman) at the directorate level. At the inspectorate level, there was no change. With the creation of the new district of Kinnaur in 1960, one more post of district inspector of schools and two posts of divisional inspectors of schools were created. At the directorate level, two posts of Education Officers and one post of Registrar of Departmental Examinations were created. In 1961-62, the higher secondary system of education was introduced in the Pradesh and a number of high schools were upgraded to the higher secondary pattern.

In 1963, the Territorial Council was converted into Vidhan Sabha and a popular ministry was sworn in during July 1963. With the abolition of the Territorial Council, the Director of Education was assigned the charge of Secretary, Education. The Director continued to hold the dual charge till 1970 when his functions were bifurcated and a separate Education Secretary was appointed. At that time, the Director of Education was the head of the Education Department, with one Deputy Director, four Education Officers, one Planning and Development Officer, two Divisional Inspectors of Schools and one Physical Training Supervisor to assist him at the directorate level, and six district inspectors of schools and 39 assistant district inspectors of schools at inspectorate level.

With reorganisation of the erstwhile State of Punjab in 1966, the hilly areas of Kangra, Kullu, Lahaul and Spiti, Simla, Una, Nalagarh, etc., were added to Himachal Pradesh, raising its area to 55,673 sq.kms. The state is now divided into three zones: south, central and north, with one deputy director in each zone responsible for school inspection, control and supervision of education. Currently, the Director of Education is assisted by three Joint Directors' one Deputy Director and six Assistant Directors at the directorate level, three Deputy Directors at the zonal level, 12 District Education Officers and seven Deputy District Education Officers at the district level.

In order to give greater attention to development of primary education, Directorate of Primary Education was separately constituted in 1981. It is headed by a Director of Primary Education, who is assisted by one Deputy Director and two Assistant Directors at the Directorate level, 12 District Primary Education Officers at the District level and 114 Block Primary Education Officers at the block level.

## EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

When Himachal Pradesh became the 18th State of the Indian Union on January 25, 1971, the number of primary schools had risen to 3,757 and that of high and higher secondary schools to 512 and the literacy percentage had gone up to 31.32. Now there is a network of 7,000 primary units, 1,200 middle units, 711 secondary units, 18 government colleges, one sainik school, three universities and one Board of School Education. The literacy percentage reached 42.48 in 1981.

In order to fulfil the constitutional obligation to provide free and compulsory education to all those in the age-group 6-14, the Himachal Pradesh Government has initiated some steps. The people have become education-minded and are keen to make full use of the educational facilities being provided by the government. By the end of the Seventh Five Year Plan, the state shall have 8,000 primary units and more than 1,800 middle units. By 1990, there will be about 10,00,000 children in primary schools and 4,00,000 in middle schools. This will represent a coverage of 96 per cent in the age group 6-11 years and 75 per cent in the age group of 11-14 years. Thus, the state would be quite close to attain the national target in 6-11 age-group. However, in the case of 11-14 age group, considerable leeway will remain to be made.

On an average, a primary school is available for an area of 7 sq.km. catering to a population of 600 persons and a middle school is available for an area of 30 sq.km. catering to the needs of 2,000 persons. The aim is to open more and more primary and middle units to provide educational opportunities within the easy reach of every child.

Incentives are being offered by the State Government to bring more and more members of neglected sections of our society under the educational umbrella. At present, scheduled caste girls in classes VI to VIII, whose parents/guardians' income is below Rs. 6,000 p.a are awarded a stipend @ Rs. 30 p.m. and an annual grant of Rs.100 for purchase of books, clothing, etc. The total expenditure on free supply of text books and free uniforms to girls is also likely to increase during Seventh Plan.

In terms of quality, it is fortunate that practically all teachers in the state are trained. In fact, there is a large number of unemployed persons in the state with qualifications of B.A., B.Ed., PTI; Shastri; Drawing Master; etc. More science teachers will be needed in the state in years to come. That is why B.Ed. Courses for science teachers have been restarted in training college at Dharamsala and Himachal Pradesh University, w.e.f. 1985-86.

With regard to pupil-teacher ratio, our figures are quite favour-

able. In 1973, this ratio was 30 for Himachal Pradesh and 36 for India at the primary level, and 22 for Himachal Pradesh and 31 for the country at the middle level. At high and higher secondary level, the state's ratio was 26 and 27 for the country as a whole.

#### EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Educational facilities available at present in the state are as follows:

S.No.	School/College	Numbers
1.	Primary Schools	6887
2.	Middle Schools	971
3.	Secondary Schools	695
4.	Senior Secondary Schools	101
5.	Colleges	28
6.	Universities	3
7.	Sainik Schools	1
8.	Board of School Education	1
9.	Government College of Education	1
10.	Medical College	1
11.	Regional Engineering College	1

#### EDUCATION OF WEAKER SECTIONS

Some of the measures taken by the government in order to encourage educationally backward sections are mentioned as under:

##### Scheduled Tribes

The department implements a special Sub-Plan for educational development in tribal areas. Free hostel facilities are being provided to about 300 children in Lahaul & Spiti. Special care has been taken to identify prospective primary teachers belonging to the tribal areas for admission to Basic Training Schools.

##### Scheduled Castes

A special component plan for scheduled castes is being implemented in the education sector. The government has also decided to provide scholarships at the rate of Rs. 30 p.m. with annual grant of Rs. 100 p.a. for scheduled caste girls in Classes VI-XI with annual income below Rs. 6,000. In the matter of opening new primary schools, due consideration is given to habitations predominantly populated by scheduled castes.



### **Handicapped Children**

A beginning has been made to extend educational facilities to orthopaedically handicapped, mentally retarded and deaf children at Shimla. The experiment in the integrated education of handicapped children is being tried in a couple of schools.

### **Other Incentives**

These include provision of: (a) free text-books/book banks in classes I-XI, (b) free writing material in classes I & II, (c) free clothing for girls, and (d) attendance scholarships.

## **ADULT EDUCATION**

The significant increase in literacy percentage from 7.1 per cent in 1951 to 41.94 per cent in 1981 is due to expansion of facilities for primary education and systematic efforts in the area of adult education. However, despite that the number of illiterates has also gradually increased from 22.14 lakh in 1961 to 24.61 lakh in 1981. The Department is currently running about 1,100 centres for adults. The Himachal Pradesh University and the Nehru Yuvak Kendras are also doing some work in this field.

## **NEW CURRICULUM AND TEXT BOOKS**

New syllabus and courses of study for classes 10+2 have been introduced from 1986-87. The study of Science and Mathematics has been made compulsory for all up to matriculation. Socially Useful Productive Work has been included as an integral part of the new curriculum.

New NCERT text-books from Class I to X will be introduced in the schools in a phased manner after 1986-87. All text books have been nationalised. The new school curriculum introduced in schools includes instructions in Yoga, SUPW and Education in Human Values.

## **GAMES, SPORTS AND YOUTH PROGRAMME**

The state already has an extensive network of National Cadet Corps (NCC) and National Service Scheme (NSS) activities, playgrounds and Nehru Yuvak Kendras.

## **BUILDINGS**

According to a survey conducted in 1978, 176 institutions were running in the open and 4779 in kacha structures. Since then, 775

primary, 224 middle and 152 High Schools have been opened. This has adversely affected the day-to-day instructional work in the class-rooms and the educational standards. The present requirement of class-rooms is estimated at around 21,824 for which a sum of around Rs. 142 crore is needed. This includes science laboratories, libraries, assembly halls, and office accommodation. Besides, a sum of Rs. 4 crore is required annually for their maintenance.

To mitigate the problem of shortage to some extent at the primary school level, a large number of such buildings have been constructed under the Finance Commission Award, National Rural Employment Programme, Drought and Flood Relief Funds, District Nucleus Fund, small savings prize money and public donations.

#### HIGHER EDUCATION

With the spread of education, pressure for admission to institutions of higher learning is gradually increasing. But presently, more stress is laid on consolidation than expansion in college and University education. Therefore, no new college was opened during the Fifth and Sixth Five Year Plan periods and only three existing sick institutions were taken over. The state proposes to meet the rising demand of new colleges during the Seventh Five Year Plan, besides, starting of evening classes. Postgraduate classes have been started at Dharamsala, Mandi and Shimla. Facilities of coaching centres for students belonging to scheduled castes/scheduled tribes, supply of sports material, promotion of recreational and cultural activities, book banks, national integration, planning forums, camps and study tours, etc., will be added in the years to come.

#### TEACHER TRAINING

Till 1966, there was only one training college at Solan for pre-service and in-service education. But in November 1966, two more training colleges, at Shimla and Dharamsala, were transferred from the then Punjab State. The training college at Shimla was transferred to Himachal Pradesh University and the training college at Solan was converted first into the State Institute of Education and later into the State Council of Educational Research and Training. The Council and Government College of Education at Dharamsala provide pre-service and in-service education.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE

In order to formulate the New Education Policy for the state, a

detailed questionnaire prepared by the Department of Education was circulated in 1985 to a large number of people. The suggestions received from working teachers, heads of educational institutions, BPEO's, DEOs, retired educationists, public men, etc., were examined at various state level meetings and finally adopted at the apex meeting held under the Chairmanship of Financial Commissioner (Education). Some of the significant recommendations are:

1. Primary Schools may have two shifts so that one child from a family may attend the school in morning shift while the other child may at that time attend to domestic chores and they may change places in the afternoon.
2. There should be a greater contact between the parents and teachers so that the community feels greater confidence in the teachers. Teachers posted in rural areas should be provided proper accommodation near the school.
3. Educational innovation, e.g., automatic promotion to brilliant students, un-graded system and non-detention should be introduced in a phased manner. Those students who for certain reasons could not join the school in the early years should be given an opportunity through open school system or supervised studies and extra-coaching with the help of the existing staff.
4. A suggestion for starting a scheme of entrepreneur teachers for un-employed youth was given. Such teachers would work on their own and could be paid a lumpsum amount per student passing in a board examination. The student should be identified as a confirmed drop-out in a printed list, as is done in the case of IRD beneficiaries.
5. Planning for universalisation should be done on the basis of survival rate and not the enrolment rate. The state should be divided into different regions and teachers should be deployed as per the needs of each region. The programme should be evaluated from time to time.
6. Excellence in the field should be rewarded. Honouring of teachers at village level was recommended. Teachers should be given refresher training from time to time to update their knowledge. The role of teacher's associations in this regard was also emphasised. It was recommended that qualification of elementary teacher be raised from Matriculate JBT to trained B.A./B.Sc. Persons with higher education should be encouraged to join the primary schools.
7. Maximum use of mass media be made for increasing literacy rates.

8. There should be proper co-ordination between the various departments like health and family planning, agriculture, animal husbandry, sheep breeding and fisheries so that the platforms used by them for the propagation of their programmes are also used for adult education classes.
9. At present due to lack of proper follow-up, literates are allowed to relapse into illiteracy. To stop this type of wastage there should be greater attention on setting up of village libraries and reading rooms under the supervision of the Panchayats. Villagers should also be exposed to mass media like radio and television so that they continue the learning process.
10. Special courses for drop-outs should be held. Courses in non-formal schools as suggested for elementary education be run for those who want to learn beyond literacy level.
11. Panchayats which are able to reach the targeted literacy rate in the given time should be given cash or kind awards. District literacy shields and prizes should be awarded to the best panchayats annually.
12. Twentyfive per cent of the total number of high schools be raised to senior secondary level (10+2).
13. Qualitative improvement in inspection and supervision will undoubtedly improve the quality of classroom teaching. Monthly and weekly supervision by heads of institutions and inspection by DEO will go a long way in improving educational standards and efficiency of teachers.
14. One of the main problems facing the system of higher education is that of large and ever-increasing number of students in colleges and universities. It is necessary that a proper check on admissions be placed and only those students who have aptitude for higher education be enrolled in colleges and universities. The State Government and UGC should jointly collaborate to increase physical and academic facilities in these institutions so that at least the minimum standards are achieved.
15. While adopting the policy of selective admission a few constraints will have to be kept in view in the context of our present socio-economic structure. Regional, rural-urban and economic imbalances will have to be rationalised.
16. In order to make college education more relevant to the needs of society and in order to equip the students for jobs, certain subjects of practical nature like Home Science, Secretarial practice, Nursing, Hotel Management, Tourism, Bank and Insurance, etc., could be helpful. Mainly rural college boys could

- be given courses relating to agriculture, horticulture, maintenance of agricultural machinery, soil testing, use of fertilizers and marketing of agriculture produce.
17. To make higher education accessible to rural masses and underprivileged sections of society, special emphasis should be given to the opening of institutions of higher education in rural areas. For such areas, provision for residential accommodation must also be made.
  18. In addition to good library facilities, use of audio-visual aids, educational technology (e.g., VCR, TC & Projectors, etc.) should be made integral part of higher education. The State Government and the UGC should provide funds for encouraging such academic facilities.
  19. University and college students should be frequently exposed to social environment of the surrounding area. Area studies should be undertaken to study local needs and to make people aware of the facilities which the State and Central Governments are offering for their development.
  20. Vocational subjects should also be taught at 10+2 stage along with general subjects for acquiring special ability and professional proficiency.
  21. To make vocational education effective, there should be a linkage between it and the industrial system. Both practical and theoretical training in vocational education should be incorporated in actual work situation.
  22. To bridge the gap between appropriate technology development and its application by the rural people and in order to train the rural people, Composite Rural Technology and Training Centres should be created, at least one in each district. These centres should also function as Extension Centres of the Polytechnics.
  23. Adequate funds should be made available to vocational and technical institutions through State Government, direct central assistance, service and consultancy activities and donations.
  24. A common core curriculum of general education be provided for the first ten years of school education. The diversification of studies and specialisation be taken up at plus two stage.
  25. The curriculum at primary level be made simple with reduced load of formal subjects and emphasis be laid on language, elementary mathematics and environmental studies. Environmental studies be made the basis of all the subjects in primary classes. There should be an integrated approach upto primary level, with human values being made a part of each

subject.

26. At plus two stage, the courses be diversified to enable the pupils to study a group of subjects in depth with considerable freedom and elasticity in the grouping of subjects. In order to ensure a balanced development of the adolescent's total personality, the curriculum should provide half the time to the electives, one-fourth to the languages and one-fourth to physical education, art and spiritual education. There should be an interdisciplinary approach.
27. Physical education be given its due place. Guidance and counselling be made an integral part of the school curriculum, especially at the 10+2 stage. Properly trained personnel be deployed.
28. The sanctity of the examination system be upheld by taking vigorous measures for eradication of unfair means, such as strengthening of flying squads, involvement of Heads of Institutions where centres are located, appointment of reliable supervisory staff, increasing the frequency of checking and effectiveness of inspection machinery, creation of separate centres for private candidates, decrease in number of centres for Matric and Middle class examinations, provision of penalty for notorious centres, provision of punishment for defaulting members of supervising staff, evaluation of question banks and bifurcation of marks into objective/short answer type and essay-type questions giving maximum coverage to syllabus, strengthening of examination conduct and secrecy branches of the examining bodies, deterrent punishment for adopting unfair means, dissemination of information of government's resolve to curb malpractices, evaluation of 100 per cent scripts of students getting more than 75 per cent marks, making examination duties compulsory, development of a self-contained compendium on the subject for ensuring close cooperation amongst the various bodies, etc.
29. Workshops should be arranged for the paper setters, head examiners and sub-examiners, subject-wise.
30. A part of the cost of education should be realised from the professional organisations employing the products of educational institutions.
31. Government should increase the expenditure on education from 3 per cent of GNP to 10 per cent.
32. An education society be set up for collecting donations from the public. Donations to this society should be eligible for income tax rebate. The society should also be allowed to accept donations from Non-Resident Indians.

33. Greater attention should be paid to the management of financial resources, so that these are used in the most optimum manner. Performance budgeting should be adopted while preparing the budget for education. This will shift the emphasis from financial targets to physical targets.
34. Selection of teachers at each level should be done on the basis of psychological testing, skills in teaching, general-knowledge, subject-knowledge, interest in extra-curricular activities, etc. The present process in which a teacher is selected through an interview for a few minutes should be dispensed with. The concept of internship be introduced on experimental basis and if found suitable should form a part of teachers' training.
35. In IES/SES cadres, direct recruitment to 25 per cent of posts be made from young post-graduates with specialisation in management of educational system and they should on selection be assigned teaching jobs for 2 to 3 years before they are actually given the managerial jobs.
36. Fifty per cent of the IES/SES posts be filled by lateral direct recruitment from amongst teachers, headmasters, principals, and university and college teachers.
37. Fifty per cent of the IES/SES posts be filled through promotion from amongst college teachers, Headmasters, Principals and Inspecting Officers at the lower level on merit-cum-seniority basis.
38. There should be three scales in the SES, viz., Junior Class II, Senior Class II and Class I. Junior scale of SES cadre class II may include Headmasters of High Schools/Vice-Principals of 10+2 schools. Senior Scale of SES cadre class II may have Principals of 10+2 schools, Dy. Distt. Education Officers, etc. SES cadre Class I Jr.) may include District Education Officers/District Primary Education Officers/Assistant Directors of Education/Officers on Special Duty.
39. At present there is no provision for the professional, pre-service and in-service training of College and University teachers. As teaching involves certain skills, planning and methodology, some sort of training is a must. It will be better if one paper in M.Phil in all subjects is entirely devoted to teaching--technology and communication skills.
40. Every teacher should be provided residential accommodation commensurate with his rank or status. As majority of teachers have to be posted to rural areas, it may not be feasible to construct government houses every where. Therefore, a reasonable amount which they have to pay as house rent should be

refunded to them on the pattern followed by the nationalised banks, for their officers/officials. Once this facility is given, teachers are not likely to mind their periodical transfers to different places.

41. No workman can work without tools. Books are the main tools of a teacher. Adequate provision should be made for the purchase of such books as are requisitioned by teachers. These books should be purchased by the Head of the Institution through the libraries and issued permanently to the teachers concerned. This would be better than giving library allowance or refunding the expenditure incurred on books by the teacher.
42. Minimum educational qualifications for recruitment from pre-school stage to elementary stage should be B.Sc./ B.A., B.Ed. For higher stages, it should be M.A/M.Sc. (Second Division) with M. Ed./M.Phil.

These and other recommendations, when implemented in the right earnest, will go a long way in improving the existing educational scenario in Himachal Pradesh.

--M.K. KAW

## KARNATAKA

FOLLOWING THE Fazal Ali Commission's recommendations, Kannada areas of Bombay, Madras and Hyderabad states, the whole of Mysore state, and, Coorg were brought together on November 1, 1956, to form the present state, then called Mysore and named Karnataka, on November 1, 1973.

At the time of reorganisation, the then Mysore state had ten districts--including Bellary, transferred from Madras state in 1953. This was brought together with four districts from Bombay, three from Hyderabad, one from Madras, and Coorg.

## SCHOOL EDUCATION

The new state emerged with a number of problems, not encountered in any other state in the country. The major problems that had to be taken up on a priority basis were:

- (a) diversity in the pattern at different stages of education;
- (b) differences in syllabi, text books and schemes of examination;



- (c) different patterns of inspection, administration, salary scales, grant-in-aid codes, fees, etc.; and
- (d) disparity of educational opportunities, in different parts of the state.

The state government appointed the Educational Integration Advisory Committee (1956) to suggest measures to bring about uniformity in different aspects of education in the state. Consequent to the recommendations of this Committee, primary education of seven years was made uniform throughout the state, and by 1962-63 a uniform scheme of education was in force, through out the state from standards I to X.

One of the first tasks the new state had to take up was removal of regional imbalance in educational facilities and opportunities. The state undertook an educational survey during 1957-58 to collect basic data regarding availability or otherwise of schools and basic facilities.

The primary schools in Bombay and Karnataka districts were administered by School Boards (District School Boards and Municipal School Boards) up to 1969-70, when they were abolished, and administration brought directly under the Department of Public Instruction.

Immediately after the formation of the state, the education department was organised under five divisions, each headed by a deputy director. The introduction of the compulsory Primary Education Act 1961 increased the workload of inspecting officers. To cope up with this, 34 sub-divisions were established, the sub-division officials-designated assistant educational officers were in charge of primary education of the area.

The rapid increase in the number of schools and students in the sixties, was not accompanied by corresponding strengthening of the administrative set-up. The need for strengthening the administration for more effective supervision was also stressed by the Mysore Pay Commission (1966-68) as well as by the Working Group on Educational Planning, Administration and Evaluation of the Planning Commission.

The Department of Public Instruction was reorganised in July 1970. The five divisions were reduced to four, coterminus with the Revenue Divisions. Each district was provided with a deputy director, and, each taluk (block) with an assistant educational officer. Four posts of additional directors were created, to be in charge of examinations (1966), text books (1969), primary education (1975) and research and training (1976). From 1978 the text book work was transferred to the Research and Training Wing. The additional directors are now designated directors.

During the last three decades, the number of schools has increased

from 22250 to 39000 (75%), teachers from 58200 to 1,30,000 (123%) and pupils from 18.21 lakh to 58 lakh (164%), an impressive growth by any count.

#### PRE-UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

Karnataka was one of the first states to adopt the 10+2+3 pattern of education recommended by the Indian Education Commission. The instruction concerned with the +2 stage came to be known as Junior Colleges, and they are now designated as pre-university colleges. The +2 stage may be attached to high schools (composite high schools), or, attached to a degree college (composite colleges) or may remain as independent units (Independent colleges). For effective supervision of these colleges a separate department has been established, with a non-official chairman (of the Rank of vice-chancellor of a University) and, a director.

Karnataka has given the importance to vocationalisation of the +2 stage. A separate directorate is in charge of the implementation of the programme, 138 pre-university colleges offer training in 222 vocational courses. Though quantitative expansion has not been possible in a big way, attention has been paid to updating the courses, placement, follow-up and monitoring.

#### COLLEGIATE EDUCATION

The rapid expansion of school education had its repercussions on the number of students seeking entrance to colleges, and consequently the number of general degree colleges has shot up to the present 360.

Administration of government colleges and proper supervision of the non government colleges could not be effectively done due to the very rapid quantitative expansion. To cope up with this, five regional offices of the Directorate have been set up, corresponding to the areas coming under the five universities in the state.

#### UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

At the time of formation of the state, there were two universities--Mysore and Karnataka, Bangalore university was set up in 1964.

By 1978-79 the number of colleges under Mysore and Karnataka Universities exceeded 110 each. This number was not conducive to effective academic supervision by the universities. The state government set up a One-Man Commission (Sri D.V. Urs former vice-chancellor of Mysore University) to take necessary action towards the

establishment of universities at Gulbarga (Northern part of the state) and Mangalore (West Coast of the state). Following recommendations of this Commission, universities at Gulbarga and Mangalore came into being during 1981, reducing the burden on Karnataka and Mysore universities respectively.

The Karnataka Universities Review Commission, with Prof K.N. Raj, Dr.D. Jagannatha Reddy and Dr. C.N.R. Rao, was appointed in January 1979. The Commission was to review the working of the three universities in regard to both the academic and administrative aspects and to suggest measures for improving efficiency and effectiveness of the working of the Universities.

Some of the major recommendations of this Commission were, decentralisation in the governance and administration of the universities and colleges, greater representation to the teachers in the University bodies, setting up of a commission for higher education, a state Inter-University Board, suggestion regarding improvement in selection of teachers, financial responsibilities between the state and private colleges, and, suggestions regarding improvement of under graduate education. The Commission has also made important recommendations regarding improving the evaluation system, setting up of Research Centres of advanced study, improvement in quality in professional courses, Non-formal education and library development, and, welfare measures for teachers and students.

The Karnataka Universities Act has been amended to give more autonomy to the universities as also to bring about better administration. The Inter-University Board, set up recently, is meeting regularly and is instrumental in bringing about problems common to all the universities. Full utilisation of the posts reserved for SC/ST in universities has now become possible directly due to the discussions in the Inter-University Board.

The One-Man Commission (Shri T.R. Jayaraman, former Education Secretary, Karnataka and former Vice-Chancellor Bangalore University) to suggest steps for establishment of Sahyadri University was appointed in January 1986. Following the Commission's recommendations, action is being taken to establish the university from this year itself. This will have jurisdiction over three districts, and further reduce the pressure on Mysore University.

#### OTHER PROGRESSIVE POLICY DECISIONS

The 'Vidya Vikas' Programme introduced by the state government envisages distribution of free text books to over 53 lakh children and free uniforms to over 23 lakh children during this year. This is to be progressively increased.

The 'Aksharasena' launched during 1983-84 makes a three-pronged attack on illiteracy. The programme involves opening a large number of pre-primary schools in rural areas, non formal education centres for the school drop-outs and non starters, and a crash programme of Adult Education.

In the field of technical education, there was a need to set right the imbalance in the ratio of degree holders and diplomates. Hence a large number of polytechnics--with emphasis in non traditional courses were permitted to be established, mostly in rural areas.

The 'Abolition of capitation Fee Act' was a major step taken up by the state in eradication of the capitation fee menace. Once the legal obstacles are cleared, this is going to be a major welfare measure and a positive step towards equalisation of educational opportunities.

Sports and NCC get a big boost by getting more seats reserved for the achievers in these fields in professional courses.

An Expert Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. H. Narasimhaiah, an eminent educationist and former Vice-Chancellor of Bangalore University was set up in 1985, for suggesting reforms in the educational system at the 1-10, and +2 stages. The Committee has given an interim report on the subject of examination reforms. Public opinion has also been collected on this, and further steps to be taken are being examined.

The government issued orders, in May 1985, banning collection of all types of donations, except the approved rate of fees, by educational institutions. A large number of institutions, managements and educationists represented to the government, that the rates of fees approved by government were inadequate to run the institutions at the desired level. Government therefore, set up a committee headed by Shri A. Bharath--Education Secretary, and consisting of representatives of government, managements and educationists to rationalise fee structure in educational institutions. The committee has submitted its report, which is under examination of the government.

--Y.R.ACHYUT RAO

#### NORTH EASTERN COUNCIL

AS AN instrument of socio-cultural advancement, education has been receiving considerable attention in the planning process in the North Eastern region. The per capita plan outlay on education in States/UTs of the region is approximately Rs. 178.48 during the Sixth Plan which is much higher than the All-India average. The average

literacy levels in North-Eastern states with the exception of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh is higher than the national average. Considering that literacy in Mizoram is 59.5 per cent, Manipur 41.9 per cent, Tripura 41.5 per cent and Nagaland 41.9 per cent--all above the national average--one may tend to think that the programme for removal of illiteracy in the age-group 15-35 may not appear to be of higher priority or relevance to the North-Eastern States. Such a view, however, would stem from assumptions which may appear to be too facile. The region, however, suffers from qualitative backwardness in the field of education.

So far as spread of elementary education in the age-group 6-14 is concerned, although many of the North Eastern states may have achieved the Sixth Plan objective of 95 per cent enrolment in respect of classes I-IV and 50 per cent enrolment in respect of classes VI-VIII, considering the wastage rates, particularly in classes I-VI, in Meghalaya (83.4 per cent), Arunachal Pradesh (82.4 per cent), Mizoram (68.3 per cent) and all the other states which have drop-out ratios above 70 per cent against the All-India average of 63.5 per cent an area which would require utmost emphasis is not to adjudge the quality of the programme by the criteria of enrolment alone. It would be necessary in this context to attach the highest emphasis on retention at school, the quality of learning imparted and its relevance to the socio-cultural milieu. The drive for school enrolment should receive special emphasis, particularly in Assam and Arunachal Pradesh where efforts should also be stepped up to achieve the objective of universalisation of elementary education by starting more NFE centres. This may be given priority.

In addition to considerably high-drop out and wastage percentage, large number of untrained teachers, etc., there are some other drawbacks, such as inappropriate curriculum and dull teaching methods, poor standard of text books and dearth of necessary equipment and teaching aids which have toned down the quality of education. Roughly over 30 per cent of students enrolled in class I fail to reach class V after four years. Both in the Nodal Group and the Sub-Group on Social Services, it was felt that the problem of drop-out and stagnation can be tackled by changing the economic condition, adjusting teaching system to local condition and by including in the course some gainful economic activities (i.e., plantation under social forestry, collection of seeds, etc.) with cash incentives.

The school infrastructure in most of the North Eastern States is found to be largely inadequate. Many of the schools do not have proper buildings or a second teacher. While the state have made their efforts to represent their cases to the Finance Commission, allocation of funds in this respect for improvement of school infra-

structure (appointment of additional teachers and construction of school buildings) has been inadequate. In this context, a more selective approach to school improvement on the pattern of inter-village schools of Arunachal may be more appropriate as a strategy of development of the educational infrastructure.

In the North East, there is a traditional apathy of local students towards Science and Mathematics. Three expert bodies, viz., Working Group constituted by the NEC in 1982, a Project Report prepared in 1983 which was entrusted to North Eastern Hill University and a Study Team constituted by the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1983 have gone into the question of Science and Mathematics teaching in this region and their recommendations have been forwarded by the NEC to the concerned States/UTs for implementation under the State Plans. Moreover, the problem of vocationalisation of education is also being tackled by trying various methods, such as opening of Crafts Training Centres, ITIs, Polytechnics, Training Centres for ANMs, etc., as well as sponsoring students to various technical institutions. Vocational education for women also needs to be given due emphasis, as the scope of self-employment for women is at present very limited.

All the constituent States/UTs have already made some arrangements for adult education under the relevant plan scheme. The existence of 344 adult education centres in Assam, 176 centres in Arunachal Pradesh, 300 centres in Manipur, 110 in Meghalaya, 140 centres in Tripura in 1978-79 may be cited to substantiate the statement. In fact, these centres should also function as adequate forum of extension in which the uneducated people might be given the basic knowledge about improved farming, health care and sanitation, gainful economic activities, etc. Considering that the basic emphasis in adult education/programmes is to increase levels of awareness and functional relevance of education, it would be essential that adult education should form a component of every development scheme through which participation of beneficiaries under the appropriate scheme could be promoted, their awareness sharpened and delivery of basic services through these schemes ensured. Priority in the adult education programmes should, therefore, focus adequately on the nexus between removal of illiteracy and eradication of poverty. The new strategy should adequately emphasise adult education as a component of related programmes.

Community participation is essential to the success, particularly of the two priority programmes of universal elementary education and adult education. The role played by the community through Village Councils of Nagaland or the UNICEF assisted projects in Meghalaya, where also links have been developed between primary education and

the primary health sector, could be models for promotion of community participation on a wider scale.

Strengthening the existing arrangement for teacher training for the educational institutions in the region is another sphere which calls for greater attention. A branch of the NCERT should be set up in the region for strengthening arrangements for Teachers' Training and to develop facilities for preparing training courses to meet specific needs of the region.

For qualitative as well as quantitative improvement in the field of education in the North Eastern Region, the following strategy is suggested for the seventh plan:

1. One out of every 20 primary schools should be developed as a model school with special emphasis on teaching of Science and Mathematics. In each model school, there should be a library and a book bank.
2. One middle level school should be set up in each block.
3. Enrolment coverage at the primary school level should be raised to 100 per cent in case of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and Tripura while this coverage at the middle school level should be raised to 60 per cent in respect of all the States/UTs except Mizoram, where the existing coverage of 86.7 per cent should be enhanced to 100 per cent. In Arunachal Pradesh, where density of population is very low, all efforts should be made to increase the enrolment percentage substantially in case it is impossible to achieve the above mentioned targets.
4. Wastage percentage should be reduced by at least 10 per cent. The percentage of trained teachers (at primary, middle and high school levels) should be raised by at least 50 per cent by the end of the Seventh Plan. Mid-day Meals Programme may be implemented as a means to check drop-out tendency.
5. Enrolment in technical schools as percentage of enrolment in classes IX-XII in all States/UTs should be raised by about 25 per cent from the existing level.
6. Teachers' training institutes in the states should be strengthened. The administrative apparatus for monitoring and supervising teaching system needs to be strengthened so as to reduce absenteeism among teachers serving and provide housing accommodation to teachers serving in the interior area.
7. Existing arrangements for vocational and technical training should be strengthened and more students should be sponsored for training in those fields which are specifically required

in this region. Besides, more women should be given vocational education enabling them to undertake gainful economic activities.

--DIPAK KARMAKAR

## PUNJAB

THE ISSUE of educational reforms, in terms of policy and administration, has been receiving attention in the state since Independence in terms of educational growth, educational expansion, educational innovations and promotion of social, economic and value system through education.

Education in colonial India was limited in scope. It responded to the needs of foreign rulers, concentrated in cities, particularly in respect of higher education. Education then was essentially teaching oriented rather than learning oriented.

## EDUCATION IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

After attainment of Independence, the country faced many challenges on the education front, viz.: (i) quantitative expansion, (ii) universalisation of primary education, (iii) vocationalisation of secondary education, (iv) removal of regional disparities, (v) transformation of teacher education, and (vi) promotion of values like national integration.

In 1950, a number of important provisions, having direct or indirect bearing on education, were included in the Constitution according to the 42nd amendment of the constitution, 1976 (item No. 25). Education has been included in the concurrent list. There have been provisions in the Constitution for universalisation of primary education, education of minorities, education of mother tongue, education for weaker sections, secular education, women's education, development of Hindi, etc. All these relate to the educational policy of the country.

In terms of educational administration, the Central Government, the State Governments, local authorities and the voluntary organisations have been provided educational facilities in the country. The administrative role of these agencies has been changing from time to time. The reports of Secondary Education Commission, 1952 and the Indian Education Commission 1964-66 have defined and recommended role of administrators in education.



## EDUCATION IN PUNJAB--AN OVERVIEW

As mentioned earlier, our educational system is an extension in many ways of the colonial system. After Independence, there were obvious new responsibilities and challenges to meet the needs of free-India. In this context, the first important mention may be made of the Education Commission 1948 which was set up under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan for improving the university education. The second major report is that of the Mudaliar Commission in respect of Secondary education. This commission laid emphasis on diversification of courses, qualitative improvement in teacher training programmes, including the need for in-service education and vocationalisation.

Punjab also opened a state Vocational and Educational Guidance Bureau. The activities like NCC, Scouts and Girl Guides were also encouraged a great deal. Examination reforms, however, in terms of reducing the number of public examinations, etc., could not be implemented fully.

In the Second Five Year Plan, primary education was given a lot of attention by the state. Ten thousand primary schools run by the local bodies were provincialised. In 1959, basic education was introduced and the Higher Secondary pattern of schooling was started. Somehow the vocational stream did not achieve the desired popularity. In the Third Five Year Plan, the Punjab Government laid greater emphasis on the education of the children in the age group of 6 to 11 and compulsory primary education act was passed in 1961 but the objectives in this respect could not be achieved fully.

In respect of recommendations of Government of India regarding special groups like minorities, scheduled castes, and women, etc., Punjab has done well by giving due consideration to implementation of the national policies. However, in the field of adult education, there has been only limited progress.

For promotion of health and physical education, the subject of Health and Physical Education was introduced in the schools of Punjab in 1973. However, it has not been able to achieve the lofty ideals of character building and national integration.

In the sphere of teacher education, Punjab did not make any worthwhile contribution till 1964 except that the state Science Unit was started in 1962 to bring about qualitative improvement in the teaching of science. Likewise the regional institute of English was also started around 1964-65.

The Government of India issued national policy on education on

July 24, 1968 which made following important recommendations:

- Efforts should be made for the early fulfilment of the Directive Principles under Article 45 of the Constitution seeking to provide free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14 years;
- Efforts should also be made to equalise educational opportunities for all including women, backward classes and the physically handicapped. Regional imbalances also be removed;
- To promote social cohesion and national integration, a common school curriculum, as recommended by the Education Commission, should be adopted. The ultimate objective should be to adopt the 10+2+3 pattern;
- Of all the factors which determine the quality of education and its contribution to national development the teacher is undoubtedly the most important. Teacher education, particularly in-service education, should, therefore, receive due emphasis;
- At the secondary stage the State Government should adopt and implement the Three Language Formula;
- High priority should be given to science education and research to accelerate the growth of the national economy;
- The school and the community should be brought closer through suitable programmes of work experience and national service;
- For the cultivation of excellence it is necessary that talent in diverse fields should be identified at as early an age as possible and every stimulus and opportunity be given for its full development;
- The quality of books should be improved by attracting the best writing talent. The possibility of establishing autonomous book corporations on commercial lines should be examined.
- Examination reforms should be undertaken to improve the reliability and validity of examinations and to make evaluation a continuing process aimed at helping the students and the teacher rather than certifying the quality of their performance;
- Educational opportunity at the secondary and higher levels is a major instrument of social transformation. There is need to increase facilities for technical and vocational education at this stage;
- Special attention should be paid to the organisation of post-graduate courses and the improvement of standards of training and research in the universities;
- There is need to give increased support to research in the universities generally and to the establishment of centres of advanced studies for research at the higher level; and

- Part time education and correspondence courses should be developed on a large scale at the university level to remove illiteracy and provide adult education.

In line with the national policy, Punjab made teacher education science oriented. It also laid down syllabi for vocationalisation of education and work experience. It also took steps to evaluate, revise and update the textbooks at the school stage. All the textbooks in language and history were revised as per the guidelines of the NCERT from the stand point of National Integration. The Punjab Textbooks were found flawless except for minor modifications in some books.

During the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Five Year Plan, Punjab has been emphasising the importance of universalisation of education, expansion of women education and adult literacy.

In view of the new education policy, 1986, Punjab has introduced 10+2+3 system in the state from the admission year, 1986. Earlier the syllabi were updated in Science and Mathematics from class I to X on the national pattern.

More in-service education centres have been opened. A state Council of Educational Research and Training is functioning and the state had taken full part in the discussions regarding the new education policy by attending various meetings of the education secretaries, education ministers, NDC, CABE.

Punjab, though a progressive and forward looking state has been facing grave law and order situation. Still the educational policies have been implemented and the administration revamped. The number of institutions has grown, the quality of education has improved and many stages have been taken to follow the national pattern in terms of structure, curriculum, orientation of teachers and improvement of foundational schools.

However, there are quite a number of important tasks which call for immediate attention such as providing adequate number of teachers in the primary schools, improving the personnel policy of the state, improving the infrastructure to meet the serious shortages of classroom, accommodation, libraries, laboratories, play-grounds, toilets, etc. There is urgent need to improve the management style of this very big department of the state to provide proper monitoring guidance and control at all levels.

The bifurcation of the school directorate has lead to hard divisions, the 5th class examination has resulted in negative points, supervision at the primary level is not effective and the educational cadre at the primary level needs to be reviewed.

The position of middle schools is that of institutions functioning

in a vacuum. There should be either primary schools or high schools. There has been a sufficient expansion of secondary schools also. We had as many as 2187 high schools in the state in 1982-83 as compared to 1582 in 1977-78. The issue now is as to how to improve the standard of quality of teaching in these schools. Similarly the question is how to streamline the system of examination at the secondary stage which is suffering from many malpractices as in the case of practically all the states.

Besides three directorates, the Punjab School Education Board and the SCERT are supplementing the management of the educational system. The Punjab School Education Board performs all the functions from first primary class to +2 classes in respect of examinations, preparation of teaching material, publication of textbooks, etc.

There are three affiliating universities in Punjab which impart general education in the state. Some of them also offer professional courses. In addition, there is the Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana. These are autonomous bodies and there is always room for improving the academic administration and educational standards in the light of new educational policy.

#### 10+2 System

A special mention may be made about 10+2 system as introduced in the state. It has been introduced in all the colleges of the state and selected schools thereby involving 442 institutions. This work has been temporarily assigned to the Punjab School Education Board for the preparation of curriculum, textbooks and examinations. However, the college and school cultures have been different in many ways of the years and therefore, there are many many constraints for the effective implementation of the system. The Punjab Government has accepted in principle and is actively considering the establishment of a new Board for this system. With this new Board and association of all academic experts it is possible that the scheme will be successful not only in terms of the academic stream but also the vocational stream.

--INDERJIT SINGH

#### TAMIL NADU

THE EDUCATION system in Tamil Nadu has grown in size and expanded its activities by leaps and bounds since Independence. Though the growth has been continuous, it has been more spectacular in the recent past. Gradually but steadily, elitism has given way to egalitarianism in

education. Some key figures given below will reveal the magnitude of the enormous physical growth in education in Tamil Nadu since 1947:

	1947-48	1985-86
Expenditure on Education	Rs.7 crore	Rs.540 crore
<b>Number of Institutions</b>		
Pre-Primary Schools (Balwadies)	Nil	28,000
Elementary Schools	15,303	34,809
High Schools	471	4,123*
Colleges of Arts and Crafts	24	195
Engineering Colleges	3	37
Polytechnics	8	129
<b>Number of Students' Strength</b>		
Elementary School Students	16.32 lakh	79.38 lakh
High and Higher Secondary students	2.56 lakh	29.87 lakh
Arts and Science College students	0.17 lakh	1.93 lakh
Engineering College students	2,000	20,435
Polytechnic Students	2,100	51,995

The enrolment percentages now in Tamil Nadu are 100 per cent under age group 6-11 years and 76.21 per cent under age group 11-14 years. The literacy rate is now 45.78 per cent (as per 1981 census) as against 20.6 per cent in 1951.

Among the crucial factors in the spectacular spread of elementary education were the school meal scheme; the school improvement movement and the statutory notification of compulsory elementary education throughout Tamil Nadu during the three-year period commencing from 1960-61. Secondary education was given an impetus with the progressive introduction of free education, culminating in the total abolition of tuition fees up to the completion of secondary stage with effect from 1964-65. Among the mammoth schemes of incentives for enrolment and retention especially at elementary stage are the chief minister's nutritious meal programme launched in 1982-83 and now covering standards 1-10 and schemes of free supply of text books and uniforms in standards 1-8 from 1985-86. These incentive schemes now cost the exchequer about Rs. 200 crore per annum.

Reforms in curricular pattern and courses have been receiving continuous attention. The reorganised scheme of secondary education introduced in 1948-49 in high school standards, the diversified

\* Including 1,554 Higher Secondary Schools.

courses of : secretarial practice; engineering; agriculture; home science; drawing and painting; and music. In 1953 the Dr. Parulekar Committee on Elementary Education recommended the modified scheme of elementary education which provided for craft-based education and shift system in elementary education. The implementation of that scheme was however not pursued after 1954 and another committee was constituted in 1955 under Dr. Alagappa Chettiar under the name of the **Elementary Education Reform Committee**. The report of the **Secondary Education Commission** (under Dr. A.L. Mudaliar) 1952-53 set up by the Government of India was also made available to state governments. A White Paper on Education, dealing with the recommendations of Dr. Alagappa Chettiar Committee as well as those of the Mudaliar Commission was placed before the Tamil Nadu Legislature in 1956. The White Paper was considered by a committee of the legislature and after discussing the report of that committee, the legislature gave its approval to a curricular pattern introduced from 1958-59, under which elementary education was to be for 7 years followed by a 4 year secondary Education. Due to practical difficulties in implementing this pattern, further revision was made (with the revised approval of the legislature obtained on March 25, 1963) and the following pattern was introduced in stages from 1965-66 to 1968-69 :

Primary	Stds. 1-5
Middle	Stds. 6-8
High	Stds. 9-10

The 11-year school was followed by the 1-year PUC. In pursuance of the report of Dr. Shukla Committee on 10+2+3 pattern (1973) at all India level, re-examined for state-level implementation by the C.G. Rangabashyam Committee (1975) Tamil Nadu introduced the 10+2+3 pattern from 1978-79.

Tamil Nadu is a pace-setter to other states in the matter of vocationalisation at higher secondary level. Out of the 3.49 lakh of higher secondary students in 1985-86, 67,765 (i.e., about 17 per cent) were studying in vocational courses. Dr. V.C. Kulandaiswamy's Committee on Vocational Courses at Higher Secondary level has given a valuable report for strengthening those courses. The recommendations in that report are being implemented in a phased manner.

At elementary stage an experiment with basic education was made for about 2 decades from 1947-58 and periodic evaluations of the progress of that scheme were made by one-man committees like those of Thiru Aryanayakam and G. Ramachandran. Ultimately the experiment was not pursued after about 1960 or so.

The use of mother tongue, the best suited medium of instruction in

elementary and secondary schools in the State of Tamil Nadu as a policy of the government has been in existence for a number of years. Provision has also been made for children belonging to linguistic minorities to receive instruction in their own mother tongue at elementary and secondary stages. The medium of the mother tongue is encouraged at +2 level also by abolition of tuition fees at that level for those studying through the mother tongue.

The mother tongue as the medium of instruction is encouraged at college level also. Of interest in this connection are the reports of the College Tamil Committee (under Dr. G.R. Damodaran) of 1959 and the Expert Committee on Medium of Instruction in Colleges (under Dr. A.L. Mudaliar) of 1971.

As regards the languages taught at schools level, Tamil Nadu is implementing the following two-language formula with effect from January 1968, in accordance with the mandate of the Tamil Nadu Legislature contained in its resolution dated 23-1-1968:

Part A	Taught in Stds. 1-10	Regional language
		or
		Mother tongue--where it is different from the Regional language
Part B	Taught in Stds. 3-10	English or any other non-Indian language

Tamil, the language of the State is a language at once classical and modern. With an antiquity equal to that of Sanskrit, it is a language still spoken by about fifty million in India, besides many living in diverse parts of the globe like Sri Lanka, and Malaysia. The Government of Tamil Nadu is taking a lively interest in promoting Tamil language, literature and culture through the educational system, as well as outside. Among the landmarks are the International Institute of Tamil Studies started in 1970; the Tamil University started at Thanjavur in 1981; and the World Tamil Sangam launched recently at Madurai. In all these activities the Government has benefited from reports of various expert Committees constituted from time to time.

The phenomenal expansion of facilities for technical education has been accompanied by periodic assessment of manpower needs through expert committee as part of the five year plan exercises or independently. Currently the self-financing technical educational institutions are a thrust area in the field of technical education and their growth and functioning are constantly monitored by suitable review committees.

Tamil Nadu has been a pioneer in the matter of extension of benefits to teachers. It was the first state to launch a pension scheme for teachers of non-government schools with effect from April 1, 1955. There is now almost full parity in the matter of service conditions, retirement benefits, etc., between staff of government educational institutions on the one hand and those of non-government institutions on the other. After getting a report from the **Committee on Service Conditions of Aided School Teachers (1969)**, the Tamil Nadu Private Schools (Regulation) Act 1973, was enacted to improve the service conditions of Private school teachers. There is a similar enactment of 1976 in respect of aided college teachers. "Teachers Consultative Councils" have been constituted at educational district level, revenue district level and state level for speedy redressal of grievances of school teachers at the appropriate level. State awards have been introduced for teachers. There is a liberal scheme of incentive increments to teachers acquiring qualifications higher than those prescribed for the posts held by them. The SCERT Tamil Nadu is in charge of implementing numerous programmes for improving the professional competence of teachers. With a view to improve the service conditions of local body school teachers, all panchayat union schools' teachers were taken over as government servants from June 1, 1981 and all municipal school teachers from June 1, 1986.

In 1976 an expert committee under Dr. M.S. Adisesiah produced an useful report on adult education entitled : **Towards a Functional Learning Society** and ever since adult education activities in Tamil Nadu have been in a steadily increasing tempo, with efficient absorption of central assistance under the relevant centrally-sponsored scheme also. Tamil Nadu won the prestigious Nadezhda Krupskaya Award of UNESCO for Adult Literacy in 1981. It also won state level awards from the Government of India in two years (1983-84 and 1984-85) for the best performance in enrolling women in adult education centres. The total number of adult education centres which were functioning at the end of 1985 was 21,856. The number of adults studying in all these centres is 6.82 lakh, of whom as many as 5.80 lakh are women. Again, out of the 6.82 lakh of adult learners, 3.14 lakh belong to scheduled castes and tribes.

The Tamil Nadu Public Libraries Act, 1948, was the first of its kind in India. Under the Act, library cess is collected and grants are also paid. With the State Central Library (Connemara Library, Madras), 17 District Central Libraries and 1511 branch libraries, the Department of Public Libraries is rendering effective service throughout the state.

The separate Department of Adi-Dravidar (Scheduled Castes) and Tribal Welfare and the Department of Backward Classes supplement in a



purposeful and major way the educational activities for the benefit of the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes. They disburse scholarships, run special schools and hostels for them, and arrange for special coaching for them. There is statutory reservation in admissions and appointments for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes at 18 per cent and for backward classes at 50 per cent. Girls education is also receiving emphasis. Balwadies release girls from the chore of taking care of their younger siblings and allow them to enrol in elementary schools. Free uniforms are particularly useful in attracting poor girls to schools. The Women's University established in 1982 at Kodaikanal pays special attention to issues pertaining to the development of women.

In the field of technical education special mention should be made of the Anna University which has carved a name for itself as a centre of excellence. The centres for Water Resources, Environmental Studies and Micro-processor Education and the Institute of Remote Sensing at Anna University are functioning efficiently and are carrying out considerable amount of sponsored research also. Recognising that science and technology have to be an integral part of the daily life of the masses, a new Department of Electronics, Science and Technology has been constituted in 1984. The Tamil Nadu State Council for Science and Technology has also been constituted, and it has been vested with the responsibility of identifying and formulating programmes for the application of science and technology sector by sector for the socio-economic development of the State. With a view to popularise science, the Periar Science and Technology Centre and Planetarium are being set up at Madras at a cost of more than Rs. 5 crore. More such centres are proposed to be set up also at other important district headquarters in due course.

With the ever widening horizon of the activities in the field of education after Independence, there has been periodical expansion of the machinery for educational administration according to felt needs; and as on date there are now the following departments/institutions functioning in the state as a part of the educational system:

#### **School Education**

1. Director of School Education
2. Director of Elementary Education
3. Director of Government Examinations
4. Tamil Nadu TextBook Society

#### **College Education**

1. Director of Collegiate Education
2. Director of Legal Studies

### Technical Education

1. Director of Technical Education

### Sports and Youth Services

1. Director of Sports and Youth Services
2. Director of National Cadet Corps
3. Tamil Nadu Sports Development Corporation

### Teachers' Welfare

1. Tamil Nadu Teachers' Housing Board

### Culture and Tamil Development

1. Director of Public Libraries
2. Commissioner of Archives and Historical Research

### Under the Secretariat Department of Tamil Development and Culture

1. Director of Archaeology
2. Director of Museums
3. Director of Tamil Development
4. Director of Tamil Etymological Dictionary Project
5. Director of Traditional Tamil Arts
6. Director of Thirukural Propagation Centre
7. Tamil Nadu Iyal Isai Nataka Manram
8. Tamil Nadu Ovium Nunkalai Kuzhu

--T.D. SUNDAR RAJ

## Union Territories

### CHANDIGARH

UNION TERRITORY of Chandigarh came into being on November 1, 1966 with the reorganisation of Punjab State. Its total area is 114 sq. kms. It comprises of the main city and 22 villages on its periphery. There was a big spurt in its population from 1971 to 1981. From a population of 2.25 lakh in 1971 it touched 4.51 lakh in 1981. It is estimated that the present population of the city is around 5.50 lakh. Literacy percentage has also risen from 61.56 per cent in 1971 to 66 per cent in 1981. At present this percentage is a little more than 67 per cent. For every 1000 males there were 749 females in

1971 but in 1981 the ratio increased with 769 females to 1,000 males. This reveals that there is a slight increase in the female population during the few years.

Chandigarh abounds in its educational facilities. Chandigarh Administration is running below mentioned Government schools besides 6 aided schools:

Primary Schools	23
Middle Schools	6
Model Middle Schools	5
Government High Schools	31
Government Model High Schools	8
Government Senior Secondary Schools	7

In addition to above, there are about a dozen schools with direct affiliation with Central Board of Secondary Education. Another 51 schools are recognised by the Education Department out of which 6 receive grant-in-aid also. In addition to the above schools, there are around 200 schools being run by private organisations as teaching shops. The number of students in these schools is also discernible. The medium of instructions in most of the Government schools is Hindi and Punjabi but in Government Model schools it is English. Aided schools are mostly with Hindi and Punjabi medium whereas the schools directly affiliated to CBSE/Schools recognised by the Department of Education/Teaching Shops have generally adopted English as medium of instructions. At present the total number of children studying in schools in the age group 5-14, i.e., Pre-Primary and Elementary Stage (Nursery to VIII) is around 1.15 lakh. The students strength at the Secondary stage, i.e., from Grade IX to XII including admission to +1 of the +2 system in colleges is around 20,000.

It has been possible to enrol 100 per cent children in the age group 6-11 in Chandigarh because of below mentioned reasons:

1. There is a school within easy reach of every child.
2. There is no single teacher school in U,T Chandigarh.
3. School buildings by and large are attractive and provide all the facilities which make the stay of little kids in the schools comfortable.
4. For the benefit of weaker sections a large number of Cretches and Balwadies are run by the Department of Social Welfare. Nursery classes are attached to almost all the Government schools of the city.
5. Non-graded teaching pattern has been adopted to avoid drop-outs and increase retention of children in schools.

6. Incentive Schemes have been introduced in Government schools which are as under:
  - (a) Attendance Scholarship to all the girls from weaker sections of society including backward classes @ Rs.10 per month at the primary stage (Grade I to V).
  - (b) Attendance Scholarship to Scheduled Castes children from Grade I to VIII (From grade VI to VIII SC girls also included in (a) above)
  - (c) Free stationery and uniform to all the Scheduled Castes students from Grade I to VIII (Income limit, however, is there).
  - (d) Free Text-books from Grade I to VIII to Scheduled Castes students (every year).
  - (e) Talent Scholarship to specially selected 25 Scheduled Castes children for studying in Model Schools.
  - (f) Extra Coaching to Scheduled Castes students at the end of 5th, 8th, 10th and 12th Grade who are weak in studies.
  - (g) Mid-day-meals to all the children from Grade I to VIII in Government schools. Instead of meals prepared from CSM Flour and Oil supplied by CARE, Chandigarh Administration has made arrangements with Modern Bakeries to provide specially enriched Fruit Bread to the Children.
7. There is no rigidity about single point entry at the Primary Stage because non-graded teaching pattern has been adopted in the Government Primary Schools.
8. Non-formal education system is functioning successfully and non-formal centres are opened according to the requirements of the population. This has resulted in a steep fall in the drop out recently. From a drop out ratio of 25 in 1982 the percentage has come down to around 18 in 1985. The figures quoted above are for Government Primary Schools whereas the overall figure would be less than 10 if total student population in the city is taken into account.

New Government schools are opened keeping in view the requirements of the particular area. Since there are schools in every Sector, Village and Labour Colony, no child in the age group 6-11 has to walk more than half a km. to reach his/her school.

Thirty non-formal education centres with a total enrolment of over 600 children are functioning very successfully. This has been possible because the Instructors have been given an attractive honorarium of Rs. 200 per month for two hours work daily and there is a

continuous check on the functioning of these centres since 1984-85.

The State Institute of Education is playing its due role in orientating teachers for day-to-day challenging situations that emerge in the schools. There is a stream of orientation courses and workshops for the working teachers of Chandigarh going on at the State Institute of Education. A Science Resource Centre, a Social Studies Resource Centre, Audio-Visual Aids Library and a well equipped Guidance and Counselling Unit are also functioning in the SIE schools are encouraged to borrow costly equipment from the SIE for day-to-day teaching. The Library in the SIE also helps the schools in getting reading material for their children.

Keeping in view the recommendations of the Ministry of Education, Government of India, Vocationalisation of Secondary Education was introduced in selected schools of the city. It is proposed to introduce vocationalisation in 9 Government Senior Secondary Schools by 1989-90. Vocational subjects for teaching in Senior Secondary Schools have been selected on the basis of an intensive vocational survey conducted by the SIE staff in 1984.

For effective qualitative improvement in the teaching of English, the Regional Institute of English runs Inservice Courses for Teachers. Two courses of four months duration each are conducted every year from July and December. Since English has been introduced in the schools of Chandigarh from the 3rd Primary Class, the RIE conducts short courses for Primary School teachers also.

In the field of Adult Education, Chandigarh occupies a unique position. It is a haven for migratory labour because of its peculiar location and growth orientated industries. It is a problem with the Administration to reach the illiterate new comers for teaching the writing and reading. Still the infrastructure is so designed as to keep pace with the increasing population of the illiterate labour. In the year 1985-86 against a target of 6,000 learners 6,800 learners were enrolled through four projects namely--State Adult Education Programme, Rural Functional Literacy Programme, Nehru Yuvak Kendra and Colleges and Panjab University under UGC Schemes. Chandigarh Administration has the distinction of winning a special award of Rs. 18.25 lakh for its outstanding performance in the field of female literacy.

--Director, Public Instruction(s)

## PONDICHERRY

THE ARRIVAL of the French in the seventeenth century paved way for the beginning of Modern Education in Pondicherry. The development of education during the French regime was not remarkable mainly because of geographical position of different settlements scattered in far off places amidst the vast British territory, their isolation and economic dependence with the British India.

Before merger, Indian university pattern was not available, in this Union Territory. There were no pre-primary schools except a few primary, upper primary and secondary schools. The education expanded after merger of this Union Territory with India has placed this Union Territory well among the educationally advanced states of the country. Education takes the pride of place among the multifarious developmental activities of a nation. It provides equal opportunities to individuals for their social and economic betterment and provides the basic human resource for the various developmental task in view since the dawn of civilisation education and development have been intrinsically linked through bi-directional casualty.

Unlike other states, this Union Territory of Pondicherry has occupied a unique place in the field of education. In the year 1961, according to census, the literacy percentage was only 37.43. But in a span of 20 years, the percentage raised to 54.23 and it occupies seventh rank in India in literacy. At present there are 660 educational institutions including private management schools, which provide educational facilities from pre-primary to post graduate level.

Pre-primary education for the children under the age group of 3½ were non-existent during the pre-merger period. At present there are 109 pre-primary schools and of them, 66 institutions are run by private managements. These pre-primary schools offer pre-school education, healthy recreation and inculcate correct habit in the minds of young children. Till the time of the *de facto* transfer, primary education in this Union Territory was based on the French pattern of 7 years' duration. At that time many villages/hamlets did not have primary schools with the result that the children of certain rural areas were deprived of even basic educational facilities. After merger, this administration started implementing our constitutional directives of universal primary education for the age group of 6-11. A special drive for universal enrolment was undertaken at the commencement of the Third Five-Year Plan with great success. Now, every village has a primary school and that too a primary school is started within a radius of one kilometre.

At present there are 356 primary schools, run by both government

and private. The improvement of upper primary education is remarkable. The expansion in the primary and upper primary stages of education at present is mainly in the form of providing additional facilities and opening of additional classes.

As a measure of attracting more children to schools and to retain them in schools, the following incentives/scholarships are given. Those schemes help the parents who belong to economically weaker society to send their wards to schools.

- (i) Free supply of 2 sets of uniforms to poor children studying in standards I to VIII.
- (ii) Free supply of text books and stationery items to poor children in standards I to VIII.
- (iii) Free supply of mid-day Meals at primary stage.
- (iv) Various scholarships are awarded to children belonging to economically weaker section. The children of political sufferers are also awarded scholarships.
- (v) Award of attendance scholarships to girl students to standards I to VIII and Award of Merit-cum-Means scholarships and Merit prizes to girl students in secondary schools to promote girls' education.
- (vi) Retention scholarships are awarded to Scheduled Caste girl students studying in standards I to V.

At the time of the *de facto* transfer secondary Education was mainly in the French pattern with French or Tamil. There were a few English medium schools preparing pupils for matriculation examinations of Madras University. The total number of secondary schools then was 16 with a strength of 1483 students. But now there are 64 such institutions with the strength of 36,627 students.

After Independence, the study of English and regional language gained importance which resulted in the rapid growth of the secondary education.

With a view to help the poor students, the scheme of setting up of Book Banks is being implemented from upper primary stage to collegiate level. A Kendriya Vidyalaya has also been in existence since 1968.

In the area of University education, this Union Territory has achieved remarkable progress in the post-merger period. At the time of merger, there were only two colleges affiliated to Paris University with French as the medium of instruction. But at present, there are seven colleges excluding the colleges run by Sri Aurobindo Ashram and the French Institution called Lycee Francaise.

The Directorate of Education which has been streamlined on the



Indian pattern is fully responsible for the development of education from pre-primary stage to the college level including technical education in the Union Territory of Pondicherry. The educational pattern as obtained in the adjoining states of Tamil Nadu and Kerala and Andhra Pradesh is followed in the schools in Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam regions respectively.

Almost, all the colleges offer courses at post-graduate levels in various disciplines. In addition to these, a Law College is also offering law courses even at Post Graduate level in this Union territory. These colleges are now affiliated to the Pondicherry Central University which has been established in October 1985.

The School of Arts and Crafts was one of the early institutions providing Technical education during pre-merger days in this Union Territory. With a view to providing for both general education of the high school standard and training in certain technical courses, this institution was upgraded into Technical Higher Secondary School.

There are 20 higher secondary schools including the technical higher secondary school. In all the higher secondary schools, vocational and general streams of education exist.

The establishment of an Engineering College in Pondicherry is a landmark in the field of Technical education in this Union Territory of Pondicherry, besides a polytechnic which offers Diploma courses in various branches. There are proposals to start a Women's Polytechnic in Pondicherry and another in Karaikal. After merger due care has been taken to preserve French education which is given an important place in the educational system of this Union Territory. There are five French schools out of which three are high schools in this Union Territory exclusively imparting instructions in French medium. Much stress has been laid on physical education after merger and physical education forms part of curriculum in the programme of general education.

A conspicuous achievement of the department is the starting of Bal Bhavans, which provide educational-cum-recreational facilities for young children out of school hours for self expression and self realisation in various types of activities.

In view of the national importance given to eradicate illiteracy particularly among the age group 15-35 on a massive scale, the Adult Education Programme has been launched in this Union territory since 1978-79

With a view to raising the quality of education, a Centre for Continuing Education has been established in this Union Territory for imparting various inservice training courses/programmes for various categories of teaching personnel, at all levels.

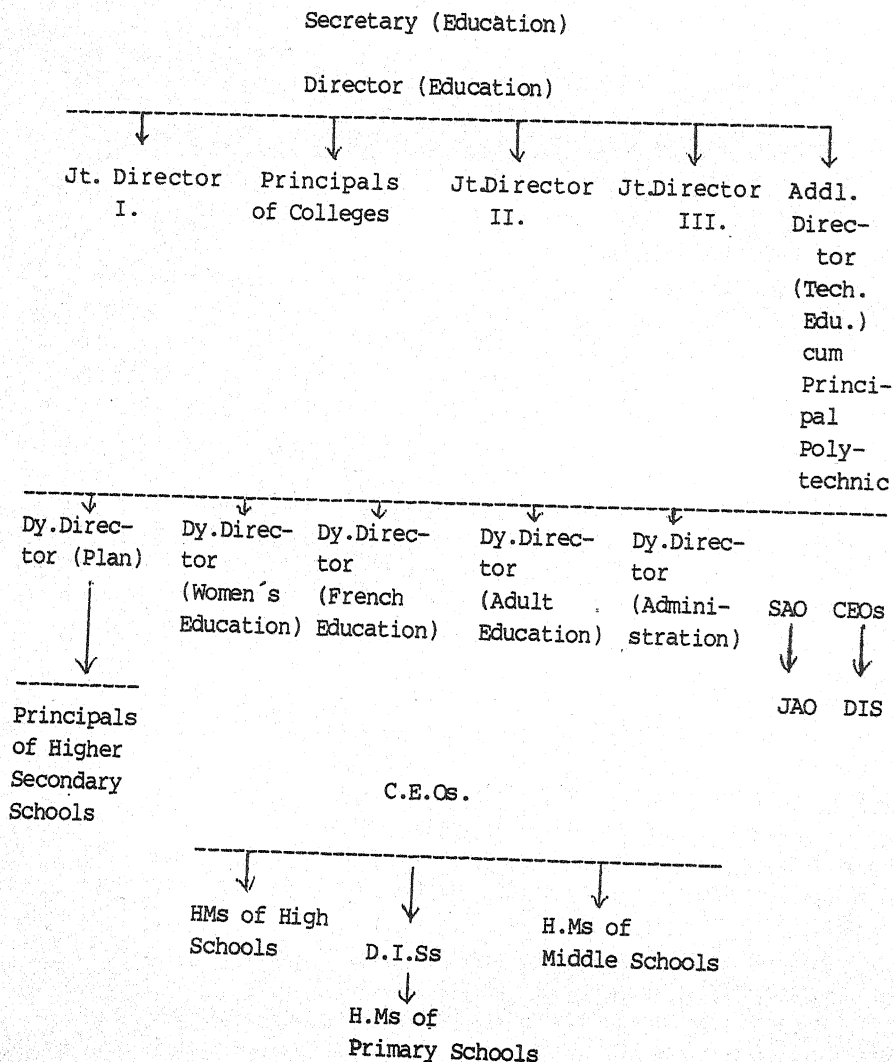
During the post-merger period, the girls' education received top



most priority in this Union Territory. The enrolment of girls has multiplied five times as on date when compared to that of the year 1954-55.

At the time of *de facto* transfer, the only officers in the Directorate of Education were the Director of Public Instruction and the permanent delegate to the Director.

But due to phenomenal expansion of education in diverse fields after the merger it has become necessary to strengthen the Directorate as well as Inspectorate. The organogram is as indicated below:



Under the scheme of Bharat Scouts and Guides, the young pupils are enrolled as Bul Buls and others up to the secondary level are enrolled in Scout and Guide movement. Further, this department gives due importance to the all round development of the children right up to the college level. Under NCC, NSS schemes, more than 2000 pupils/students in Higher stages are enrolled and trained. The schemes under Physical Education are of great attraction towards the student community. The interschool and inter collegiate competitions and play festivals are conducted every year. The Pondicherry State Sports Council is also releasing grant-in-aid to various Sports Associations in this Union Territory.

The Audio Visual Education Units screen films of educational and general interests. There, all Audio Visual aids are available.

The Romain Rolland Library and 67 branch libraries are catering to the needs of reading public. The Mobile Library Units are also available. A Micro Film unit is also available. Indeed, this system has created an awakening in the rural population and the reading habit among them is on the increase. Annually, Book exhibitions are conducted.

Post-merger records are also preserved in Archives and Museum contains very rare collections. Further research facilities are also available in Bharathiar and Bharathidasan Memorial Museum in Pondicherry.

## Book Reviews

### **Education in India (1781-1985): Policies, Planning and Implementation**

KULDIP KAUR, Chandigarh, Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, 1985, pp. 543, Rs. 280.00.

To achieve the multiple but interdependent goals of personal, economic, social, political and cultural development, it is necessary to make appropriate provision for integrated programmes of education for people who happen to be living at a particular point of time. If adequate resources are not provided and efforts not made for spread of education, the chasm of economic disabilities, regional imbalances and social injustice will widen further, resulting in building up of disintegrative tensions. There is no denying the fact that India has made considerable progress since Independence in terms of increase of all types of institutions, volume of enrolment and sophistication and diversification of educational programmes. It has, however, not been possible to meet the nation's aspirations in respect of all the expectations. Therefore, there is a need for an assessment whether the present state is only a post-Independence phenomenon or has historical roots.

The author has made an analytical study of the growth of education in India since 1781 (i.e., the year of starting of Calcutta Madrasaah). Part I of the study deals with the development, growth and implementation of various recommendations made in the field of education by a large number of committees, conferences, seminars, study groups, study teams, panels, despatches, minutes and the commissions appointed by the Government of India and State Governments and numerous advisory bodies during the period studied since 1781 to September, 1985. Part II gives a glimpse of source material which has been arranged in six sections with annotations and necessary documentation. It would have been better if these had been included in a separate annexure, specially as the references have been arranged chronologically.

The present volume is a welcome addition to the slender collection of meaningful and analytical works on the evaluation of the educational system. A close perusal of the book shows that the argument

has been organised under four major heads, e.g., characteristics of colonial education, education in Independent India, tasks in the present phase, and education sub-system and the socio-economic system. The book makes a refreshing reading because many of the attributes of the system of education introduced during the colonial period still persist. The material collected and analysed focuses on a new concern for education and the growing awareness of an urgent need for reforms. One has to share the anguish of the author that a wide and distressing gulf continues to exist between thought and action, and between recommendations and their implementation. Some of the trends identified by the author need critical examination because history alone is not enough to know the inner working of a system. The greatest merit of the book is that a great deal of valuable historical material has been presented. Researchers and policy-makers can take immense help from it while shaping and reshaping the development of education in India.

The level of efficiency of the educational system in India is exceptionally low and even the scarce resources available to it get frittered away through serious inadequacies of administration and management. There is a large degree of duplication of effort and a considerable degree of uncoordinated activity in the educational sector. The vertical linkages within the educational system are also quite anaemic. There is lack of coordination between the educational sector and other sectors with which it interfaces in the development process. The share of expenditure on administration to total educational expenditure is extremely low, that is 1.9 per cent. All these and other major problems of education can be appreciated only in a historical context. The style of the book is lucid, expression faultless and printing excellent. Since the price of the book is on the higher side, it would compel the researchers to go to library quite often.

-- INDER PRABHA SHARMA

### **Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective**

Government of India, New Delhi, Ministry of Education, 1985, pp. 119, (mimeo).

The document presents a broad approach to various practical and policy issues of education, and provides an over-view of the present quantitative and qualitative status of the various education programmes along with the strategy and policy alternatives. It presents an important stage in the process reviewing and reshaping the educa-

tional system to enable it to meet the challenge of the future and also to improve its efficiency and quality.

The progress of education at different levels has been examined since Independence in general and specially after implementation of the Educational Policy of 1968. It has been impressed that the desired improvements have not materialised because neither resources nor the measures of restructuring were commensurate with the imaginative and purposeful thrust of education policy adopted in 1968. The Education Commission (1964-66) established a link between education and development. Education can impart to the people knowledge, sense of purpose and confidence essential for building a dynamic, vibrant and cohesive society. It is also instrumental in developing personality, attitude and values. In short, the development of human resources is the main function of education. It calls for development of modern scientific outlook, creativity and innovation. For this, it emphasises the creation of institutions of excellence at all levels. Besides, attention has to be given to provide minimum level of curricular and cocurricular facilities in all institutions in order to reduce the gap between the two.

The aim of universalisation of elementary education up to the age of 14 has not been achieved. The main hindrances are: high drop-out rate; poverty; irrelevance of educational content; lack of concern on the part of teachers, educational administrators, and society; and allocation of inadequate resources. In this regard, special attention has to be paid to the weaker sections of the society, like scheduled castes/tribes, rural population, girls and slum dwellers in urban areas. The parents have to be induced to send their children to schools and educational content has to be moulded to meet their needs and aspirations. Education should not alienate the children from their parents. The community has to be involved in such programmes. For this, formal, non-formal and part-time education programmes have to be tried out. The Adult Education Programme will help in achieving this objective. The document proposes to link primary education with pre-primary education (Anganwadis). It is recognised that mother is the first teacher in the early formative years of the child. Education should start when the child is prepared mentally and physically. However, some arrangements have to be made for the children of the working mothers. The single-teacher schools need at least one more teacher to improve its efficiency.

It has been noted that there are more illiterates (437 millions in 1981) than were at the time of Independence (300 millions in 1947). It is due to population explosion. The literacy has increased from 16.67 per cent in 1951 to 36.23 per cent in 1981. There is a positive relation between adult education and universalisation of

education, acceptance of small family norms, low infant mortality and productivity. The employers, voluntary agencies and educated adults have to be involved in such programmes and these have to be made more relevant and useful to the adults. The assessment of the programmes and the evaluation of post-literacy programme is imperative.

There has been a tremendous increase in secondary education. The schools have grown in size and the teacher-pupil ratio has been adversely affected. The major challenge is to devise an education system that would meet the growing demands of secondary and higher education and also ensure the objective of the qualitative viability. More students from weaker sections have to be inducted into this system.

The document examines the proposition whether vocational education should be imparted in the school system or in independent institutions. The 1968 policy statement stressed on increasing facilities for technical and vocational education. The enrolment was expected to be 50 per cent at the +2 stage, but it has remained marginal. Generally manual activity and vocational employment are considered as inferior to most routinised clerical jobs. In a society moving into modern technology, this attitude can be a handicap and efforts are needed to change this outlook. It is suggested that no one will be able to complete schooling without having to work usefully with hands and bolster up the concept of dignity of labour. A good deal of spade-work has to be done in respect of setting up a link between vocationalisation, employment and industry. Much thought is needed in formulating the curriculum, availability of teachers, provision of workshop and laboratory facilities and provision for lateral and vertical mobility. Another suggestion floated is that the vocational courses should also be available after class V or after class VIII or after class XII of the academic stream. Recently national working group, with V.C. Kulandaiswamy as Chairman, examined the issue afresh (*The Hindu*, November 5, 1985). There is need to raise the general educational standard of middle level technicians so that they are able to introduce innovations in the industry.

Higher education is an indicator of country's future because it provides the nation with specialised manpower. Some of the faculties of the universities and colleges have done commendable work in supporting the process of development and modernisation, but the general condition of majority of colleges and universities is a matter of concern. At times, colleges and universities are started on non-academic considerations. A plea is made that the UGC must be given full support to discharge its statutory functions. A lot of work needs to be done to improve functioning of colleges. The need for an institution to update the curricula of colleges and universities is

felt. The universities should be autonomous and accountable. The responsibilities of states, Central Government and UGC need clarification. Recently, a case has been made for raising fee in colleges, universities and professional institutions to meet part of cost of education. This has to be supplemented by the provision of liberal financial assistance to economically backward students who are otherwise eligible for such courses. The document under review calls for restricted admission on the basis of scholastic aptitude test. A concern is shown about the problem of charging of capitation fee by professional and other institutions, but no guidelines have been laid down about it. In the training of teachers, improvement is needed both in pre-service and inservice training. The document mentions about appropriate working climate, work ethics and code of conduct for teachers, administrative staff, and students. There is an imperative need for developing an appropriate pedagogy for training educational administrators.

In the field of technical education, it is felt that curriculum has to be updated, and better workshop facilities provided to attain the required level of expertise. The problem of brain-drain is a cause of concern and calls for modernisation of Indian industry. Engineering education should lay emphasis on maintenance, production and research functions.

In short, the document calls for radical reforms in education keeping in view the limitations and constraints. For achieving this, more funds have to be allotted by Central/State Governments, besides giving incentive for private investment in education. Education is a concern of the whole nation and it calls for greater commitment on the part of the people, especially the participants in education, and they have to become more purposive. In terms of priority and allocation of resources, the order of importance can be something as follows: (1) elementary and adult education; (2) secondary education and vocationalisation, and (3) higher and technical education. The important areas that call for immediate attention are: curricular reforms, provision of proper facilities and teaching aids, improvement in training of teachers and examination reforms. One thing that calls for attention is the medium of instruction. For the spread of education, it is essential that vernacular (mother tongue) should be used as medium of instruction up to the school stage. This was one of the recommendations of Wood Despatch (1854) and it was reinforced by other commissions and committees set up from time to time.

This document has evoked considerable discussion and debate and it is hoped that it will help in evolving a sound national educational policy. The short comings pointed out in the implementation of 1968 Education Policy will serve as a lesson in implementation of the new



educational policy. Shri K.C. Pant, the then Minister for Education, has contributed a stimulating foreword. The Ministry of Education deserves compliments for the status paper.

--P.C. BANSAL

### **Educational Planning: A Long Term Perspective**

MOONIS RAZA (Ed.), Delhi, National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration and Concept Publishing Co., 1986, pp. 488, Rs. 170.00.

An educational system is an extremely complex framework in which diverse disciplines and a multiplicity of agencies participate through a variety of institutional arrangements. Educational processes are also characterised by a futuristic thrust. Educational policy influences shaping of a whole generation, therefore, the process of policy formulation for education in terms of objectives and instruments as well as the strategy for implementation calls for involvement at various levels of all those dealing with or interested in education. Education impinges on society a great deal, therefore, there must be a conceptual clarity, internal consistency, cost effectiveness, replicability and implementability. The Editor, a distinguished academician, has arranged 19 thought-provoking research papers in four parts covering a vast ground. The approaches have been viewed in their global, societal, technological and methodological contexts by 22 scholars and administrators from five countries and in a long-term perspective that makes their prognostications of great social relevance.

Prof. Raza paints a vision of the future, whereas Tilak focuses attention on the two dominant features of the contemporary human conditions. Kurimoto elaborates on the global and international implications of transfer of technology. Hans Reiff deals with problems of educational planning with an international perspective. Alagh beautifully examines the process of educational development in the context of planned societal change. He thinks that education in India has to continuously respond to demographic stresses, on the one hand, and the labour force requirements of production sectors on the other. Ahmed and Nuna focus attention on the central question of educational development in a relatively developed state in India. Premi and Srivastava are concerned with the demographic aspects of educational planning.

The papers in Part III probe along a framework for long range planning. Veera Raghavan and Sapra describe the importance and the



inevitability of a rapid increase in the use of new technologies in the education of the future. In the last part of the book, specific approaches to and models and techniques of educational planning as adopted currently by both researchers and policy-makers are presented. Rohatgi and Rohatgi focus attention on the strong links between educational planning and long-term forecasting of socio-economic as well as technological phenomenon. Ramalinga Iyer discusses in depth the modelling techniques and socio-economic indicators. Johnston addresses himself to the construction of educational indicators, generally along the lines of statisticians. Using a simplified mathematical model, Tim Lwin describes the methodology of manpower forecasting in educational planning along with its limitations and shortcomings. Kikuchi describes the experience of Japan in applying systems analysis and forecasting techniques to education in the overall framework of conflicting educational objectives.

This edited volume is excellent and scholarly giving a new perspective and a long-term scenario. Ultimately, such studies provoke serious thinking and lead to more in-depth studies. It is in this background, perhaps, the editor preferred to leave the strands as they were, without giving them a coherence and a unity in the shape of an overview. It is a book for every serious scholar in the field of educational research and planning.

--S.K. SHARMA

### **Education for Socialism, Secularism and Democracy**

S.N. JHA, Delhi, Amar Prakashan, 1985, pp. viii+134, Rs. 80.00

The book forms the substance of Jha's doctoral thesis in Political Science. The author has aptly surveyed the progress and development in Education, covering pre-and post-independence periods. A plea is made that education should inculcate socialistic, secular and democratic values among the students.

The framers of our Constitution laid stress on a socialistic, secular and democratic order and these values are enshrined in the Constitution. Socialism lays emphasis on the welfare of the people, it seeks to give equality to all people, tries to remove exploitation of one class against another and ensures economic and political equality of all. Secularism is a belief that the state's morals, education, etc., should be independent of religion. The pluralistic view of secularism implies an attitude of accepting all religions rather than rejecting any or all. Imparting proper education to the Indian masses would keep in taking the country towards socialism. In

the strict sense, democracy means the rule of masses. Operationally, democracy is conceptualised as a form of government which exists for a better society and to provide maximum amount of liberty, order and security within the state. Education is considered as a means of development. It may come through nature and institution. In the words of Gandhiji, true education is the training of body, intellect and mind.

In the survey of education, Jha has covered deliberations and suggestions of various committees and commissions set up from time to time. It may be of interest to observe that the study of vernacular, both as subject and medium of instruction, was emphasised by various commissions and committees during the British time, viz., Wood Despatch 1854, Hunter Commission 1882, Sadler Commission (1917-19), and Zakir Hussain Committee on basic education (1937). The socialistic, secular and democratic values were emphasised by University Education Commission (1948-49). It observed that we are engaged in a quest for democracy through the realisation of justice, liberty and equality. The Education Commission (1964-66) stressed on building character of people by improving social, ethical and spiritual values. It also visualised link between education and development. The new pattern of education, viz., 10+2+3 was introduced in 1975. Though accepted in principle, some states have yet to implement it.

The impact of British rule on India is so much that even now we neglect our own art and culture and prefer to copy western civilisation and culture. Commenting on the present-day education scene, Jha observes that if education in pre-independent era was attuned, by and large, to suit the interest of the British rulers without caring much for the growth of personality of the Indian and the requirement of the Indian polity, the education system of the post-Independence era is marked by confusion and lack of purpose. Further, no concerted effort has been made to inculcate the basic concept of socialism, secularism and democracy in the minds of pupils.

Jha has stressed that the aims of education should be formulated keeping in view the socialistic, secularistic and democratic values. According to socialism, the education should aim for a love for socialistic pattern of society among pupils. Education has to give latest type of vocational and technical training to all citizens. It should aim at individual efficiency and dignity of labour. The secular outlook in education can be developed through text-books to create rational scientific outlook, promotion of sports, dramatic and other cultural activities, social service schemes, NCC, boys-scout and girls-guide activities. These help to generate fellow feelings and togetherness, and remove religious and other social and economic barriers among the participants. A stress is also laid on

the development of tolerance, understanding and appreciation of cultural heritage. Democratic set-up recognises that human personality is supreme and every individual needs to be provided opportunities for development and expression. It aims to ensure equal liberty and equality of opportunity to all. Education has to mould the individuals in such a way that they grow progressively in abilities, attitudes and skills.

Jha examines the defects of the education system at various levels of education. He laments that very few persons have made an attempt in concrete terms to restructure education with a view to inculcating socialistic, secular and democratic values. The central theme of education should be the study of the utility of theoretical and practical principles of labour. Elementary education is marred by high stagnation and wastage. About two-thirds of the children admitted to class one drop out by fifth class and four-fifths by class eighth. The universalisation of elementary education and adult education deserves a high priority. Education has to be made more purposive to meet the needs and aspirations of the people. The curriculum has to be made flexible enough to sustain the interest of the learner and also cater to needs of geographical variations. Moreover, attention has to be paid to school buildings, better quality of committed teacher and varied curricular and co-curricular activities for proper development of children.

At the secondary stage, the author has advocated for vocationalisation of education and to make it more science-based and technology based. These are essential for developing the creative powers within the child. We should not aim at vocationalisation for providing greater employment opportunities but also for real efficiency in all vocational work which is lacking at present. The importance of socially useful productive work and national service scheme is also highlighted.

At the college and university levels, Jha has laid emphasis on technical and vocational education and, at the same time, on a common subject covering theoretical and practical aspects for cultivation of secular, socialistic and democratic values. Author would have rendered yeoman's service by providing an outline of the syllabus of the subject for various levels. The scarce resources for education have to be utilised properly to enable the students to make all-round progress. A concern is shown about the falling standards of education but the author admits that raising of standard does not depend only on educational institutions but also on the social and economic atmosphere and the resources the society is prepared to invest in higher education. Reforms in examination can be brought out by introduction of viva-voca, internal assessment coupled with external

examination based on grading. The rush for admission in colleges can be reduced by providing job opportunities and vocational training at lower levels and, at secondary level, by delinking degrees at least from certain categories of jobs. The admission to institutes of higher education has to be made on merit.

Among others, it has been suggested that Government should subsidise education up to secondary level. At higher level, the rates of the fee have to be raised in order to meet a part of the cost of education. However, the interests of the economically backward sections of the society, who are otherwise eligible, have to be kept in view. The academicians are concerned with the menace of politicisation in universities and colleges and there is a need to make the atmosphere congenial for study and work. The author's suggestion for a centralised education system with a common core curriculum and the institutions to be controlled by states may not find favour. However, it may be conceded that the broad educational policies may be laid down by centre in consultation with state governments and implementation of these policies may be left to states with some financial assistance from the Centre. In order to augment the resources for education, the private sector has to be encouraged to invest in education with supervision and control from the government side. One of the causes of student frustration and indiscipline is absence of justice and fair-play in educational institutions. Jha comes out with a heavy hand on private managed institutions. There is a need to improve faculty by making provision for correspondence courses, open university and educational broadcasts and telecasts. In brief, a link has to be established between education and economy, and education and research have to be made need-based and more attention has to be devoted to applied research, although fundamental research is also necessary for advancement of knowledge.

In short, this is a fine study and is welcome especially at a time when the new educational policy is being implemented. It is hoped that the book will be read with interest by teachers and students of Education and Political Science and others who are concerned with education in one way or the other. Dr. S.N. Jha deserves compliments for his endeavour. The publisher has done a good job. It is hoped that the book will receive a wide audience and recommendations emanating from this research will be examined carefully for implementation wherever feasible.

--P.C. BANSAL

**Refugees and Development**

Eds. ERNST E. BOESCH AND ARMIN M.F. GOLDSCHMIDT, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, 1983, p. 140

One of the most serious and fundamental issues in international law and relations today is the sad plight of third world refugees, estimated to be about 15 million people. In order to address this crisis squarely and effectively, the United Nations created the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The UNHCR, in cooperation with the German Foundation for International Development (DSE), decided to hold an International Conference on Refugees and Development in West Berlin, from September 13-17, 1983. The main purpose of this global congress was "to find ways and means of abandoning the practice of limiting refugee aid to the mitigation of an immediate emergency and to combine refugee aid measures with development measures". The following attended the conference: representatives of countries seriously affected by the crisis, delegates from international and non-governmental units, and representatives from the German Federal Government. The conference's focus was on recent refugee flows. The delegates exchanged ideas freely ("brainstorming" was the principal method of discussion). This publication is the outcome of this international congress.

This 140-page conference report extensively covers the following major topics: refugees and their development (focus on objectives, relief agencies, and research), from expulsion to hospitality (a psychologist's perspective of the refugee problem), regional and national aspects and experiences related to refugee movements' impact on development (among the countries discussed were Pakistan, Thailand, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe), general remarks on the world refugee issue, and summary and conclusions.

Among major conclusions of the international conference are: "It was the common understanding that wherever the situation permits, help to refugees should from the initial stage tend towards long-range planning for durable solutions....Such measures could start already with the endeavour to prevent the occurrence of refugee situation. This endeavour may consist of development schemes in the country of origin in cases where the situation permits such measures. At any rate, as soon as the emergency phase is terminated, such development planning as is relevant to foreseeable durable solutions should be pursued" (pp. 125-126). The report further concludes that development should be "integrative". It was deemed important "that the refugees themselves be called upon to provide the necessary information about their group...coordination in planning and implementation of agencies...be strongly improved...Careful coordination

of services and goods according to population and situation should therefore set in as soon as possible". Other recommendations include objectives of development (self-sufficiency of refugees in their location asylum, preparation of refugees for either repatriation to home country, integration in the host country, assimilation in the host country, resettlement in a third country" (pp. 126-127). Other topics covered include: self-sufficiency of refugees, maintaining cultural identity, impact on the local situation, ecology, special groups of people (women, children, and disabled persons), issue of experts, and research.

This is a very significant and substantive report on refugees and development. The thrust/theme of the proceedings of viewing the refugee problem on the basis of durable and permanent solutions merits further world-wide discussion and implementation by all those concerned with this international crisis. The German Foundation for International Development and the UNHCR are to be congratulated for their bold and successful initiatives in helping alleviate human suffering through direct action and through an international dialogue. Scholars and laypersons will profit from reading this conference report.

--MARIO D. ZAMORA

#### **Management of Public Sector Enterprises in India**

R.K. SAPRU, New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House, Vol. I, pp. 391; Vol. II, pp. 304, 1987, total pp. 695, Rs. 600.00

In the USA in the fifties, the academic world was resounded with the slogan "publish or perish". It was a hard task even for the most impressive teachers to secure academic standing unless they had made regular contributions to their disciplines in the form of papers, articles and books.

Few are born geniuses and fewer have diverse talents in the sphere of knowledge to meet spontaneously the demands of authorship, and the majority of the academic community being mediocre, have to labour hard to produce a piece of academic literature for their survival. Some, of course, have found short-cuts to project their image through cryptic plagiarism often dexterously camouflaged with individual labels.

A way out for some others was to edit a volume gathering essays from members of the teaching profession, which in a highly competitive situation, was treated equal to a book authored. Naturally, publication of collection of papers on a specific theme or various

facets of a subject has become a regular practice and, in course of time, the editors of such collections multiplied as authors themselves. Ostensibly, the lack of other avenues has worked as a major compulsion on the contributors to seek self-expression in the edited volumes.

The academic themes and the academic style of writing are taboo to popular newspapers and other periodicals which by policies and preferences cater for a particular taste that keeps up their circulation and advertisement value.

Collections of articles had first appeared in print as 'readers' in the USA but later on, they have assumed several appellations to the extent of misleading that some of them are diligently written books or text-books on their subject matter.

In India, neither "publish or perish" nor "publish and flourish" at any time had any significance--positive or negative. In the academic field, very few selections to the faculty are prompted by considerations of quality recognised in terms of published material or teaching talent. The emphasis on class obtained at the examination is of no use to determine such dominant factors as acquired knowledge, personality on the platform, research aptitude and, above all, intellectual attributes, like originality and imagination. Teaching talents as exemplified by ideas, oratory, erudition, and humour are few in the country and they cannot be discovered by the insistence on class which is the achievement of a particular type of memory power if not the product of fondness nurtured by proximity.

However, the capacity competitively displayed in the academic sphere for writing, in the post-independence era, has led to an incessant proliferation of publications but the quality of such intellectual turnout can hardly match international standards. There is a mushroom growth of publishing firms in the country which profiteer and flourish by the wanton exploitation of the weakness or indulgence of the writers. No publisher except a few firms of established reputation is willing to pay from his sales, a percentage in the form of royalty to the author who, in his anxiety to see his manuscript in print, is only too willing to forgo it.

Some academics, who have already climbed the ladder to professorship, have quiescently agreed to bear substantially the cost of production over and above denying themselves their share in the sale proceeds in their precipitance to see their books exhibited in the commercial show case. It is an irony of Indian society that its morals are easily amenable to permissive trade in knowledge promoted by unscrupulous publishers thriving on selling books at exorbitantly high prices to a buyers' market consisting entirely of affluent libraries.



In India, there are more writers than readers of books and the academics themselves paradoxically read and relish but what they write. The absence of regular and consistent reading habit with the educated in the country is in a way responsible for the non-availability of low-priced books in India, and the publishers pricing their books aiming only at libraries.

During the British period, academic life in India had its unsullied excellence and inviolable sanctity but with post-independence years, despite the rapid multiplication of publications, there is a perceptible decline in its intellectual quality and moral authority. The guarantee of fundamental rights perhaps due to its unrealisable nature, has rendered little stimulus to the development of real intellectuals or has seldom been utilised in the academic sphere to build up eminence and excellence.

The academic community, on the whole, remains timid, docile and enmeshed in politics or bogged in fighting petty issues. The result is that quality in all aspects of academic life is sacrificed for frivolous quantity and the precious academic freedom, for the vicious triumph of mediocrity. The rush of the pedagogues to submit their manuscripts, free at the feet of the exploiting publishers, has led to an over-production of overwhelmingly sub-standard books that baffles the segregation of few grains from the mountain of chaff.

The Indian press, which uninhibitedly allots enormous space for mythologising the moral delinquents and intellectual mendicants of the make-believe and easy-going world of films, is almost totally unconcerned and niggard to the needs of development of the academics. It does not seek the views of even illustrious academics on important issues nor does it invite a reputed erudite or researcher in a university in the normal course to write on controversial issues.

One of the main causes for demoralisation of universities as institutions of specialised knowledge is that while, on the one side the government regards them as centres for abstract learning, which has no direct relevance to its operations, the press, on the other adjudges them to be agencies engaged in furthering speculative knowledge that adds little to its news value. In no other country seats of knowledge are relegated in their importance and purpose put to disuse on specious or absurd reasoning. On the other hand newspaper in India styles itself as national because for it the nation is three or four journalists monopolising its columns to the total refusal of its hospitality to the members of other professions save perhaps its favourites. In the welter of unfavourable trends, the academics have to find a forum for the expression of their views and ideas which is often provided in the publication of hordes of papers.



The editor of a symposium should distinguish himself from the author of a book by his priscianist approach to language, his mental agility to offer critical comments, his literary resourcefulness to abridge, adapt and if necessary to rewrite and above all his artistic sense and dialectical skill to bring together in proper cohesiveness, the different contributions.

The first volume of the **Management of Public Sector Enterprises in India** consists of 25 articles and the second 24. These essays are on a wide variety of topics associated with or directly relevant to the public sector. Some are specific case studies. The author has made no effort to categorise and group them with the result that the papers on Management and Management Development, State Road Transport, Banking and Finance, Energy, Performance Appraisal, Training and such other topics remain dispersed and without a disciplinary frame. The essays in general reflect personal opinions and bear the individual imprints of their authors. The comments made on them are scanty, casual or cavalierly and do not communicate their characteristics or the essence of their content.

There is precious little in the book that can be considered as logical or ideological exposition in defence of the public sector in a developing country nurturing socialist ambitions, particularly in the context of the challenge it has to face from the devastating doctrine of privatisation.

Undoubtedly, the most well-written part of the book is the succinct, lucid, creative and didactic foreword written by T.N. Chaturvedi. It is a studious blend of the principal philosophical tenets of state activities in the field of economy and the major issues that have arisen in the public sector in India, that invokes immense interest of the reader. However, as custom and propriety demand, the foreword has not found its place in the second volume of the book. The price of the publication is prohibitive even for libraries.

--S.N. SADASIVAN

### **The Dilemmas of Indian Polity**

S.N. SINGH, Lucknow, Print House, 1985, Rs. 90.00

The author has attempted to analyse the functioning of democracy in India during the last 40 years. He has examined the party system and parliament, the opposition, local government, social justice, and the civil services. In his concluding chapter, he has also assessed

the alternative of introducing the presidential form of government in India and has not found it suitable. Dr. Singh's analysis has taken into account the socio-cultural factors, especially caste, affecting politics and administration in India. He has taken a pluralist view of democracy in believing that family, village and other smaller social groups foster values and norms congenial to a democratic way of life. This seems to be an important and interesting criterion of judging the Indian democracy in action. But, unfortunately, the author has not cared to make any meaningful analysis of the role of these elements in the functioning of Indian democracy.

The discussion here is more descriptive than analytic. The chapters on the party system, the opposition and social justice add little to our knowledge; nor do they shed any light on the perspectives of the functioning of these institutions. The discussion is more comprehensive and reflective when the author deals with local government and civil service. In his search for the nature of the dilemmas of the Indian polity, he has not, however, anything to say about the functioning of some other important institutions, such as judiciary, election machinery, conduct of elections, and the press. Inclusion of some discussion on these important institutions of a democratic government would have increased the value of the book. It is very difficult to find who would be benefited from this book: it would appear simplistic to a scholar, inadequate to a graduate student, and obviously difficult to a member of the lay public.

The author, however, need not feel discouraged. Perhaps this is his first book and he should improve in future. He has made certain valuable reflections in his discussions on local government and civil services. Too much politicisation of a generalist civil service, organised without a sense of direction, seems to be one of the crucial dilemmas in organising a social welfare democratic state in India; another weakness is the continued neglect of local government institutions. Dr. Singh has done a good job in drawing our attention to these sources of weakness of the Indian polity.

--ASOK MUKHOPADHYAY

**Dimensions of Political Communication, West Bengal: 1970s**

SRABANI RAICHAUDHURI, Calcutta, K.P. Bagchi & Co. 1985,  
pp. xvi+171, Rs. 90.00

It has rightly been observed that "Man has always lived in an information society. His progress closely corresponds to his ability to store and communicate information". The importance of research in

such an area of social-political-economic importance can hardly be over-emphasised. Chronologically speaking, scholarly mass communication research in India is a phenomenon of late 1960s and early 1970s. But these studies "lacked in proper research design, methodology and scientific analysis" as these were mainly "based on half-baked concepts, inexact evaluation and mostly western models". The results were also not in usable formats as "the researchers did not take into consideration application possibilities while venturing into these projects". Another shortcoming of media research in India has been that "State or Government sponsored studies have dominated the scene far too long". All India Radio or Doordarshan-maintained research departments "generally arrived at foregone conclusions to replenish their own communication policies and practices". "They try to prove their vested interests to serve the elitist needs rather than to grasp the requirements of communication starved and information-hungry masses". In fact, if done systematically and scientifically, "these investigations could help break new grounds in communication research and mass media applications for problem-solving situations and set up new horizons in various parts of the country".

The study under review comes hardly close to this standard consideration. In fact, the author's option does not appear to be that ambitious; rather, it seems to be very limited. After emphasising the inseparable relationship between the social system and the communication process, she proceeds to present a brief but comprehensive review of literature on communications research. The history of the press has been traced very well and it has been pointed out with adequate data that there has been tremendous increase in the number of newspapers and periodicals during the last three decades. The commencement, growth and role of radio and T.V. have also been described nicely. Summaries of some election results have been beautifully presented. A noteworthy point made by the author is that the approach and attitude of the newspapers are generally inconsistent and unprincipled. Party papers, however, have been found to be more consistent and principled than the so-called independent dailies.

Conclusions drawn by the author in respect of relationship between election campaign and religion, caste, age, education, income, occupation and sex are not at all startling. Similarly, no significant association could be observed between caste, age and occupation and communication structures. However, association of sex, education and income has been significant with the latter. Curiously, propaganda by political parties played no major role and discussion with members of the family was an important channel of information for the female respondents. Political communication, naturally, had a very high

positive correlation to the degree of political awareness. And political awareness, in its turn, had a positively high correlation to education and education with family income. Thus far, no new grounds seem to have been traversed by the author.

In the postface of her study, she has tried to highlight the worldwide trends in political communication research and theory during the seventies. Most important in this regard is her attempt to present some glimpses of development of communication theory as well as recent research findings in the field of mass media in the socialist world.

The author concludes her study quoting judiciously from the report of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (1980). Accordingly, "Freedom of information ... is a fundamental human right, indeed, a prerequisite for many others". Further, "it is essential to develop comprehensive national communication policies linked to overall social, cultural and economic development objectives". Finally, "Every country should develop its communication patterns in accordance with its own conditions, needs and traditions". And, in this light, should be shaped the research approaches. What is required is the appropriate orientation to communication researchers "to perceive the importance of communication research and need for proper dissemination of results and findings for wider use at State and national levels". "It is also crucial that communication research is intimately linked with the actual problems of the people at the lowest degree. The effort should be to look at the matters of common interests rather than of specific groups or communities. Research should take note of Indian environment, Indian ethos, Indian values and Indian concerns. Research divorced from Indian realities will be wasteful". What is pertinent is that the "Researchers should go in the fields and evaluate the needs of the deprived and offer guidelines to communication media to satisfy expectations and aspirations of the common people".

By these considerations, the study under review does not come up-to-the-mark. In India, however, such studies are also very few in number and certainly provide launching pads for going higher and exploring wider horizons.

The study is based on sound methodological foundations. 'Chi-square', 'F' Test and 'null hypothesis' have been applied with necessary scientific rigour. The author, however, is very well aware of her limitations in this regard as she frankly admits that she has been compelled to confine her multivariate analysis only to the measurable quantities.

The language is fluent and whatever the author has to say, she says quite directly. She has very ably presented the dimensions of

political communication in West Bengal during the 1970s.

--SAKENDRA PRASAD SINGH

**Police and the Society**

ALPHONES L. EARAYIL AND JAMES VADAKUMCHERY, Trivandrum, Kairali Book International, 1985, pp.xliii + 180, Rs. 120.00.

The transformation of state from a colonial autocracy to a socialist and secular democracy implicitly enhanced the individual's expectations and endowed upon the state the powers and responsibilities of a diversified nature. Consequently, the instrumentalities of the state, including the executive arm of the government, required to be tuned in accordance with the philosophy of the state as well as expectations of the citizenry. One of the important wings of the executive being the police, a periodical scrutiny in regard to its performance and functions need to be undertaken.

A number of studies on police have attempted to highlight police functions and responsibilities in time and space. The work under review is knitted with the trend on studies on police. Of the many attributes and variables of the police, the present study, conducted jointly by an academic and a senior police officer, focusses attention on: (i) the reasons underlying the hiatus between the police and the community, (ii) the complexity of police duties vis-a-vis citizen's responsibilities, and (iii) the people's perception of police. The study is based on a field survey covering a sample population of over 4800 individuals drawn from both sexes and different age-groups. A study of this kind conducted in Kerala, which has the highest literacy rate in India, may prove to be a worthwhile step.

The book consists of nine chapters. The first chapter is introductory. The second chapter discusses the principal aims, issues and the methodology of the study. Chapters 3 to 8 cover six major areas pertaining to attitudinal and behavioural relationship between citizens and the police at the cutting edge level, viz., the police station, police behaviour towards the public, police susceptibility to corruption, political interference in police work, policing as a profession and public behaviour towards the police. The last chapter brings out the salient findings obtained in the study along with recommendations for various programmes and strategies to ensure better police-community relations. The authors have very painstakingly analysed each and every finding of their study giving reference to pertinent observations of eminent Indian and foreign

scholars as well as official commissions and committees appointed by the Central and State governments.

Some interesting findings obtained in the study need to be mentioned. For instance, the study reveals that the police are not so unpopular as often imagined by many of us. It is quite encouraging to notice that the police could satisfy the public to a considerable extent as shown in this study. It is also encouraging to find many people thinking that the police in general exhibit greater devotion to work than members belonging to other government departments. People's expressive behaviour towards the police, however, seems to differ from their perception for, only an insignificant percentage of the sample, i.e., 4.27 admits that citizens in their behaviour show cooperation with the police. Although there are some considerable reasons for this sort of surface behaviour, as explained by the authors, more than 70 per cent of the respondents do not subscribe to the view that the public should still keep away from the police. This shows that the people are not generally so hostile to the police as they often are considered to be. Again, while political interference in police work is often criticised in speech and print, the study shows that politicians, as a rule, do not interfere in serious law and order duties of the police for fear of public criticism and that political interference is often necessary to get justice from the police.

However, a study of this type based on collection of data primarily with the help of questionnaires may not be able to provide a significant insight into the perceptual aspects of the respondents. A broad classification of the respondents, on the basis of their experience as a complainant, a victim, an accompanying person to a complainant or a victim, a friend of a policeman or a person who does not have any knowledge of police working, would have added to the utility of the study. The study does not explicitly mention the division of the respondents in term of their rural-urban background.

Despite these gaps, the study is a welcome addition to the literature on Indian police. It may serve as a useful reference material to those interested in the areas of research, planning and performance appraisal of the police. Attention of the reader confronts obstacles in the form of printing mistakes and the accessibility of the publication to a student is hampered due to the price of the book which appears to be on the higher side.

**Elite in a Tribal Society**

RENUKA PAMECHA, Jaipur, Printwell Publishers, 1985, pp. 223, Rs. 135.00.

This book is an outcome of an indepth study into the elite structure of the tribals particularly the Bhangis of Rajasthan. The work is based on an empirical research in four selected villages of Banswara district, viz., Vargun, Gorcha, Rohenia and Sundero, which present the picture of homogeneity and the major characteristics of tribal way of life. The authoress has made an attempt to examine following two major questions in the study:

1. "How far the tribal elites are acting as the modernising agents in relation to their society, and
2. How far political institutions have served as a basis for throwing up elite particularly in the rural tribal environment" (p. xiii)

The book contains eleven chapters, several supporting tables and a select bibliography.

Other than the concept of 'elite', the concept discussed and operationalised in the study are: 'authority', 'tribe', 'tradition', 'modernisation', 'political culture' and 'political socialisation'. She defines 'elite' as an influential person whose influence might be due to his ascribed or achieved political status (p. 14). Eighteen present institutional elites (including Panch, Sarpanch, Gram Sabha Adhyaksh, members of Gram Sabha and co-operative societies), 15 traditional elites (including Rawat, Bhangarias and Chokla Chief), and 27 reputational elites have been identified with the help of both positional and reputational techniques. Observation, interview and survey research methods are also used in the study.

The authoress finds that Panchyat Raj has become instrumental in throwing up a new type of tribal elites, who are relatively young and educated. Economic factor does not play significant role in making of tribal elites. Even though education is yet to acquire a decisive role in making of tribal elites, the tribals have realised the importance of education as the symbol of transformation of their backward society. Political careers of tribal elites depend upon their sincerity, integrity, and performance in the community upliftment and resolving conflicts. It is observed that majority of elites (55 per cent) are reluctant to contest elections because of their lack of sufficient political and financial resources and more so, some prefer to keep them out of 'dirty politics'. Contrary to upper level, circulation at the grass-roots level is quite frequent. Emerging

elites are aware of privileges and facilities enjoyed under Constitution and they extend their support to ruling party in election for development of their villages. According to the authoress' view, introduction of Panchayat Raj, Community Development Programme, modern education, co-operative societies, adult franchise and elections have been responsible in breaking the isolated character of tribals without making them to lose their identity. Tribal elites, particularly the emerging elites, not only serve as a bridge between tradition and modernity, but also act as the catalytic agents of socio-economic changes in the community.

However, we find that the work suffers from certain weaknesses. Theoretically and conceptually, the work lacks criticality. Neither the authoress discusses nor adopts any theoretical framework, which exists on the study of elites, while conceptually she has just managed to provide an overview of few definitions. Concepts are operationalised without having a critical evaluation of the views existing in the literature. For example, treating elites as influentials, she has failed to make a distinction between the two on the basis of their activity.

The reader will certainly miss the 'year of the study' and information about the 'social structure of Bhangis' in the study. Absence of the year of the study creates problem in understanding the 'present positions held by elites' discussed in chapter five. Bhangis, who represent a close society, have their own language. In this context, the reader will wonder to know, how the authoress, being a non-Bhangi, established rapport with a closed group.

Some discrepancies between the table and the analysis are also observed in the study. Tables 8.7 and 8.9 are referred to as 9.7 and 9.9 respectively. While Table No. 7.2 depicts that 43.3 per cent of elites cast their votes on the basis of candidate's caste, authoress analyses it as 63.4. These errors and also many printing mistakes could have been avoided by a more careful proof reading. An additional shortcoming of the book is that, in order to find out respondents' basis of casting votes, quite arbitrarily she has concluded "it is difficult to determine the role of caste since the entire district is a reserved one and thus in the process, caste consideration may tend to get neutralised and yield place to personal merit" (p. 119). Why can't it yield place to political party? The authoress has made no attempt to explain this anywhere in the book. We do not find any reason, why caste has been taken as the basis of voting in the study of tribal villages?

Besides these shortcomings, the reader will find the book boring because of quite frequent use of two phrases 'its worthy to note' and 'its interesting to note' in the book. One strongly feels that



merely following the framework adopted by Iqbal Narain and his associates for the study of six non-tribal villages in Rajasthan, the authoress has restrained herself from adding any novelty in her framework.

However, despite the above mentioned weaknesses, the book deserves to be welcomed. This is an addition to the scanty literature that exists on tribals, specially on Bhangis of Rajasthan. Smt. Pamecha has done a good job examining the emerging pattern of tribal elites which has been attempted by very few.

--B.B. SAHOO

## Education, Culture and Sports \*

HUMAN RESOURCES development has necessarily to be assigned a key role in any development strategy, particularly in a country with a large population. Trained and educated on sound lines, a large population can itself become an asset in accelerating economic growth and in ensuring social change in desired directions. Education develops basic skills and abilities and fosters a value system conducive to, and in support of, national development goals, both long-term and immediate. In a world where knowledge is increasing at an exponential rate, the task of education in the diffusion of new knowledge and, at the same time, in the preservation and promotion of what is basic to India's culture and ethos, is both complex and challenging. It is, therefore, appropriate that the commencement of the Seventh Plan coincides with a comprehensive review of the education policy.

The resolution on the National Policy on Education adopted in 1968 pointed out that the great leaders of the Indian freedom movement realised the fundamental role of education and, throughout the nation's struggle for independence, stressed the unique significance of education for national development. The Resolution further declared that the radical reconstruction of education as envisaged involved: (i) a transformation of the system to relate it more closely to the life of the people; (ii) a continuous effort to expand educational opportunity; (iii) a sustained and intensive effort to raise the quality of education at all stages; (iv) an emphasis on the development of science and technology; and (v) the cultivation of moral and social values. According to the Resolution, the educational system must produce young men and women of character and ability, committed to national service and development.

There has been a great deal of accomplishment in the field of education since 1947. Any number which may be picked up as a parameter to define growth in education will show the magnitude of the massive quantitative expansion that has taken place (Annexure 1). The number of recognised institutions has increased from 2,31,000 in 1951 to an estimated 7,55,000 in 1984-85. The total enrolment over the same period in these institutions increased from 24 million to nearly 132 million. The national stock of educated manpower is estimated to have increased from less than 4 million to about 48 million at present, the annual increment to the stock now being of the order of 3.5 million. It is significant to note that facilities have not only increased but also diversified at all levels and in different subjects. The enrolment for postgraduate studies, for instance has grown from a mere 20,000 in 1951 to over 3,00,000 by 1984-85 while that in science subjects is estimated to have increased from 4,400 to about 73,000. Extensive facilities are available for education in a variety of branches of engineering and technology. The output of this system has contributed significantly to our achievements in areas like atomic energy and satellite communication and provides the trained manpower for our economic development.

The expansion of educational facilities has also helped to some

extent in the correction of regional and other imbalances and in achieving progress towards equality of educational opportunity and social justice. The annual non-Plan expenditure on education from the Central and state budgets has increased more than fifty times over the last 35 years, from Rs. 114 crore in 1950-51 to more than Rs. 6,000 crore in 1984-85.

Although the Indian education scene since independence has been characterised by massive quantitative expansion at all levels, it is still to undergo the kind of transformation envisaged in the National Policy. It is faced with a staggering backlog; the level of illiteracy is as high as 63 per cent; to achieve universal elementary education, as enjoined by the Constitution. There will be need to enrol 50 million more children; vocationalisation of secondary education has yet to make headway; there is very significant pressure on the higher educational system and a decline in the standards of quality. There is an urgent need for a new design for education. The approach to the Seventh Plan has emphasised that one of the primary tasks is the harnessing of the country's abundant human resources and improving their capability for development with equity. It is recognised that programmes for alleviation of poverty, reduction of social and economic inequalities and improving productivity can and should be integrated with educational development. Further, the strategies for educational programmes and training and their organisational designs should particularly focus on women, youth and economically weaker groups so that they can make increasing contribution to the socio-economic development of the country.

#### SIXTH PLAN REVIEW

The Sixth Plan provided *inter alia*, for mass education through programmes of elementary education (formal and non-formal streams) and adult education. The Plan also envisaged increased bias towards the practical in secondary education, vocationalisation of higher secondary education and restructuring of undergraduate courses with a vocational bias. Forging beneficial linkages between education, employment and development was another objective in the field of higher education.

An enrolment target of 18 million additional children was set for the Sixth Plan period under the formal system of elementary education. According to the available reports, the additional enrolment is likely to be nearly 22 million. Although the target has thus been exceeded on an all-India basis, there have been shortfalls in a few states, especially in regard to the enrolment of girls. Also, the enrolment ratio in 1984-85 was 92 per cent for primary and 53 per cent for middle stages of education. For girls it was only 69 per cent and 38 per cent respectively. Some of the notable measures taken for the promotion of elementary education were: 'earn while you learn' scheme, mid-day meals for children, innovative curriculum renewal schemes, and special emphasis on appointment of women teachers. Funds available under the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) were also utilised for construction of school buildings.

Under the programme of non-formal education, although no specific targets were laid down, 8 million children were expected to be enrolled during the Sixth Plan. This was an experimental programme under which diverse models were to be worked out to suit the area-specific

or beneficiary-group-specific requirement. It is estimated that over 3 million children would have been enrolled under this programme. Besides the non-formal education centres organised by the state governments, innovative and experimental projects were taken up by a number of voluntary and academic institutions. Syllabus and instructional materials for use of learners enrolled in non-formal centres were developed following the integrated approach covering areas of health, hygiene, home science, agriculture, physics, chemistry, biology, history, geography and civics.

The position at the end of the Sixth Plan is that 80 per cent of the out-of-school children are in the nine states of Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, but there is need in all state and Union territories to improve the quality, relevance and effectiveness of the elementary education system, to improve enrolment and retention rates and to promote girls' education.

The Sixth Plan indicated the goal of reaching 100 per cent literacy in the age group 15-35 years by 1990. While no definite physical target was laid down for the Sixth Plan, the adult education programme was to be developed on a large scale for the age group 15-35 years to combat the problem of illiteracy among the productive segment of the population in general and, in particular, among the rural poor. The Central Government funded 386 rural functional literacy projects in the states besides giving assistance to 380 voluntary agencies and 49 universities for adult education programmes. In addition there were programmes of the state governments. It is estimated that 20 million adult illiterates would have been covered by these programmes during the Sixth Plan. Fifteen states Resource Centres provided the resource support to adult education centres in terms of curriculum formulation, preparation of teaching and learning material, development of methods and media, training of functionaries, monitoring and evaluation, and research and innovation. Development of learning materials for women and weaker sections was given special attention.

Enrolment in secondary and higher secondary levels has increased from about 10 million in 1979-80 to about 17 million in 1984-85. The 10+2 pattern of education has been adopted by 20 states and 9 Union territories although it is yet to be fully implemented in some of these states. The National Council of Educational Research and Training, the State Councils of Educational Research and Training and the State Institutes of Education continued their efforts towards improvement in science and environmental education, value-orientation including national integration and curriculum reforms. Propagation of community singing in schools was launched as a national movement.

In the context of INSAT utilisation, State Institutes of Educational Technology (SIET) were set up in six states, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh to produce educational television programmes. A Central Institute of Educational Technology (CIET) was set up for the production of programmes, training of personnel from the states as well for providing guidance in the development of the programmes.

Vocationalisation of education at the higher secondary stage was one of the important reforms included in the Sixth Plan. This programme has made limited progress with an enrolment of about 55,000 students in vocational education, confined to nine states and three Union territories where it has been introduced. Measures have been

initiated to establish the necessary links combining vocationalisation, skill training, in-plant apprenticeship and placement in gainful employment as composite parts of an integrated effort to raise the level of utility of the programme, and its wider acceptance and success. The organisational requirements for the planning, implementation, supervision and evaluation of the integrated programme, along with the mechanism for effective coordination among the concerned agencies, are being assessed and defined.

Enrolment in higher education is estimated to have increased from 2.5 million in 1979-80 to 3.5 million in 1984-85. Efforts were made for the consolidation of existing institutions and to equip universities and colleges with essential facilities within the limited resources available. Other important programmes taken up during the Sixth Plan included restructuring of undergraduate courses, improvement in standards of teaching of sciences and the humanities, strengthening of postgraduate education and promotion of research within the university system. A one hour daily telecast on higher education was also initiated for the benefit of colleges. On the recommendation of the Science Advisory Committee to the Cabinet, a new scheme was introduced in 1983-84 for strengthening the infrastructure facilities for research and postgraduate education in science and technology within the university system.

During the Sixth Plan period, the major emphasis in technical education was on diversification and optimum utilisation of existing courses and institutional resources. Efforts were made to provide facilities in areas such as computer sciences, instrumentation, product development, maintenance engineering, bio-sciences and material sciences. Forty-six selected polytechnics were assisted and supported to develop them into a network of 'community polytechnics' which would help transfer and apply available technology with the object of modernising rural structures. New manpower training programmes were undertaken for emerging areas in technology such as micro-processor application, remote sensing, laser technology, atmospheric sciences, and energy sciences. Programmes of management education, particularly in the Institutes of Management, were reviewed by an Expert Committee and on its recommendation, the establishment of a new Institute at Lucknow was taken in hand.

The Resolution on National Sport Policy was laid before Parliament in 1984 to serve as a policy frame for the Central and State Governments and all organisations connected with sports. The policy gives a new thrust to sports activities towards achieving excellence in as many areas of sports and games as possible and at the same time making 'sports for all' a reality. The Eastern Regional Centre, Calcutta, of Netaji National Institute of Sports, Patiala (NIS) started functioning from 1983 providing additional training courses for coaches. The national coaching scheme now has an authorised cadre strength of 800 coaches. Twenty-five regional sports coaching centres have been developed in state capitals and district headquarters. Besides its regular training programme, NIS implemented on behalf of the Central Government programmes of National Sports Festival for women, All India Rural Sport Tournament and Sport Talent Search Scholarship.

The Sports Authority of India was established in 1984 and undertook several sports activities in addition to maintaining and managing infrastructure and other facilities created for ASIAD 1982. Sports Councils with the assistance of Central and State Government

have jointly undertaken programmes for improving and developing facilities for the promotion of sports and games. Specifically, assistance was given for development of playfields, construction of stadia and swimming pools, construction of sports complexes, establishment and maintenance of rural sports centres, running annual coaching schemes and for purchase of sports equipment. The ceilings of financial assistance for these purposes were also enhanced. National sports Federations were also assisted for organising coaching camps for preparing the Indian teams and competitors to participate in approved international competitions. Under the scheme of National Sports Organisation, financial assistance was provided for developing physical facilities for sports and games in colleges and universities, especially for developing playfields, and construction of gymnasias.

Youth programmes for student and non-student youth were continued and expanded during the Sixth Plan. A National Service Scheme originally launched in 1969-70 as a pilot scheme with 40,000 students, covered over six lakh students in the year 1984-85. The scheme enabled students to participate during their first degree studies in various programmes of social service and national development and provided them an opportunity to understand the conditions and problems of social environment. The activities undertaken by the students included environmental conservation, plantation of trees, cleaning of village ponds, construction of wells, health and family welfare programmes, family welfare education for rural women and sanitation drives in urban slums. They also undertook some production-oriented programmes. Nehru Yuvak Kendras set-up to cater primarily to the needs of rural student and non-student youth, organised several social service camps, slum clearance schemes and environmental awareness schemes as well as programmes for training of youth leadership. In the year 1984-85, 120 youth leadership camps and 180 work camps were organised, involving 65,000 participants.

Programmes for preservation of monuments and sites of national importance were taken up on a priority basis. An expert group on archaeology carried out a professional study to prepare an overall plan of action. The number of archaeological circles which look after the preservation of monuments and sites of national importance was raised from 12 to 16. The number of excavation branches was also raised from three to five. Assistance was also provided to Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) for promoting the conservation and propagation of works of Indian art and culture. A large number of conservation programmes were taken up for repair and preservation of monuments and sites of national importance. The facilities at the National Museum, New Delhi, were further improved through taking up the first phase of its construction programme. The National Museum organised several aided tours and short-term in-service course. The Indian Museum, Calcutta, the Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad, the National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, the National Museum of Man and the National Archives were the other institutions whose programmes received support during the Sixth Plan. The National Council of Science Museums was also supported to undertake the task of popularising science and technology, among students in particular, through a wide range of programmes. The National Research Laboratory for Conservation of Cultural Property in Lucknow undertook a number of research programmes for technical studies with a view to improving conserva-

tion methods.

The Anthropological Survey of India was supported through funding of its several research projects on physical and cultural anthropology and allied disciplines. The Survey also undertook exploratory studies in the Himalayas, Narmada Valley and Coastal Andhra Pradesh.

Library programmes were another area of importance during the Sixth Plan. The construction programme at National Library, Calcutta, was taken up. The Raja Ram Mohan Roy Library Foundation which renders assistance to states and Union territories for development of Public libraries was further strengthened. Promotion and dissemination of culture was another major programme of the Department of Culture. The Sangeet Natak Akademi, the Sahitya Akademi and the Lalit Kala Akademi, besides the National School of Drama, undertook several programmes in this area. The Centre for Cultural Resources and Training, New Delhi, organised a number of in-service training programme for the benefit of teachers drawn from primary and high or higher secondary schools in different parts of the country. Financial assistance was also provided to dance, drama and theatre ensembles and to selected cultural organisations.

#### STRATEGY AND THRUST AREAS IN THE SEVENTH PLAN

The Seventh Plan provides for reorientation of the education system so as to prepare the country to meet the challenges of the next century. The main thrust areas in the Seventh Plan would be: (i) achievement of universal elementary education; (ii) eradication of illiteracy in the age-group 15-35 years; (iii) vocationalisation and skill-training programmes at different levels of education; (iv) upgradation of standards and modernisation at all stages of education with the world of work and with special emphasis on science and environment and on value orientation; (v) provision of facilities for education of high quality and excellence in every district of the country; and (vi) removal of obsolescence and modernisation of technical education.

The major strategies for achieving these objectives would include effective decentralised planning and organisational reforms, promotion of nonformal and open learning systems, adoption of low cost alternatives and optimum use of resources, forging of beneficial linkages with industry and development agencies, and mobilisation of community resources and societal involvement.

#### Elementary Education

Overriding priority will be given to realising universalisation of elementary education for children in the age group 6-14 years by 1990; this will continue to be part of the Minimum Needs Programme. The emphasis will shift from mere enrolment to retention of pupils in schools and to the attainment by them of basic elements of learning. The objective is sought to be achieved through a combination of formal and non-formal methods, focusing sharply on the needs of girls and of children belonging to the economically and socially weaker sections.

The enrolment at the elementary stage is estimated to have reached nearly 112 million by the end of the Sixth Plan period. For achieving the goal of universalisation by the end of the Seventh Plan over 50 million children will have to be additionally enrolled. A projection of enrolment in full-time elementary schools is given in

Table 1. Increasing enrolment in full-time schools beyond this level of 137 million in classes I to VIII might not be feasible due to socio-economic reasons and other factors. Even to achieve this level effectively, sustained efforts will have to be made to reduce the number of dropouts.

Table 1 EXPANSION OF ELEMENTARY STAGE EDUCATION

(Enrolment figures in million)				
Sl. No.	Classes/Age Group	Likely enrolment (1984-85)	Projected enrolment (1989-90)	Additional enrolment (1985-90)
I.	I-V (6-11)			
	Boys	51.20 (117.48)	55.00 (110.00)	3.80
	Girls	34.17 (69.20)	40.96 (88.15)	6.79
	TOTAL	85.37 (91.84)	95.96 (99.89)	10.59
II.	VI-VIII (11-14)			
	Boys	17.46 (66.90)	25.12 (92.56)	7.66
	Girls	9.27 (38.19)	16.55 (65.44)	7.28
	TOTAL	26.73 (53.07)	41.67 (79.46)	14.94
III.	I-VIII (6-14)			
	Boys	68.66 (90.96)	80.12 (104.24)	11.46
	Girls	43.44 (64.02)	57.51 (80.28)	14.07
	GRAND TOTAL	112.10 (78.21)	137.63 (92.60)	25.53

NOTE: Figures in parentheses indicate enrolment ratio relative to population in the corresponding age-group. Statewise details of target and achievement are given in Annexures 2 and 3.

Non-formal education would be the other important programme for the achievement of universalisation of elementary education as this can be useful to those who are not able or willing to attend full-time schools. The number of children to be covered by the non-formal programme is reckoned to be of the order of 25 million. Non-formal education in the Seventh Plan will, therefore, have to be expanded at a fast pace and made acceptable with a variety of forms to suit the varying needs of the target groups. Non-formal system should be made



flexible and appropriately linked to the formal system. Adequate textual material with area-specific background and supplementary reading material would be developed and made available to students. Adequate teacher-training arrangements will be made for teachers participating in the non-formal system. For optimum use of resources, the schools, the non-formal education centres and adult education centres should develop linkages and be educationally integrated with development programmes.

The enrolment projections made under the section on 'Strategy and Thrust Areas in the Seventh Plan' (p. 1118) are indicative figures, worked out at the macro-level and disaggregated to the state level. Specific operational targets will require to be worked out by the state government concerned blockwise and villagewise through decentralised planning. Once such targets are worked out for the catchment area of each school or a cluster of schools, it would be expected that the authorities responsible for the achievement of the target would adopt the most appropriate strategies of implementation and monitoring of progress.

The role of the teacher is most crucial in achieving universal elementary education, especially in the motivation of children as well as their parents. They can play a leading role in improving the quality of primary education, bringing in environment and health education and value orientation. In-service training of teachers thus becomes a programme of high priority. The training of teachers will include, apart from pedagogy, the use of mass media, science and technology, planning and curriculum design for local environment based courses, mobilisation and use to community resources and other relevant subjects. There will also be special emphasis on teaching methods and other measures particularly required for first generation learners and for reducing the number of dropouts. Teacher training institutions will be developed and strengthened accordingly.

Facilities will have to be created for the training of additional teachers required during the Seventh Plan period. There is as yet no infrastructure in the country for training of teachers in non-formal and early childhood education. Training of such teachers would have to be organised by suitably strengthening the existing teacher training centres.

Considering the numbers involved (over 2.5 million teachers), institutionalised in-service education of teachers will be difficult to organise not only due to the huge costs involved but also due to lack of facilities for training. It is, therefore, necessary to think of a variety of training arrangements. Among other, these would include:

- (a) In-service education by utilising in mass media, as was done during SITE;
- (b) adoption of schools of lower levels of education by institutions of higher levels for up-grading of teacher competencies;
- (c) despatch of teacher guidance notes by training schools;
- (d) publication of bulletins informing teachers of new developments; and
- (e) use correspondence course materials supported by occasional contact.

Dropouts and non-attendance of children at the primary stage of

education are due to poor school facilities, unrelated curriculum, poor methods of teaching and poverty. The reorientation of teacher training referred to above will help to a large extent in tackling these factors. In addition, suitable supportive programmes for the provision of incentives, the improvement of facilities, increasing community awareness, curriculum reforms, adjusting of school timings, utilisation of local community resources and earn-while-you-learn scheme, etc., will be introduced or expanded selectively according to local requirements.

Enrolment of girls has been lagging behind despite special measures taken in the past. Towards the end of the Sixth Plan some steps were taken to promote enrolment of girls and for providing non-formal education to them wherever necessary. In the Seventh Plan, the focus of effort will be on promotion of girls' education through appointment of women teachers, attachment of pre-school centres, provision of free uniforms and other incentives.

Special emphasis will be given to the enhancement of quality and efficiency of elementary education. The Seventh Plan will seek to provide specific funds for those programmes which will enhance the efficiency of the system. There is need to have fresh look at the design and construction of school buildings as well as at the textbooks in use. Various projects like population education, environment and wild life education and curriculum renewal have helped in the preparation of suitable teaching-learning material and this material will be utilised.

Due to the difficult resource position and the magnitude of the task involved in the implementation of the programme of universalisation of elementary education, optimal use should be made of the available infrastructure and funds. The Plan and non-Plan budget provision for elementary education and the existing teacher resources should be reviewed and redeployed on the basis of actual requirements and attendance in classes. Part-time teachers or helper-teachers on fixed salary, selected from among locally available educated men and women will be utilised to augment teaching resources and also improve relevance and cost-effectiveness of elementary education. Community support and financial contributions will be mobilised especially for clearing the backlog of physical facilities and school buildings. The construction of school buildings will be taken up also under the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and similar programmes.

Early childhood education is important both from the point of view of the personality development of the child and for inculcating in the children a healthy attitude to school going to help increase their retention rate in schools. This programme will be dovetailed with nutrition, health care and social welfare as a package within the broad framework of the programme of Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS). Voluntary efforts to undertake innovative experiments in respect of early childhood education will be supported.

The National Policy Resolution on Education recommends the placement of disabled children in regular schools. The scheme of integrated education of disabled children was started by the Ministry of Social Welfare as a Centrally-sponsored scheme where handicapped children were sought to be integrated in the normal school system with a view to promoting their psychological acceptance. The scheme is now being implemented by the Ministry of Education. One of the difficulties facing this scheme is the lack of trained teachers in special education. As such, during the Seventh Plan, greater

emphasis will be laid on teacher training.

### **Adult Education**

Eradication of adult illiteracy and the development of a programme of continuing adult education is a major thrust area in the Seventh Plan. The task of covering all the illiterates in the age-group 15-35 years by 1990 is a formidable one. As motivation of the learner is crucial for success and as the number to be covered is about 90 million, the strategy to achieve the goal can only be through a mass movement involving social institutions, voluntary organisations, students, teachers, employers and the community. This programme will also have to be linked effectively with various development programmes especially the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP). Active participation of village panchayats, mahila mandals, community centers, etc., is essential. Employers will be required to impart necessary functional education to all their illiterate employees. The programmes of Nehru Yuvak Kendras (NYK) and the National Service Scheme (NSS) will also focus on eradication of illiteracy. Programmes for motivating the learners by holding community meetings and through publicity through posters, films, broadcasting, etc., will be implemented on an adequate scale and with sufficient intensity to create a conducive climate. A network of libraries and the development of literature for neo-literates will also be initiated as a follow-up programme to avoid lapse into illiteracy. Community participation in all literacy programmes will be an essential feature from village level upwards to give proper direction and orientation and lend effective support to this national programme.

Another aspect of education of adults relates to training in functional skills relevant to their respective economic activities. Programmes for this purpose will be strengthened and adequate resource support provided for organising technical and vocational skill-based courses for the benefit of adult learners through Shramik Vidyapeeths and other similar institutions. As a part of the post-literacy and follow-up services, short-duration condensed training courses will be organised for upgrading the skills of the neo-literates and for increasing their awareness of various social events. The existing programmes on rural functional literacy and state adult education programmes and various training programmes for adult learners will be consolidated and dovetailed in the new mass movement programmes of adult education. Citizenship education including adult education, will be a necessary part of the entire education system, and will be specially promoted.

### **Secondary Education**

The demand for secondary education has been growing. The expansion and effectiveness of elementary education will provide a further impetus to this growth. The projected demand for additional facilities will, to some extent, be met by better utilisation of resources in the existing schools. Provision has been made for this purpose and for promoting distance learning techniques and open school systems. Unplanned growth of high/higher secondary schools will be checked. Norms for the establishments of secondary school will be evolved and strictly observed in order to avoid proliferation of economically non-viable and educationally inefficient institutions. In expanding the facilities, special attention will be given to the needs of backward area, of under-privileged sections of the popula-

tion and of girls. Girls education will be free up to the higher secondary stage.

The teaching of science and mathematics at high/higher secondary stage of education will be strengthened and made universal. Efforts will be made to update and modernise science curricula, improve laboratories and libraries in schools and ensure the quality of science teachers through large-scale in-service training programmes. Environment education will form an important aspect of science education.

The socially useful productive work (work experience) programme component seeks to highlight the link between work and education and to develop positive work ethics and work habits. The programme would allow for better utilisation and integration of community expertise in the teaching-learning process and the use of facilities available with local industry and development institutions. Besides, the support system for development, training, management and supervision available for vocationalisation programmes, will also be utilised for the programme of socially useful productive work at the secondary stage. Some courses/activities of pre-vocational character will also be introduced for more effective implementation of this programme.

In view of the importance of linking education with productivity, a major impetus will be given in the Seventh Plan to vocationalisation of the higher secondary stage. Facilities for vocational education will be suitably diversified to cover a large number of fields in agriculture, industry, trade and commerce, and services. It will be ensured that there is no duplication of courses between technical and vocational institutions and the schools. The skills imparted, will be of adequate standard for securing gainful employment or self-employment. At the same time, opportunities for pursuing higher general and professional education would be provided.

Vocational/career courses in educational institutions will be introduced in a flexible manner linked to emerging work opportunities. The current intake will be considerably increased by introducing vocational courses in many more institutions.

Based on the evaluation of the on-going scheme of vocationalisation, states are taking steps to reorganise and improve the programme. An Expert Committee has been set up to suggest ways and means of implementing an expanded programme of vocationalisation fully coordinated with the education system and manpower needs of economic development. The report of this Committee will provide guidelines for further development.

The present wide reach of the media will be used for improving education, especially at the secondary stage. Facilities for production of the requisite audio-visual material including educational software for broadcasting and telecasting will be augmented substantially in the Seventh Plan. During the Sixth Plan, a small beginning was made in providing computer literacy to students in selected secondary schools, based on this experience, steps will be taken to extend the programme to cover different aspects of computer appreciation and application.

One of the essential conditions for continuous improvement in the quality of secondary education is an effective system of in-service training of teachers. The existing facilities will be assessed, additional requirements identified and steps taken to meet them. The opportunity provided by the new communication technology will be explored for this purpose. Here again, special attention will be

paid to the development of requisite software. Training of personnel required for effective use of modern communication technology and computers in education will be given very high priority. The NCERT which has already initiated programmes in this regard, will help the states build a network for this purpose.

Education has a crucial contribution to make towards promoting national integration, understanding and a sense of togetherness and harmony. There is, therefore, great need for an integrated and value oriented education with a national perspective. This programme should be so designed that its various threads can be woven into the curricular and cocurricular activities. Suitable revision of text books, strengthening of school libraries and training of teachers would be important from this point of view.

### University Education

The main emphasis in higher education will be on consolidation, improvement in standards and reforms in the system to make higher education more relevant to national needs and to forge forward and backward linkages of higher education with employment and economic development. Expansion of general higher education facilities will be carefully planned so as to take care of the need to provide larger access to weaker sections and first generation learners from backward areas. In doing so, emphasis will be laid on providing access to existing institutions through appropriate reservation, scholarships, provision of hostel facilities, etc. A network of facilities will be provided through open universities, correspondence courses and part-time education to meet social demand and the needs of continuing education.

The need and urgency for restructuring of undergraduate courses so as to bring in the necessary concern for relevance and use, application orientation, flexibility and diversification is well recognised. The guidelines for restructuring of courses of study indicated by the University Grants Commission (UGC) provide for addition of groups of courses that may be relevant and useful according to local or regional needs. Extension activities will be developed as components within each subject/discipline. Beneficial linkages will be developed between colleges and development institutions and programmes. Application oriented courses will be given due emphasis.

The Indira Gandhi National Open University, which is being established as a pace setting institution, will besides offering courses in higher education based on the principles of the open learning system, be also responsible for training of personnel, production of programmes and development of material for utilisation through the electronic media. The National Open University will function as a nodal resource centre for coordination of programmes and development of models for distance education, documentation and dissemination of information and organisation of appropriate support programmes. Besides this, six centres of educational technology being developed by UGC would serve as regional centres for the production of software for educational technology and training of personnel engaged in the programme of distance education and correspondence courses for higher education.

In the area of post-graduate education and research, emphasis will be placed on promoting quality programmes, inter-disciplinary studies and on new emerging frontiers. Research within the university system will get due emphasis and be coordinated with national research

efforts under the Science and Technology programme. The programme of strengthening infrastructure facilities for research in science and technology and of postgraduate education within the university system which was started on the recommendation of the Science Advisory Committee to the Cabinet, will be further developed.

Training of teachers in higher education is another area which needs special attention in the Seventh Plan. The faculty improvement programmes will be designed to impart knowledge of new methods and techniques of teaching, learning and evaluation, to develop a national value system, and to prepare the teachers for the task of restructuring undergraduate courses.

Many of the reforms initiated earlier, such as autonomous colleges and examination reform, seem to have faced obstacles and delays in the process of implementation. The Seventh Plan will give high priority to the speedy implementation of various reforms already initiated and to the modernisation of university administration.

Beside concerted efforts to increase the enrolment of Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes students, the most significant programmes for these students will consist of remedial teaching, preparatory training and special coaching. These programmes will be implemented on a large scale by institutions with sizable student population drawn from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections. These institutions will be strengthened to impart a better quality of education. The scope of these programmes will also be enlarged to include training for employment, coaching for competitive examinations for recruitment to various services and adult and continuing education programmes.

### Technical Education

In the context of the rapid modernisation of the economy envisaged in the near future and given the Seventh Plan objective of improvement in productivity, technical education has to play a leading role. The main emphasis in the field of technical education during the Seventh Plan period will be on the following:

- (i) Consolidation of infrastructure and facilities already created;
- (ii) Optimum utilisation of the existing facilities with attention to cost effectiveness;
- (iii) Identification of critical areas with a view to strengthening the facilities in the fields where weaknesses exist in the system at present;
- (iv) Creation of infrastructure in new areas of emerging technology vital for the development of the country and provision of necessary facilities for education, training and research in those fields;
- (v) Improvement of quality and standards of technical education;
- (vi) Removal of obsolescence;
- (vii) Modernisation of engineering laboratories and workshops in the technical education institutions;
- (viii) Effective management of the overall system of technical education for an optimum return on investment made;
- (ix) Innovative measures to improve existing facilities to provide low-cost alternatives to achieve various goals and objectives laid down in the plan; and
- (x) Institutional linkages between technical education on one



hand, and rural development and other development sectors, on the other.

To achieve these objectives there would be a balanced development of institutions of technical education at all levels. The Indian Institutes of Technology which have been set up as pace-setting institutions, would be further developed as advanced centres of excellence. The Institutes have already initiated research work in a number of new areas. An expert committee has been set up to look into the requirements of these Institutes in the context of the challenges ahead. The regional and other engineering colleges would also be developed further, particularly with a view to their modernisation and to making their courses relevant to the emerging requirements. The upgradation of standards and modernisation of polytechnics will also be accorded a high priority. A major task in the Seventh Plan will be the removal of obsolescence in equipment and revision of courses in all technical education institution, many of which were drawn up more than two decades ago. The All India Council for Technical Education has recommended that it is necessary also to restructure polytechnic education with a view to :

- (a) Improving the standard and contents of technical courses;
- (b) providing a lateral entry to the vocational stream from 10+2 stage;
- (c) restoring the balance in the employment pattern of engineering graduates and diploma holders; and
- (d) providing multi-point entry to the various courses.

Besides the improvement on these lines, polytechnic education for women will be given greater attention to meet their special requirements. Further, as a result of reorganisation of school education in the 10+2 system and with vocationalisation becoming the major thrust in it, the polytechnics will play a significant role in the promotion and development of vocational education, particularly in engineering and allied trades. Besides modernising polytechnics and removing obsolescence in courses and equipment, special attention will be paid to emerging technologies and computerisation. Development of interaction between the technical institutions and industry will be taken up. removal of regional imbalances would be another major objective in the development of technical education in all levels. The faculty in the technical institutions have to keep themselves abreast of the latest knowledge and advances taking place elsewhere in the world and also have to be in the constant touch with industry. A number of schemes have already been instituted under the quality improvement programme including M. Tech. and Ph. D. courses, short-term courses and industrial training for engineering college and polytechnic teachers. However, these arrangements need considerable strengthening. Special attention will be paid to the problems of staff training and retraining and to continuing education for staff, including those of the polytechnics, to facilitate academic and professional advancement.

A reliable manpower information system is a pre-requisite to planning in the field of technical education. A national manpower information system is being developed for storage, updating, retrieval and analysis of manpower information to assist in technical education planning. It has at present 17 nodal centres and is coordi-

nated by the Technical Education Division of Department of Education with the assistance of the lead centre located at the Institute of Applied Manpower Research. The manpower information system will be considerably strengthened and integrated with the planning of technical education.

Besides general improvements, polytechnics will be assisted to undertake extension services for the benefit of the community. The programme of community polytechnics, already initiated in the earlier Plans, will be expanded in the Seventh Plan to cover as many polytechnics as possible.

Curriculum changes need to be introduced periodically in the light of emerging trends in technology. This will require more effective collaborative linkages with industry and research and development establishments and agencies. The allocations provided from budgetary funds for technical education have to be supplemented by contributions from user industries and organisations, which will be facilitated when closer collaborative arrangements are established.

### **S and T Component**

Considerable emphasis will be laid on the improvement of the quality of teaching science and technology at all levels of education. At school level NCERT at the centre and SCERTS/SIEs in states will provide training to teachers on all aspects of science and technology including design, development and production of science kits and strengthen science laboratories of secondary schools. A National Science Centre will be established for displaying experimental models and projects.

The quality of higher science and technology education has to match the best in the world. In this connection, university departments and colleges will be selected for providing special assistance to bring about improvements in science education.

Modernisation of laboratories in Indian Institutes of Technology, Regional Engineering colleges and other institutions of technical education will be accorded priority for providing research in technology. An International Centre for Science and Technology Education will be established. This will operate through a network of existing institutions and serve as a resource centre for cooperative research, and will also disseminate ideas, methods and materials to bring about basic improvement and modernisation in Science and Technology education. The total estimated outlay for S and T component in the education sector will be of the order of Rs. 180 crore, including Rs. 35 crore for the programmes recommended by the Science Advisory Committee to the Cabinet.

### **Examination Reforms**

The present examination-oriented system has distorted the very character of education and has converted it into a mere system of certification to regulate the flow of manpower to the labour market. The dominance of the examination system over the educational processes has led not only to the wrong type of learning, but has also led to many attendant malpractices. Examination reforms to remedy the present malaise would be given the utmost priority. At the same time, the employing sector should be helped to devise its own selection procedures, lay down academic qualifications, prepare assessment tests and evaluation systems in keeping with job content and the ability and skill for performance of the tasks attached to a job.



### Other Programmes

The Seventh Plan provides for the continuation and limited expansion of on-going programmes relating to scholarships, development of languages, book promotion, educational planning and administration as well as to effective monitoring, particularly of elementary (including non-formal) and adult education.

The existing schemes of scholarships will be reviewed and, if necessary, re-oriented to help talented students to develop their full potential. The Central Government schemes of national scholarships including that for talented children from rural areas will continue in the Seventh Plan. Financial assistance by itself is not adequate for the development of talented children, especially from the poorer sections of society and from backward areas. Their access to, and placement in, good academic institutions is equally necessary. Placements in residential schools will be particularly helpful and a scheme for this purpose is already in operation.

To provide good quality modern education with Indian values to talented children, particularly from the rural areas, it is proposed to set up 432 model secondary schools, one in each district, during the Seventh Five Year Plan. These schools will offer a common core curriculum, ensuring comparability in standards and promoting National Integration and National Values. They will bring together students from different parts of the country, providing opportunities to talented children to fully develop their potential. Admission to these schools will be through a test conducted at tehsil/block level, in which the best performers from every primary school in the district will be eligible to appear. The test would be designed by the NCERT, and it will be associated in conducting and evaluating the test. Residential facilities will be provided in these schools. An autonomous organisation, registered under the Registration of Societies Act, will be set up for establishing and running these schools.

### Development of Languages

The development of languages is of basic importance for all educational development programmes. The activities and programmes undertaken in the field of languages comprise: (i) promotion of Hindi (as envisaged under Article 351 of the Constitution); (ii) promotion of modern Indian languages (as provided in National Policy of Education); (iii) promotion of English and other foreign languages; and (iv) promotion of Sanskrit and other classical languages such as Arabic and Persian. Other languages for which the Centre has special responsibility, like Urdu and Sindhi, have also received attention. These activities will be further developed in the Seventh Plan, with special attention being paid for raising the standards of language competency, spoken as well as written.

The capabilities of existing institutions will be strengthened, particularly, with a view to enabling them to undertake a much larger programme of in-service training, publication of textual and other materials, production of software for transmission through radio and television and to work at the grassroots level. A selective approach will be adopted in respect of publications, so as to ensure that materials of good quality become available and are widely disseminated. Instead of entrusting publication of dictionaries, terminologies, text-books, etc., exclusively to governmental agencies, it is proposed to involve creative scholars, university departments and literary organisations with publication activities. Voluntary orga-

nisations working for the development and promotion of various languages will be supported, particularly, for undertaking innovative and experimental projects the experience from which will assist in more effective teaching and learning of languages, whether by formal or informal methods.

In Sanskrit, emphasis will be given to activities which will ensure preservation of Shastric and Vedic traditions in oral and written forms, preservation, editing and cataloguing of rare manuscripts, publications of rare and out-of-print books, and training of teachers. It is proposed to assist selected institutions for audio and video taping of recitations of various sakhas which for want of continuing training of scholars in the oral tradition, are becoming extinct. Support will be provided for inter-disciplinary research, particularly with a view to identifying the scientific and technical advancement that had taken place in the past and had been recorded in various Sanskrit texts.

The programmes being undertaken for the development of modern Indian languages, including Urdu and Sindhi and also classical languages like Arabic and Persian will be continued and additional support provided to increase their coverage.

#### Art and Culture

In Art and Culture the main thrust in the Seventh Five Year Plan would be on the development of culture in all aspects, with emphasis on dissemination, and on the promotion and development of regional cultures and building up of a sense of the oneness and underlying unity and cohesiveness of India. This would require the involvement of the masses in cultural activities. In order to achieve these objectives, the programmes of the Seventh Plan would include:

- (i) Zonal Cultural Centres being set up in different regions of the country. The essential thrust of the creative development efforts of these zonal centres would be to bring about awareness and participation at the grassroot level, cutting across-territorial/linguistic boundaries.
- (ii) The existing activities of various cultural organisations for dissemination of culture would be stepped up on a wide scale with adequate financial inputs.
- (iii) Introduction of a cultural component into the educational system at different levels. The Departments of Education and Cultural Affairs would work together in close coordination for inter-linking education and culture through appropriate programmes.
- (iv) Cultural inputs would be integrated in youth activities, rural development activities, domestic tourism, etc.
- (v) For the dissemination of culture to the masses, the mass media would be utilised.
- (vi) Besides the national cultural organisations, the State agencies would also strengthen their programmes. The Central and state agencies would work with greater coordination towards this objective.

It is proposed to set up seven zonal cultural centres which while developing the unique cultural identities of various areas in the states would also stress and explore their cultural kinship in relation to the totality of India's composite culture, highlighting the

essential unity in diversity of the Indian cultural heritage. The centres would provide facilities for creative development of arts; with special emphasis on folk arts as also the revival of vanishing arts.

The traditional fairs and festivals which provide the continuing link with the rich traditions of the past would be supported through the State agencies and Zonal Cultural Centres. Appropriate programmes would be taken up to provide exposure to youth to the cultural diversity of the country to raise their awareness of the rich heritage that exists in the country.

Preservation, documentation and conservation of our rich and varied cultural heritage would continue to receive priority in the Seventh Plan. This would mean greater attention to the development of archaeology museums, archives, manuscript libraries, Buddhist/Tibetan studies, and to folk-lore and oral traditions. It is recognised that strands of cultural heritage run through a wide range of development sectors and programmes. These need to be identified and demonstrated as diverse aspects of our rich traditions. Art forms and cultural institutions provide a powerful medium to foster national integration as well as national development. Necessary coordination links will be established and cooperative programmes will be undertaken for this purpose.

Greater emphasis will be laid on strengthening of arts through institutions, such as the Akademies. Assistance would continue to be provided to voluntary organisations engaged in the promotion of art and culture. Library systems would be strengthened throughout the country with special attention to improving the facilities in the national level institutions.

Some of the rich art forms existing are in the realm of tribal and folk art. The development of folk and tribal arts, especially those which are facing extinction such as the folk art of the Himalayan regions, threatened ecologically as also culturally, would be supported through assistance to voluntary organisations engaged in these fields and areas.

In the field of anthropology, new projects have been identified to study the people of India and promote dissemination of culture. The Rashtriya Manav Sangrahalaya which is expected to be completed in the Seventh Plan, would recreate the history of human evolution, the evolution of culture and the range of living cultures in India.

The Indira Gandhi National Centre for Art will be set up at New Delhi as a resource centre and data base for the arts. It will also develop a major informatics library of cultural materials. The National Theatre will also be established on the same premises to support and project activities particularly in the field of visual arts, including folk and tribal arts.

### **Youth and Sports**

According to the 1981 census, 220 million or about 30 per cent of our population is in the age-group of 15-34 years, with 73 per cent living in the rural areas. The majority of them do not have the benefit of formal education. The problems of youth, therefore have to be identified, with existing programmes being strengthened and new programmes devised to involve their participation and development. The two existing programmes of National Service Scheme (NSS) and Nehru Yuvak Kendras (NYKs) have proved useful in promoting the involvement of youth, both student and non-student, and urban and

rural, and in creating awareness among them of nationally accepted objectives and motivating them to work towards their fulfilment. Both these programmes will be further developed and expanded in the Seventh Plan. The strength of the NSS will be raised from six hundred and ten thousand at the end of the Sixth Plan to one million at the end of the Seventh Plan. Activities of Nehru Yuvak Kendras will be expanded to cover all the districts in the country and will also be diversified. The organisational structure of the Yuvak Kendras will also be revamped to impart greater flexibility in the development of programmes for youth, their speedier execution and closer monitoring. The aim will be to make the Kendras effective by ensuring coordinating links between youth and the various agencies of Government and public sector in the national development effort. Programmes of scouting and guiding, mountaineering and adventure. Commonwealth youth programmes and International Youth Exchange Delegations, and National Service Volunteer Schemes will be continued.

A major step will be taken during the Seventh Plan to translate into action the newly adopted resolution on National Sports Policy, by giving high priority to the development of infrastructure and facilities for sports and games of grassroots levels and developing the potential of our human resources both in the rural and urban areas. Efforts will be made to raise national standards in games and sports. Programmes for spotting and nurturing potential sports talent through coaching, training and nutrition required for helping the talented to realise their highest level would be continued. Present schemes like Rural Sports Tournaments, Women's Sports Festivals, National Talent Search Scholarships, grants to National Federations and State Sports Councils, etc., will be expanded. The activities of the Netaji Subhash National Institute of Sports, Patiala will be intensified and its coverage enlarged. The Sports Authority of India will be assisted to pursue its main objective of promotion and broad-basing of sports in the country and creation of health consciousness among citizens through appropriate and meaningful schemes.

### Outlays

The Seventh Plan outlay for education is of the order of Rs. 6,383 crore of which the states sector outlay in Rs.3,994 crore. The sub-sectoral distribution is given in Annexure 4.

The provision for education is mainly in the states' sector. The Centre will play a coordinating role and provide leadership and guidance for new and innovative programmes. Out of the total non-plan budget estimates of education in 1983-84, amounting to Rs. 5,229 crore, nearly 91 per cent was in the states' sector. Nearly 87 per cent of total national expenditure on education is incurred on non-plan side. In view of the constraints on the resources for education, the structure and pattern of utilisation of Plan and non-Plan funds needs to be reviewed, to ensure the optimal use of funds in relation to the goals of the Seventh Plan. It is proposed to adopt low cost designs and devices effecting economy and for reducing unit costs. Besides, non-budgetary resources have to be tapped and substantial resources mobilised from the community especially for replenishing and augmenting physical facilities in educational institutions.

It is also necessary to emphasise the non-monetary inputs in educational development, in better planning, advanced technologies and practices careful block level and institutional planning, and

school mapping; better systems of supervision and administration; monitoring and evaluation; a good information system; dedicated efforts by teachers, students and educational administrators; intensive utilisation of existing resources and facilities; and, above all, commitment and active involvement of the local community. Educational research and training and planning and administration of education need to be streamlined. The state level capabilities particularly require to be built up under the leadership of the National Council of Educational Research and Training and National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration.

## Annexure 1

## EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FROM 1950-51 TO 1984-85

Sl. No.	Item	Year				
		1950-51 (Actual)	1960-61 (Actual)	1970-71 (Actual)	1980-81 (Actual)	1984-85 (Likely)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
<b>A. INSTITUTIONS</b>						
	(Number)					
1.	Primary	2,09,671	3,30,399	4,08,378	4,85,538	5,50,000*
2.	Middle	13,596	49,663	90,621	1,16,447	1,40,000*
3.	High/Higher sec.	7,288	17,257	36,738	51,594	60,000*
4.	College					
(a)	Art, Science and Commerce	548	1,161	2,587	3,393	3,500*
(b)	Professional	147	381	1,107	1,382	1,500*
(c)	Universities and Deemed Universities	28	44	93	123	135
<b>B. ENROLMENT BY STAGES</b>						
	(in '000)					
1.	Primary (I-V Classes)	19,155 (42.6)	34,994 (62.4)	57,045 (76.4)	72,688 (83.1)	85,377 (91.84)
2.	Middle (VI-VIII Class)	3,120 (12.7)	6,705 (22.5)	13,315 (34.2)	19,846 (40.0)	26,729 (53.07)
3.	High/Higher secondary/Intermediate	1,481	3,483	7,167	11,281	16,800*
4.	University and Above (1st Degree)	174	557	1,956	2,752	3,442*
<b>C. EXPENDITURE</b>						
	(Rs.in crore)					
	Total	114	344	1,118	3,746	6,000
	Plan	20	90	115	520	800
	Non-Plan	94	254	1,003	3,226	5,200

**Estimates**

- SOURCES: (i) For School Education and Expenditure--Ministry of Education and Planning Commission.  
(ii) For Higher Education UGC Reports.

NOTE: Figures in parentheses indicate Gross Enrolment Ratio, as percentage of the total population in each category.

Annexure 2  
 LIKELY ACHIEVEMENT OF ENROLMENT IN CLASSES I-V 1984-85

Sl. No.	States/UTs	Enrolment in ('000s)			Enrolment Ratio (Per Cent)		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1.	Andhra Pradesh*	3686	2732	6418	101.09	76.89	89.15
2.	Assam*	1340	985	2325	84.97	70.91	78.15
3.	Bihar*	4935	2955	7890	93.32	59.04	76.65
4.	Gujarat*	2741	2003	4744	120.59	89.78	105.30
5.	Haryana*	934	592	1526	91.3	66.67	79.85
6.	Himachal Pradesh	344	271	615	110.97	88.27	99.67
7.	Jammu and Kashmir	445	276	721	99.33	64.64	82.40
8.	Karnataka*	2243	1776	4019	86.83	71.41	79.27
9.	Kerala*	1610	1522	3132	107.76	98.51	103.06
10.	Madhya Pradesh	4185	2168	6353	101.07	95.00	85.71
11.	Maharashtra	5130	4030	9160	122.40	102.49	112.89
12.	Manipur	114.5	104.5	219	106.02	99.52	102.81
13.	Meghalaya	110	104	214	106.79	105.05	105.94
14.	Nagaland	71.3	64.8	136.1	106.42	115.71	110.57
15.	Orissa	1921	1285	3206	106.72	72.72	89.86
16.	Punjab	1180	956	2136	104.98	97.05	101.28
17.	Rajasthan*	3040	1260	4300	111.76	50.84	82.72
18.	Sikkim*	32.35	27.3	59.65	119.81	124.09	121.73
19.	Tamil Nadu	3811	3232	7043	131.77	114.32	123.15
20.	Tripura	206.86	162.42	369.28	144.66	119.12	132.25
21.	Uttar Pradesh*	7930	3777	11707	92.00	49.68	72.34
22.	West Bengal*	4506	3309	7815	117.37	95.75	107.17
23.	A and N Islands*	7	6	13	160.9	160.5	134.5
24.	Arunachal Pradesh	52.5	29	81.5	129.6	72.2	101.3
25.	Chandigarh*	35.5	27.9	63.4	118.0	87.0	102.0
26.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli*	8.52	5.51	14.03	100.0	87.0	93.0
27.	Delhi	409	358	767	107.7	90.3	97.3
28.	Goa, Daman and Diu	79	67	146	119.0	102.0	111.0
29.	Lakshadweep*	4	3	7	177.0	150.0	168.0
30.	Mizoram	47	43	90	103.0	102.0	102.0
31.	Pondicherry	46.13	40.84	86.97	124.6	114.5	119.5
TOTAL . .		51204.66	34172.27	85376.93	117.48	69.20	91.84

NOTE: \* Figure supplied by State Government; Other figures have been compiled from State plan Documents, 1985-86.

**Annexure 2 (Contd.)**  
**LIKELY ACHIEVEMENT OF ENROLMENT IN CLASSES VI-VIII, 1984-85**

Sl. No.	States/UTs	ENROLMENT in ('000s)			ENROLMENT RATIO (Per Cent)		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1.	Andhra Pradesh*	779	463	1242	41.37	25.21	33.40
2.	Assam*	514	356	870	60.61	47.34	54.37
3.	Bihar*	1507	418	1925	55.22	16.18	36.24
4.	Gujarat*	904	535	1439	68.02	42.80	55.79
5.	Haryana*	400	162	562	71.81	33.40	53.93
6.	Himachal Pradesh	165	93	258	97.63	55.68	76.78
7.	Jammu and Kashmir	161	81	242	65.98	34.91	50.84
8.	Karnataka*	913	614	1527	64.02	44.75	54.57
9.	Kerala*	887	832	1719	101.84	92.54	97.12
10.	Madhya Pradesh	1335	513	1848	65.50	26.80	46.76
11.	Maharashtra	1831	1067	2998	76.40	48.13	63.21
12.	Manipur	43	40.5	83.5	74.13	72.32	73.24
13.	Meghalaya	25	21	46	44.64	39.62	42.20
14.	Nagaland	16.2	14	30.2	45.00	46.67	45.75
15.	Orissa	510	265	775	51.62	27.35	39.60
16.	Punjab	495	346	841	78.86	61.34	69.61
17.	Rajasthan	840	250	1090	58.78	19.23	39.94
18.	Sikkim*	8.14	5.35	13.49	54.26	44.58	49.96
19.	Tamil Nadu	1395	923	2318	84.49	57.22	71.02
20.	Tripura	55.20	38.17	93.45	69.10	50.22	59.90
21.	Uttar Pradesh*	2821	857	3678	63.20	21.67	43.69
22.	West Bengal*	1515	1105	2620	70.76	57.34	64.40
23.	A and N Islands*	3.1	2.7	5.8	100.60	95.70	98.50
24.	Arunachal Pradesh	11	5	16	52.20	30.20	41.40
25.	Chandigarh*	20.3	14.4	34.7	102.00	76.00	90.00
26.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli*	2.14	1.16	3.30	50.00	26.00	38.00
27.	Delhi	218	173	391	89.80	72.10	80.50
28.	Goa, Daman and Diu	47.48	37.08	84.56	102.00	77.00	90.00
29.	Lakshadweep*	2	1	3	127.00	94.00	111.00
30.	Mizoram	18.5	16	34.5	85.00	81.00	83.00
31.	Pondicherry	20	18	38	110.10	126.60	118.50
TOTAL . .		17462.14	9267.36	26729.5	66.90	38.19	53.07

NOTE: \*Figures supplied by State Governments: other figures were compiled from State Plan Documents, 1985-86.



**Annexure 3**  
**TARGET OF ADDITIONAL ENROLMENT IN CLASSES I-V AND VI-VIII**  
**IN THE SEVENTH PLAN, 1985-90**

(Enrolment in '000s)

Sl. States/UTs No.	Classes I-V			Classes VI-VIII		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1. Andhra Pradesh	200	500	700	800	800	1600
2. Assam	200	300	500	300	350	650
3. Bihar	500	900	1400	1000	700	1700
4. Gujarat	200	300	500	300	300	600
5. Haryana	200	200	400	100	150	250
6. Himachal Pradesh	..	60	60	..	50	50
7. Jammu and Kashmir	40	100	140	50	60	110
8. Karnataka	300	400	700	400	300	700
9. Kerala	50	50	100	200	180	388
10. Madhya Pradesh	500	700	1200	800	500	1300
11. Maharashtra	-400	200	-200*	400	700	1100
12. Manipur	25	40	65	20	20	40
13. Meghalaya	10	10	20	10	20	30
14. Nagaland	..	5	5	4	7	11
15. Orissa	300	300	600	300	300	600
16. Punjab	50	50	100	100	200	300
17. Rajasthan	300	800	1100	500	300	800
18. Sikkim	..	..	..*	2	3	5
19. Tamil Nadu	-300	..	-300*	400	500	900
20. Tripura	..	30	30	20	25	45
21. Uttar Pradesh	1000	900	1900	1000	900	1900
22. West Bengal	500	800	1300	900	800	1700
23. A and N Islands	..	..	..	1	3	4
24. Arunachal Pradesh	5	15	20	8	8	16
25. Chandigarh	10	15	25	2	7	9
26. Dadra and Nagar Haveli	..	1	1	1	1	2
27. Delhi	100	100	200	32	80	112
28. Goa, Daman and Diu	8	12	20	2	10	12
29. Lakshadweep	..	..	..	..	..	..
30. Mizoram	3	5	8	5	5	10
31. Pondicherry	..	..	..	..	..	..
<b>TOTAL . .</b>	<b>3801</b>	<b>6793</b>	<b>10594</b>	<b>7657</b>	<b>7279</b>	<b>14936</b>

\* Negative enrolment due to lower level of under and over-age-group children.

## Annexure 4

## SEVENTH PLAN OUTLAY BY MAJOR HEADS OF EDUCATION

(Rs. crore)

Sl. No.	Major Head	Centre	States	Union Territories	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1.	General Education				
	of which MNP				
	Component	1518.64	2863.18	393.48	4775.30
	(a) Elementary Education	(100.00)	(1549.05)	(181.40)	(1830.45)
	(b) Adult Education	(130.00)	(227.66)	(2.34)	(300.00)
	Total Outlay on MNP				
	Component	(230.00)	(1776.71)	(183.74)	(2190.45)
2.	Technical Education	220.00	388.12	73.67	681.79
3.	Art and Culture	350.00	114.86	17.26	482.12
4.	Sports and Youth Services	300.00	122.55	20.88	443.43
5.	GRAND TOTAL	2388.64	3488.71	505.30	6382.65

## Jarratt Committee Report\*

AFTER 11 MONTHS, the Committee appointed by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals and Chaired by Sir Alex Jarratt, has completed its report on efficiency in universities.

### **Seven Areas to Improve**

Universities have the greatest opportunity to improve their efficiency and effectiveness in their planning and use of resources, the Jarratt Committee found. The members looked at seven specific areas of planning, in which all universities involved in the exercise could make some improvements.

### **Strategic and Long Term Planning**

The Committee found that long term planning was largely ignored, although enough was known about demography and changing patterns of employment to produce such plans.

There was little consideration of options or of means to arrive at objectives, while pressures to preserve cohesion and morale led to a reluctance to set priorities and discuss openly academic strengths and weaknesses.

### **The Criteria on Which Resources are Allocated**

There was little relation between Universities' long term objectives and the allocation of resources. Incremental allocation from a historical lease emerged as the dominant approach, particularly in question of equipment and space.

In most cases, resource allocation did not appear to take into explicit account the relative strengths of departments. A major omission overall was the lack of the systematic use of performance indicators.

### **Mechanisms by which Resources are Allocated**

The most obvious feature of most universities was the fragmentation of the allocation process, with resource frequently being considered in 'packages' of, for instance, equipment grants, research support funds, etc. Committees involved in allocation were often inadequately co-ordinated. Expensive equipment was sometimes acquired without taking account of the building work necessary to install it.

### **The Quality and Extent of Management Information**

Plenty of information was collected, with that relating to students and staff being of good quality--but much of it was 'raw' data which was not effectively analysed, brought together and presented. The use of departmental profiles, which mix facts and performance indicators, was recommended.

Far more work needed to be done on measures of a university's output, such as number and quality of graduates, quality and value of research, publication and so on.

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\* This Committee of the United Kingdom submitted its Report on April 5 1985.

Financial information provided for departmental management varied in quality, often arriving too late to be useful, and not showing forward commitments which are specially important for large science departments.

### **Responsibility of the Allocation Process**

Frequently, too many Committees were involved in allocation. Some planning Committees were too large because they were set up to represent sectional interests.

There was a general recognition of the need to combine in one body the responsibility of planning, resource allocation and accountability, for example a small joint senate/council body which could integrate financial and academic policies.

### **The Budgetary Control Mechanism**

In most cases, academic departments were the main budgetary units, with their heads being seen as the responsible officers although their accountabilities were not always clearly defined.

An extension of the practice of changing departments for services was supported by all six individual Reports. One university had developed this idea into a departmental profit and loss statement, which produced information which was useful for assessing the financial implications of academic decisions.

### **The Process of Accountability**

There was little formal accountability for the use of resources, with allocations rarely being examined retrospectively by the allocating authorities. There was heavy reliance on informal feedback mechanisms.

The main Committee conceded that university planning was a difficult process, not least when considering universities' own constraints on change, such as the attitude to tenure, the conviction that detailed planning stifled creativity and that planning and consensus management appeared to many to be inimical.

Some academics, it continued, saw their academic discipline as more important than the long term well being of the university which housed them.

The report recommended the formation of a planning and resources committee--of strictly limited size--reporting to Council and Senate.

The study found the universities could save up to £ 500,000 if students fees were paid by the UGC as part of the block grant, and urged the Secretary of State for Education to consider such a possibility.

### **Managerial Model Urged**

The Jarratt inquiry wants to see a creative tension replacing the harmony between Senates and Councils. Senates have resisted change and exercised a natural conservatism. Councils must assert themselves, particularly in academic and financial planning, it says.

The Vice-Chancellor must be the chief executive, rather than a scholar carrying out the Senate's will. Selection is vital--he or she must know how to manage change and have some knowledge of finance or business.

Because of the importance of academic leadership, candidates will continue largely to be appointed from within the system--so senior academics must be given chances to improve their managerial skills.

Heads of departments are also key appointments. They should be both managers and academic leaders. Given their heavy responsibility, heads of departments should always be appointed by Council, on the advice of Vice-Chancellors, and they should be given a responsibility allowance.

It is of crucial importance that academic staff should be regularly appraised of their personal development, preferably yearly.

#### What the Jarratt Committee Recommends

##### Recommendations for Government

- (a) Government should provide broad policy guidelines within which the urge and individual universities can undertake strategic and long term planning.
- (b) Government should consider what action to be taken to restore a longer funding horizon for universities in view of the disincentives to strategic planning inherent in the present system.
- (c) Government should avoid thrusting crises on universities by sudden short-term changes of course.
- (d) Government should be prepared to provide funds to meet the whole or the greater part of the realistic cost of future staffing reductions agreed between individual universities and the UGC.
- (e) Government should examine whether a change can be made in the method used in England and Wales to channel fees to universities.
- (f) Government should commission an examination of the role, structure and staffing of the UGC.

##### Recommendations for the UGC

- (a) The UGC should provide and make known its own views about the prospects and directions for higher education.
- (b) There should be an increase in the frequency and scope of informal and confidential discussions between individual Vice-Chancellors and the UGC Chairman and sub-committee chairman.
- (c) The UGC should encourage further inter-institutional collaboration.
  - (d) Within the next 12 months, the UGC should agree with each University a programme for implementing the recommendations in this report and the relevant findings of the special studies and should take progress into account when allocating grants.

##### Recommendations for the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of Colleges

- (a) The CVCP should encourage and assist universities in adopting best practices as outlined in this report.
- (b) The CVCP should consider whether it can extend its role in training to developing the management skills of Vice-Chancellors, pro-Vice-Chancellors, Deans and Heads of departments.
- (c) The CVCP should discuss with the Council of Local Education

Authorities, the possibility of universities reporting on student attendance on a 'by exception basis'.

### Recommendations for the UGC and CVCP Jointly

- (a) The relationship between the Secretariats of the UGC and CVCP should be strengthened.
- (b) The Universities' statistical record should be enabled to give increased access within the University system.
- (c) A range of performance indicators should be developed, covering both inputs and outputs and designed for use both within individual universities and for making comparison between institutions.

### Recommendations for Universities

- (a) Recommended that all universities examine their structure and develop plans within the next 12 months to meet certain key requirements.
- (b) Councils to assert their responsibilities in governing their institutions notably in respect of strategic plans to underpin academic planning, resource allocation and accountability together into one corporate process.
- (c) Senates to continue to play their essential role in co-ordinating and endorsing detailed academic work and as the main forum for generating an academic view.
- (d) Developing a rolling academic and institutional plan which will be reviewed regularly and against which resources will be allocated.
- (e) Recognising the Vice-Chancellor not only as academic leader but also as chief executive of the university.
- (f) Establishing a planning and resource committee of strictly limited size reporting to Council and Senate with Vice-Chancellor as chairman.
- (g) Budget delegation to appropriate centres which are held responsible to the planning and resources committee.
- (h) Developing reliable and consistent performance indicators, greater awareness of costs and more full cost charging.
- (i) Appointing heads of departments by Councils, on the recommendation of the Vice-Chancellor after appropriate consultation, with clear duties and responsibility.
- (j) Saving academic and other time by having fewer committee meetings involving fewer people, and more delegation of authority to officers of the university—especially for non-academic matters.

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